THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, AS WELL Eccleſiaſtical as Civil.

BY

Mr. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. III.

CONTAINING

I. The Reigns of HENRY II. RICHARD I. JOHN, and HENRY III.

II. The State of the CHURCH of ENGLAND from the Year 1155 to 1272.

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with large and uſeful NOTES mark'd with an *, by N. TINDAL, *A. M. Vicar of* Great-Waltham *in* Eſſex.

Illuſtrated with the HEADS *of the* KINGS *curiouſly engraved on Copper-Plates, by Mr.* VERTUE.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK VII.

The Reſtoration of the Saxon Line: *The Reigns of* Henry II. *and* Richard I. *containing the Space of Forty-five Years.*

SECT. I.

5. HENRY II. *Sirnam'd* PLANTAGENET.

THE *Engliſh* were too much tir'd out with the Civil Wars, that had ſo long rag'd in the Kingdom, willingly to run the Risk of ſeeing them renew'd. Tho' the Death of *Stephen* might eaſily have furniſh'd a Handle for freſh Commotions, they patiently waited for the Duke of *Normandy*'s Coming, which was not till ſix Weeks after he had receiv'd the News. During which Time, not a Man offer'd to diſpute his Title. Beſides that *William*, Son to *Stephen*, was a Prince of little Merit,

1154. *Duke* Henry *comes to the Crown without Oppoſition.*

1154. rit, the late Proceedings of the greateſt Part of the Barons againſt the King his Father, kept them from adhering to the Fortune of the young Prince, for fear of putting it in his Power to be reveng'd. Moreover, *Henry* was not only powerful beyond *Sea*, but had alſo a great Party in the Kingdom, and the ſtrongeſt Places were in the Hands of his Creatures. So that, had *William* been minded to make an Attempt on the Throne, he wou'd have fallen ſhort of his Deſign for want of neceſſary Aſſiſtance.

1155. *He is crown'd.* *Henry* then was crown'd * the next day after his Arrival, purſuant to the Agreement made with *Stephen*, of which all the Barons of the Realm were Guarantees. 'Twas with extreme Satisfaction, that the *Engliſh* beheld on the Throne a Prince deſcended by the Mother's Side from their antient Kings, and who gave the Crown a brighter Luſtre than ever. He added to it as ſo many new Gems, *Poictou*, *Guienne*, *Saintonge*, *Maine*, *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Normandy*, which he was actually poſſeſs'd of. In the mean time *England*, which made the moſt conſiderable Part of his Dominions, had endur'd ſuch violent Shocks in the late Reign, that in order to regain its antient Splendor ſome Reſt was entirely neceſſary. The moſt proper Means to that End, was the putting it out of the Power of the *Factious* to excite new Troubles. Accordingly *Henry* made This his chief Buſineſs from the firſt hour of his Reign. He began with demoliſhing the great Number of Caſtles that had been fortified in *Stephen*'s Reign, and which ſerv'd only for Sanctuaries to Robbers, and ſuch as ſhould have a Mind to diſturb the Publick. The Biſhop of *Winchester* alone had ſix of the moſt conſiderable, which he forfeited for going out of the Kingdom without Leave. This firſt Step, by which the King let the Barons ſee he was reſolv'd to keep them in Obedience, was follow'd by another no leſs beneficial to the Kingdom; and that was, the ſending away the Foreign Troops entertain'd by *Stephen*. Theſe Soldiers, known in the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians by the Name of *Brabançons*, and in the

He demoliſhes the Caſtles.

He diſbands the Foreign Troops.

French

* By *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* on the 20th of *December*, in the 23d Year of his Age, at *Weſtminſter*.

French by that of *Routiers* or *Cotteraux*, were a Mixture of People from ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, and particularly from *Germany* and the *Low-Countries*. As they profeſs'd themſelves independent of any particular Prince, they ſerv'd indifferently whoever had a Mind to employ them, provided they found their Account in it. Not to be regularly paid they look'd upon as an Advantage, becauſe they took Occaſion from thence to plunder the Friends as well as Enemies of thoſe that entertain'd them. So that uſually, the Aſſiſtance of theſe Troops became very burthenſom to the Princes themſelves for whom they fought, as the *Engliſh* had frequently experienc'd. *Henry*, willing to eaſe his People of this dead Weight which had for ſo long time lain heavy upon them, diſmiſs'd all the Foreigners, without ſuffering ſo much as one to remain behind. *William* of *Ypres*, their General, did not think fit to ſtay till he was order'd to depart, the cold Reception he met with at Court, having already convinc'd him that his Abſence wou'd be very acceptable. 1155.

He recalls the Grants made by Stephen.

Had the new King ſtopp'd here, one might have had Reaſon to believe he had acted with a ſole View to the Welfare and Tranquillity of the Kingdom. But he plainly diſcover'd, he was ſway'd by a more Self-intereſted Motive, when ſhortly after, he revok'd all the *Grants* made by his Predeceſſor, and reſum'd all the Lands which had been alienated from the Crown. The Poſſeſſors were extremely ſhagrin'd, and loudly murmur'd at this Proceeding, affirming 'twas very unjuſt to deprive them of what had been given them in recompenſe of their *Services*. Eſpecially They who had ſided with the King and the Empreſs his Mother were fill'd with Indignation to ſee themſelves thus confounded with the Partiſans of *Stephen*. Theſe Laſt on the other Hand, maintain'd that by adhering to the King that was actually on the Throne, they had done the Part of *faithful* Subjects, and that by depriving them of their Eſtates, on that Score, a *Preſident* was eſtabliſh'd, which might one Day be very prejudicial to the King now reigning. There were ſeveral that even refus'd to comply; but upon the King's approach at the Head of his

1155. Army to constrain them to submit, they were in no Condition to resist, only *Hugh Mortimer* presum'd to stand it out for some time in one of his Castles, which Resistance cost him the Loss of all the others he was possess'd of. *William* of *Blois*, Son to King *Stephen*, far'd no better than the rest. *Henry* despoil'd him of all that had been granted him by the King his Father, and of all his Lands left him none but what belong'd to his Family before *Stephen*'s Accession to the Crown. And yet he had an inconteſtable Title to his Estates by the Agreement that the King his Father had made with *Henry*. But of what Force are Treaties against Breach of Faith, back'd with Power? Thus the Nobility, who had been inrich'd by the Liberality of the late King, or of the Empress *Matilda*, were, on a sudden, impoverish'd by the Policy of *Henry*, who had had frequent Occasion to remark how arrogant their *Riches* had made them. *Henry* shew'd also, that he acted out of a Principle of Revenge, by depriving the Barons of the *new Creation*, of the honourable *Titles* conferr'd on them by *Stephen*, on pretence they were bestow'd on them, as a Recompence for siding with an Usurper.

He chuses a Council.

After the King had taken all the Precautions he thought proper for the restoring Tranquillity in the Kingdom, he chose a *Council* out of the most eminent Persons as well among the *Clergy* as the *Nobility*. *Theobald*, Archbishop, *Thomas Becket* Archdeacon, of *Canterbury*, who was just made *Chancellor*, *Robert*, Earl of *Leicester*, Great Justiciary of the Realm, held the first Rank in it. At the Head of the *Cabinet-Council* was *Matilda* his Mother, whom long Experience and her own Misfortunes had render'd wise at her own Cost. These two *Councils* being establish'd, *Henry* conven'd an Assembly-General or Parliament at *Wallingford*, where he caus'd the Barons to swear Fealty to *William* and *Henry* his Sons, the first of which died a few Days after this Ceremony. Before the Assembly broke up, the King consented that the *Laws of Edward* shou'd be put in Force, and of his own accord confirm'd the Charter of *Henry* I. his Grandfather. These Proceedings of the new King gave great

The Barons swear Fealty to the King's Sons.

Hopes

Hopes to the Honeſt and Peaceable, whilſt they ſtruck the Wicked and Injurious with Terror, who found themſelves reduc'd to the Neceſſity either of abandoning the Kingdom, or of behaving themſelves in a very different manner from what they had hitherto done. They were very ſenſible, they had to deal with a Prince, who was fully reſolv'd to root out the Licentiouſneſs introduc'd in the late Reign. 1155.

Pope *Anaſtaſius* dying this Year, *Adrian* IV. an *Engliſhman*, ſucceeded to the *Papacy* *. Adrian IV. *Pope.*

As ſoon as *Henry* had made an end of ſettling his Affairs in *England*, he went over Sea to do *Homage* to the King of *France* for the Provinces he held in that Kingdom. His Poſſeſſions there render'd him the moſt powerful Vaſſal of the Crown of *France*, and almoſt equal to the Sovereign himſelf, whoſe *Demeſns* were very inconſiderable in compariſon of what they were in proceſs of Time. As the Dominions *Henry* and his Succeſſors were poſſeſs'd of in *France*, prov'd the Occaſion of numberleſs Wars between the *French* and *Engliſh*; it will not be improper to explain, in a few Words, wherein conſiſted at that time the Strength of the Kings of *France*. From whence we ſhall be enabled to form a juſt Idea of their Power, and ſee at the ſame time the wide Difference, on that ſcore, between the firſt Succeſſors of *Hugh Capet*, and Thoſe, that in theſe latter Days have ſway'd the Sceptre of that Kingdom. 1156 Henry *goes into* Normandy. Hoved. Diceto.

Reflections on the Strength of the Kings of France.

When *Hugh Capet* had uſurp'd the Crown from the Houſe of *Charles the Great*, he thought he cou'd make uſe of no better Method to fix himſelf in the Throne, than to manage it ſo, that the *late Revolution* might greatly turn to the Advantage of the *French* Nobility. To engage them there-

* His Name was *Nicholas Break-ſpear*, ſaid to be the Son of a *Bondman* belonging to the Abby of St. *Albans*, where being refus'd to be made a *Monk*, he went beyond Sea, and improv'd ſo in Learning, that the Pope made him Biſhop of *Alba*, and his Legate to *Germany*, and afterwards a Cardinal. He prov'd a ſtout and active Pope: Tho' he held the Chair but four Years; He put the City of *Rome* under an *Interdict* for inſulting one of his Cardinals, and excommunicated *William* King of *Sicily*.

1156. therefore to support his Usurpation, he made a Grant of the Provinces, of which they were only Governors, to them and their Heirs, by the Name of *Fiefs*. These Grants he confirm'd by *Authentick Charters*, wherein he articled that the *Fiefs* shou'd devolve to the Crown in default of Heirs. Moreover, he reserv'd the Right of confiscating them in case of Rebellion; and for other Reasons specified in the *Charters*. By this immense Bounty, he stor'd *France* at once with great Numbers of powerful *Lords*, or rather *Princes*; who holding their Lands by *Hereditary* Right, became so many *Sovereigns*. The Crown then had nothing left but the Governments *Hugh Capet* was possess'd of before he mounted the Throne. But these *Demesns*, to which he added some vacant Governments, were very considerable, by reason he was grown exceeding Powerful upon the Decline of the House of *Charlemaign*. I am well aware, that All are not agreed that *Hugh Capet* was the first that chang'd the Governments into *Fiefs*, and that it is affirm'd it was done by some of the first Kings of that Race. But besides that the Opinion I have follow'd is the most probable, the difference of a few Years, whether more or less, is of no moment with regard to the general State of *France*, of which I wou'd be understood to speak.

Among these *Fiefs*, there were some distinguish'd for their great Extent, the which were stil'd *Peerdoms*. Of this Sort there were six *Ecclesiastical*, and six *Lay* ones. But as the first have little Relation to the *English* History, it will be needless to mention them *. Of the six *Lay-Peerdoms*, three were Dukedoms, *viz. Burgundy*, *Normandy*, *Guienne*, and three Earldoms, namely, *Flanders*, *Tholouse*, and *Champagne*. Each of these six *Peers* had *Vassals* which held their Lands of him, in the same manner as he himself held his *Peerdom* of the Crown. For Instance, the Duke of *Normandy* had for *Vassal* the Duke of *Bretaign*, by the Concession of *Charles the Simple*, who annex'd this Right to the Grant which he made to *Rollo*.

Hence

* They were the Archbishopricks of *Rheims*, *Laon*, and *Langres*, and the Bishopricks of *Beauvais*, *Noyon* and *Chalons*.

Hence we may ſee, how bare and naked the Crown of *France* was, and how inconſiderable its Revenues were, in compariſon of what they were afterwards, down to the Time of *Lewis* VII. Sirnam'd the *Young*, who was on the Throne of *France* when our *Henry* came to the Crown of *England*. The Kings of *France* had not as yet united any of theſe great *Fiefs* to their *Demeſns*. 'Tis eaſy therefore to perceive, that the new King of *England*, who held two of the moſt conſiderable *Peerdoms*, beſides many other Provinces, was poſſeſs'd of as much or more Lands in the Kingdom, than the King of *France* himſelf. But yet, notwithſtanding the narrow Extent of the *Demeſns* of the Crown, the King of *France* was however a very Potent Prince, on Account of the Succours he receiv'd from his *Vaſſals*: Succours, which were furniſh'd ſometimes out of Duty, and ſometimes voluntarily. When the Kingdom was engag'd in a War, with the Advice and Conſent of the States, each *Vaſſal* was oblig'd to find a certain Number of Troops; in which Caſe the Sovereign appear'd at the Head of a formidable Army. But when the King enter'd upon a War of his own accord, or for his own private Intereſt, the *Vaſſals* were at Liberty to furniſh or not to furniſh him with their *Quota* of Troops. They even look'd upon themſelves as priviledg'd to take up Arms againſt him, in caſe they were oppreſs'd, or meerly for having Juſtice denied them. Such being the Nature of the *French Conſtitution*, 'tis no wonder, that in the Hiſtory of that Kingdom, we find their Kings marching one while with a very inconſiderable Number of Forces, and another while at the Head of puiſſant Armies. Their main Strength conſiſted in the Succours they had from their *Vaſſals*. But Matters were quite otherwiſe when once they had united to the Crown ſome of thoſe large *Demeſns* which had been granted in *Fee*. Then by Degrees, they found the means to lay aſide the Diſtinction between a *neceſſary* and an *unneceſſary* War. Without troubling themſelves to get their Deſigns approv'd by the *States*, they oblig'd their *Vaſſals* to furniſh them with Succours at all Times, confounding inceſſantly the private

1156.

Mezeray.

Views

1156. Views of the King, with the Interest of the Publick. They even made use of some of their *Vassals* or Instruments to oppress the others. This, added to the Opportunities that naturally offer'd, to unite several Provinces to the Crown for want of Heirs, increased their Strength in such a manner, as enabled them at length to keep their *Vassals* in Obedience: But it was not but by Degrees, and after a long Space of Time, that they arriv'd at that height of Power.

Henry *wages War with his Brother* Geoffrey. Gervase.

His Design to do Homage to the King of *France*, was not the sole Motive of *Henry*'s crossing the Sea: His chief Aim was to recover *Anjou*, which *Geoffrey* his Brother had seiz'd, upon the following Claim. *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, Father to these two Princes, had order'd by his last Will, that *Henry*, his eldest Son, shou'd inherit the Possessions of *Matilda* their Mother, which included *Normandy*, and her Right to *England*. To *Geoffrey* his second Son, he had bequeath'd *Anjou*, *Tourain*, and *Main*; and left to a third Son, nam'd *William*, only the Earldom of *Mortaign*. But as it wou'd have been unreasonable to deprive the Empress his Wife of her Possessions during her Life, or to make *Henry* wait for her Death without any Inheritance in the mean while; he added another Clause in his *Will*, namely, that *Henry* shou'd enjoy, 'till the Empress's Death, the three Earldoms assign'd to *Geoffrey*, reserving to this last, the Cities of *Lodun*, *Chinon*, and *Mirebel*, 'till such time as his elder Brother shou'd deliver him up the Paternal Estate, upon his becoming possess'd of *Normandy*. To secure the Performance of this *Will*, the Earl caus'd his Barons solemnly to swear, That they wou'd not suffer his Body to be buried, 'till his eldest Son had sworn to fulfil his *Last Will*. 'Twas with great Difficulty that *Henry* was prevail'd upon to take this Oath. He was of Opinion, that the Earl his Father had done him a great Injury in depriving him of these three Earldoms, which, according to Custom, ought to devolve to him as eldest Son. However, rather than his Father's Body shou'd lye unbury'd, he had sworn to execute his *Will*. Some time after, *Matilda* his Mother having

having deliver'd him up *Normandy*, *Geoffrey* thought he had a Right to take poſſeſſion of *Anjou*; but, as was related before, *Henry* drove him out of that Province. As ſoon as his Brother was on the Throne of *England*, *Geoffrey* renew'd his Pretenſions; and whilſt the King was buſied in his Iſland, he once more took poſſeſſion of *Anjou*. The *Angevins* eſpous'd his Cauſe, chuſing rather to have a private Earl, than be in dependance on the Crown of *England*. Beſides, he was aſſiſted by the King of *France*, who was always upon the Watch to leſſen *Henry*'s Power, whom he look'd upon as a very formidable Neighbour. When the Earl of *Anjou* made his *Will*, there was little appearance of his Eldeſt Son's ever mounting the Throne of *England*; *Stephen*'s Affairs being at that time in a proſperous Condition. For this Reaſon it was that he conſider'd that Kingdom only as a Thing to which indeed his Son had a Right to pretend, but of which he had but very diſtant Hopes. It was not reaſonable therefore, that *Henry*, whilſt he waited for the Empreſs's Death, ſhou'd be depriv'd of the Inheritance of his Father, the which was the ground of his Father's leaving him the three Earldoms during his Mother's Life. To conſider only the Intent of this *Will*, 'twas manifeſt, that as ſoon as *Henry* was in poſſeſſion of *Normandy* and *England*, he ought to have yielded up *Anjou* to *Geoffrey*, eſpecially as he had ſworn to do ſo: But he affirm'd that the *Will* was void, and that the Earl his Father had not Power to deprive the Firſt-born of the Patrimony he had receiv'd from his Anceſtors. His Oath therefore was the only thing that ſtood in his way: But he found the means to get over that by a Diſpenſation from the Pope, which he procur'd without any Difficulty. Being back'd by the Pope's Authority, he immediately reſolv'd upon a War with his Brother, the carrying on of which was the chief Motive of his leaving *England*. After he had done Homage to the King of *France*, he march'd towards *Poictou*, and took from his Brother the Cities of *Mirebel*, *Chinon*, and *Lodun*; then entring *Anjou*, in ſpite of all the Reſiſtance *Geoffrey* cou'd

1156.

Henry *diſpoſſeſſes* Geoffrey *of* Anjou.

1156. cou'd make, he became Master of all the fortified Places, and drove him out of the Country.

The Affairs of Bretaign.

This Prince, thus turn'd out of All, wou'd have been in a wretched Case, had not Fortune thrown in his way the Earldom of *Nantes*, of which the Inhabitants voluntarily made him an Offer. As this Event drew after it several remarkable Consequences, 'twill not be improper to clear up this Matter a little. *Conan the Gross*, Duke of *Bretaign*, had a Son nam'd *Hoël*, and a Daughter call'd *Bertha*, married to *Eudo* Earl of *Pontievre* her Relation, by whom she had a Son called *Conan*, from his Mother's Father. Some Suspicions, whether well or ill grounded, having induc'd *Conan the Gross* to disown and disinherit his Son *Eudo* Husband, to *Bertha*, got Possession of *Bretaign*, after the Death of his Father-in-law, in spite of *Hoël*, who had only the City of *Nantes* on his side. *Bertha*'s Death, which happen'd four Years after, was the Occasion of fresh Claims. *Conan*, her Son, Sirnam'd *the Little*, pretending that *Bretaign* was his Mother's Inheritance, to which *Eudo* his Father had no manner of Right, assum'd the Title of Duke of *Bretaign*: *Eudo* for his part, willing to keep possession of the Dukedom, there arose between the Father and Son a War which lasted many Years, and ended in the entire Defeat of *Eudo*, who was oblig'd to fly for Refuge to the Court of *France*.

Conan the little was no sooner in Possession of *Bretaign*, but he took in Hand the reducing to his Obedience the City of *Nantes*, which since the Death of *Conan the Gross*, made a separate State by itself under the Dominion of *Hoël*. When the Inhabitants of *Nantes* first espous'd the Cause of *Hoël*, they did it out of a Motive of Justice, being perswaded that the Duke his Father had wrong'd him very much in disinheriting him. Afterwards, they found themselves so deceiv'd in the good Opinion they had entertain'd of him, that they expell'd him, believing him incapable of defending them against *Conan* who was preparing to attack them. From that Time, *Hoël* is no more mention'd in History. In the mean while, the People of *Nantes*, not being able to bring themselves to submit to

Conan,

Conan, call in *Geoffrey* Brother to the King of *England*, and own him for Sovereign. Thus *Geoffrey* became Earl of *Nantes* immediately after his being driven out of *Anjou*: but he liv'd not long to enjoy his new Earldom. 1156. Geoffrey *made Earl of* Nantes. Brompton

After *Henry* had finish'd the reducing of *Anjou*, he return'd to *England*. Upon his Arrival he made a very advantageous Treaty with *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, who yielded up to him *Carliſle*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Bamborrough-Caſtle*, reſting ſatisfied with the Earldom of *Huntington*, which Prince *Henry* his Father had held. The Reſtitution of theſe Places was doubtleſs no more than what was juſt, ſince *David*, Grandfather of *Malcolm*, had caus'd them to be adjudg'd to him by Treaties at a Time when *Stephen* minded more his own private Intereſt, than the publick Good of the Kingdom. But in all appearance *Henry*'s great Power contributed more than any Thing elſe to the bringing the King of *Scotland* to this Temper. Henry *recovers* Northumberland. Paris. Hoveden.

One can't but be ſurpris'd that the *Welſh*, when *Henry* was become ſo formidable, ſhou'd venture to attack him upon no Account, and make Incurſions into his Frontiers. The Ravages they committed ſo incens'd the King, that he reſolv'd to be ſeverely reveng'd of them. To this End he drew together a powerful Army, and march'd into *Wales*, where he put all to Fire and Sword. Upon his Approach the *Welſh* had retir'd to their Mountains, where 'twas not poſſible to come at them, how much ſoever he endeavour'd to do it. It even happen'd one day that his Vanguard being gotten into a narrow Streight, were entirely routed. The Terror this Accident ſtruck into the Reſt of the *Engliſh* Troops, was ſtill heightned by the imprudent Conduct of *Henry de Eſſex*, Hereditary Standard-Bearer of *England*. Upon a Rumour which ran thro' the Army that the King was ſlain, he forſook the Standard, and fled away with all the Speed he cou'd make, crying out, *The King is dead*. This Action, for which he was afterwards puniſh'd, threw the *Engliſh* into ſo great Conſternation, that had not the King ſhown himſelf to them, he wou'd have been in danger of loſing that Day his whole Army. Notwithſtanding theſe Advantages, the *Welſh* 1157. *War with the* Welſh. Paris.

1157. thought themſelves very happy that the King, tired out with ſo troubleſome a War, was willing to grant them a Peace. By the Treaty he made with them he reſerv'd to himſelf the Liberty of cutting through their Woods large Roads, which might be open to him when ever he ſhould have a mind to enter their Country. He caus'd them alſo to deliver up certain Caſtles, which they had made themſelves Maſters of during the Troubles of the late Reign.

1158. *The Birth of* Richard *Son to the King.* In the Beginning of the next year, *Henry*'s Family was encreas'd by the Birth of a ſecond Son, whom he call'd *Richard*. A few days after, he renew'd the Ceremony of his Coronation in the Suburbs of *Lincoln*, not being ſo hardy as to do it within the Walls of the City. He ſhow'd himſelf more ſcrupulous in this Point, or perhaps more condeſcending to the Prejudices of the People than his Predeceſſor *Stephen*.

1159. *Birth of Prince* Geoffrey. A year after, a third Son was born to the King, who was nam'd *Geoffrey*. This ſame year he was crown'd a third Time at *Worceſter* together with the Queen. Theſe ſuperfluous Coronations, which were very frequent in thoſe Days, ſeem to be deſign'd only to amuſe the People, and to let them ſee that the King really intended to keep the Oath which was taken on theſe Occaſions. At this laſt Solemnity, the King and Queen coming to the *Oblation*, laid their Crowns on the Altar, and vow'd never to wear them more. From thenceforward the Cuſtom of the Kings wearing their Crowns during the Celebration of the ſolemn Feſtivals was by Degrees diſus'd. At leaſt we meet with but few Inſtances in the ſucceeding Reigns. About this Time *Henry* order'd the Money to be new coin'd, the current Coin of the Kingdom having been very much adulterated during the Reign of *Stephen* *.

The King and Queen never wear their Crowns again. Hoved. Chr. Nor.

New Money. Hoved.

Theſe

* The Coin was grown ſo bad in his Reign, that ſcarce one Piece in ten wou'd paſs. The uſual Money in thoſe Days were thin Pieces of Silver of about the Weight, Breadth, and intrinſick Value of a Queen *Elizabeth*'s *Three-pence*; which was their *Penny*, and from which we ſtill retain the Name of *Penny-weight*, (*i. e.*) $\frac{1}{20}$ of an Ounce. In ſucceeding Reigns larger Pieces of four Times the Bulk and Weight

These peaceful Employments not at all suiting the warlike Temper of the King, the Death of his Brother *Geoffrey*, which fell out quickly after, gave him an Opportunity of entering upon Action. As soon as this Prince was laid in his Grave, the Duke of *Bretaign* seiz'd upon the City of *Nantz* and the whole Earldom of that Name. But *Henry* pretended that, as Heir to his Brother, it belong'd to him. And in order to make his Title valid, he pass'd into *Normandy* with so considerable a Body of Troops, that it plainly appear'd, he was bent to go through with that Matter. Whilst he waited for the Season's permitting him to enter upon his Expedition, he went and made a Visit to the King of *France*, with a Design to gain him over to his Side, or at least to get him to stand neuter. He was very sensible, if *Lewis* interpos'd not in this Affair, the Duke of *Bretaign* cou'd not give him much Trouble. Amidst the Civilities he receiv'd from *Lewis*, he found the Way to manage him so dextrously, that before they parted, a Marriage was concluded between *Henry*'s eldest Son, who was not above five years of Age, and *Margaret* the *French* King's Daughter, an Infant of five or six Months old. Having thus made sure of *France*, he went and headed his Army with a Resolution to take the City by Force, if *Conan* refus'd to give him peaceable Possession. As *Conan* was by no Means a Match for the King of *England*, he was constrain'd to give way to his Power. But the Conquest of *Nantz* was not the only Benefit *Henry* reap'd from this Expedition. Before he quitted *Bretaign*, he made a Treaty with *Conan*, whereby the Duke oblig'd himself to give his Daughter *Constance* in Marriage to *Geoffrey*, *Henry*'s Son, who was then in his Cradle. By this Marriage, which was celebrated five years after, notwithstanding the Bridegroom's Youth, *Geoffrey* became Duke

1159. *The Death of* Geoffrey *the King's Brother.*

Affairs of Bretaign. Brompt.

Diceto.

Argentre c. 2. l. 15.

Weight of these, were minted; and from such Increase of their Size were call'd *Groats*, and weigh'd as much as our present Shillings. The Silver Pennies after the *Conquest* were much the same with the *Saxon* Ones: The King's Head is full-fac'd, with a Sceptre in his Hand. *Stephen*'s Penny is the First that's half-fac'd.

1159. Duke of *Bretaign* upon the Death of his Father-in-law.

Henry's *Design upon* Tholouſe.

The large Dominions *Henry* poſſeſs'd, and the Earldom of *Nantz* which he had juſt acquir'd, with Hopes of adding one day to it all *Bretaign*, were not ſufficient to content him. His Ambition ſtill increaſing as he made new Conqueſts, he undertook to revive his Queen's Title to the Earldom of *Tholouſe*, which was of a very great Extent. The Alliance he had juſt enter'd into with *Lewis the Younger*, made him hope that Monarch wou'd give him as little Diſturbance in *Languedoc* as he had done in *Bretaign*, and that he wou'd leave him at Liberty to extend his Frontiers in that Quarter. But he was out in his Conjectures. I ſhall firſt clear up Queen *Eleanor*'s Title to *Tholouſe*, and then ſee what was the Succeſs of that Expedition.

The Queen's Title to Tholouſe. Cat. Hiſt. d s Comt. de Toul. Pol. Virg. Chr. Nor.

William IV. Earl of *Tholouſe*, Cotemporary with the *Conqueror*, had but one Daughter call'd *Philippa*, who was married to *William* VIII. Earl of *Poictiers*, *Eleanor*'s Grandfather. By this Marriage the Earldom of *Tholouſe* was to fall one day to the Houſe of *Poictiers*, which was alſo in Poſſeſſion of *Guienne*. But *William*, Father of *Philippa*, imagin'd he cou'd ſecure it in his own Family by ſelling it to *Raymond* of St. *Giles* his younger Brother. This Sale, whether real or pretended, wou'd have been but a weak Means to deprive the Counteſs of *Poictiers* of the Inheritance of her Father, if certain Accidents had not concurr'd in Favour of *Raymond*, who continued in Poſſeſſion of the Earldom of *Tholouſe*, after his Brother's Death. The Deſign of the Earl of *Poictiers*, Husband to *Philippa*, of mortgaging his *Demeſns* to *William Rufus* in order to equip himſelf for his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, having been fruſtrated by the Death of *William*, he applied himſelf elſewhere, and at length rais'd the Money by mortgaging his Revenues for ſeveral Years. His Expences on this Occaſion, and his Misfortune in loſing all his Equipage, conſtrain'd him to return Home, where however he cou'd have no Proſpect of retrieving his Loſs, by reaſon his Revenues were all mortgag'd. *Raymond* of St. *Giles* laying hold of this Juncture, offer'd him a conſiderable Sum

Sum to renounce his Right to the Earldom of *Tholouſe*. 1159.
As Matters then ſtood with the Earl of *Poictiers*, he readily liſten'd to this Propoſal, and ſtruck up a Bargain with *Raymond*. By this Agreement, *Raymond* kept poſſeſſion of the Earldom, which his Poſterity enjoy'd after without meeting with any Diſturbance from the Earl of *Poictiers* or his Son *William* IX. After the Death of this Laſt, *Lewis the younger*, who had married *Eleanor* his only Daughter and Heir, reviv'd the Pretenſions of the Houſe of *Poictiers* to the Earldom of *Tholouſe*. He maintain'd that the *Sale* made by Earl *William* to *Raymond*, was all a feigned Thing. In the next Place, that *Raymond* had impos'd upon the eaſy Nature of the Earl of *Poictiers*, and purchas'd his Right at much too cheap a Rate. *Laſtly*, that he had not even paid the whole Sum that was agreed upon. From hence he inferr'd, that the Bargain was void, and conſequently that *Eleanor* ought to enter upon all that *Philippa* her Grandmother was entitled to, upon Re-payment to the Earl of *Tholouſe* what the Earl of *Poictiers* had receiv'd. *Raymond* V. who was then Earl of *Tholouſe* was then at a great Loſs, on account of this Claim. 'Twas to no Purpoſe to plead *Preſcription*, which is ſometimes of Service in private Affairs. That was too weak a *Fence* againſt a Prince, who had it in his Power to break through it by Force of Arms. However, after Matters had been debated for ſome Time, an End was put to the Affair by a Marriage between Earl *Raymond* and *Conſtance* Siſter to *Lewis* and Widow to *Euſtace* the Son of King *Stephen*. On account of this Marriage *Lewis* dropp'd his Pretenſions, and as long as he liv'd with *Eleanor*, the Earl of *Tholouſe* remain'd unmoleſted.

Eleanor's ſecond Marriage created *Raymond* freſh Diſturbances. *Henry*, who was entitled to the ſame Rights the King of *France* had thrown up, laid Claim to the Earldom of *Tholouſe* upon the ſame Grounds as *Lewis* had done before him. *Raymond* pleaded a-new the Purchaſe made by his Grandfather, the Reſignation of the Houſe of *Poictiers*, beſides a long Poſſeſſion which exceeded the Time allow'd by the Laws for a *Preſcription*. Upon theſe Accounts

1159. counts he resolv'd to keep his Possession of the Earldom. This was the State of the Case, which was to be decided by Arms. To bring about his Designs the more easily, *Henry* made an Alliance with *Raymond* Earl of *Arragon* and *Barcelona*, and got the King of *Scotland* to bring him a powerful Aid. As soon as his Army was ready, he march'd towards *Languedoc*, in his Way took *Cahors*, and then went and sat down before *Tholouse*.

Catel. Pol. Virg.

1159. 1160. 1161. 1162. *Lewis the younger*, who cou'd not look on *Henry*'s Greatness without Jealousy, had us'd such Expedition, that he had thrown himself into *Tholouse* a few Days before. The large Extent of that City, and the *French* King's Succours, render'd the Siege of it so difficult, that *Henry* did not think it in his Power to compass his Ends. Accordingly without any more ado, he rais'd the Siege and return'd into his own Dominions. *Mezeray* says, he might easily have become Master of the City, if he had not made a Conscience of besieging his Sovereign. But one can hardly believe, that he really broke up the Siege upon that Account, since on other Occasions he did not appear to have so great a Regard for the King of *France*. Be this as it will, he march'd back to *Normandy*, leaving *Cahors* to the Care of *Thomas Becket* his Chancellor. In his March homewards, he went into *Beauvoiris* where he committed great Ravages, in Revenge for the King of *France*'s breaking his Measures. At the same Time *Simon* Earl of *Montfort* put into his Hands some Castles in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, by the Means of which all Communication with *Orleans* was entirely cut off. The Advantage he might make of this, forc'd *Lewis* to send Proposals for a Cessation of Arms, which was agreed upon for a Year. During the Truce, the two Monarchs concluded a Treaty of Peace, whereby was confirm'd the Treaty they had made at *Paris*, without any mention at all of *Tholouse*. So that *Henry* kept up during his Life, his Pretension to that *Peerdom*, and by his Death left them to his Successor, who thought fit to drop them.

Henry *besieges* Tholouse.

Fitz Step.

Peace between Henry *and* Lewis.

William Earl of *Blois*, Son of King *Stephen*, died in his Return from the Expedition to *Tholouſe*, where he had attended the King. 1159. Diceto. Hoveden.

Pope *Adrian* dying in 1159, the Election of a new Pope occaſion'd a *Schiſm*, which laſted a long Time. The Majority of the Cardinals elected *Roland* a Native of *Siena*, who took the Name of *Alexander* III. The Reſt choſe Cardinal *Octavian*, who ſtil'd himſelf *Victor* V. Almoſt All the Princes of Chriſtendom own'd *Alexander* for Pope. But the *Germans* eſpous'd the Cauſe of *Victor*, who finding himſelf back'd by the Emperor *Barbaroſſa*, drove his Rival out of *Rome*, and forc'd him to ſeek for Shelter in *France*. *Death of* Adrian IV. *Schiſm.* Paris. Hoveden.

The laſt Peace concluded between the Kings of *France* and *England*, was only, as hath been ſaid, a Confirmation of the Treaty of *Paris*, wherein they had agreed upon a Marriage between *Henry*'s eldeſt Son and *Margaret* the Daughter of *Lewis*. The Princeſs was to have for her Dower the City of *Giſors* and Part of the *Vexin*, which for that Purpoſe were to remain in the Cuſtody of the *Knights Templars* *, till the Marriage ſhou'd be ſolemniz'd. Purſuant to this Treaty, Chancellor *Becket* was ſent to *Paris* with a magnificent Retinue, to demand the young Princeſs, who was to be educated in *England* till ſhe became marriageable. Quickly after her Arrival at *London*, *Henry* order'd the Nuptials to be celebrated, though the Bridegroom was but ſeven, and the Bride but three years old. Upon which the *Knights Templars*, thinking that he had ſufficiently perform'd his Promiſe, put him in Poſſeſſion of *Giſors*. The precipitating this Matter occaſion'd Chr. Nor. *Marriage of the young Prince.*

* The *Order* of the *Knights of the Temple*, inſtituted by *Gelaſius* in 1119, had their Name from dwelling in a Part of the *Temple* at *Jeruſalem* aſſign'd them by King *Baldwin*. They were but nine at firſt, and their Buſineſs was to lead in their Armor, Chriſtian Strangers and Pilgrims thro' the *Holy Land*. They increas'd ſo at length that they had great Eſtates in all Parts of *Chriſtendom*; and growing too potent they were ſuppreſs'd by *Clemens* V. 1309, and by the Council of *Vienna* 1312. The *Maſter of the Temple* here in *England* was ſummon'd to Parliament. From whom the Miniſter of the *Temple-Church* has his Name.

1162. *A War between* Lewis *and* Henry. Hoved. *Treaty of Peace.* the renewing of the War between the two Kings. *Lewis* complain'd that the King of *England* had brib'd the *Great Maſter of the Temple*. *Henry* mantain'd, that, having perform'd his Part of the Treaty, he had done no Injury to the King of *France* by taking Poſſeſſion of *Giſors*. This War, which laſted but a very little while, had an End put to it by the Mediation of *Alexander* III. who was juſt come to *France*. His Legates, whom he had ſent before, having prepar'd the Way for an Accommodation, the two Kings went together to receive the Pope at *Torcy* upon the *Loire*. When they came near him, they both alighted, and each taking hold of one of the Reins of his Bridle, they conducted him to the Lodgings prepar'd for him.

The Reſpect paid the Pope by the two Kings.

All theſe Events, I mean the Conqueſt of *Nantz*, the Siege of *Tholouſe*, the Marriage of Prince *Henry*, and the War with *France*, fell out between the years 1159, and 1163. I have forborn the giving Each their particular Date, by reaſon of the great Diverſity among Hiſtorians on that Head. Upon this Account perhaps it is, that a famous *Modern* has included all theſe Particulars within the Compaſs of eight or nine Lines.

Echard.

1163. *The flouriſhing Condition of* Henry. After *Henry* had ſettled the Affairs which had detain'd him in *France* four years, he return'd into *England* in 1163. The Condition he was in, gave him Room to hope nothing cou'd diſturb his Happineſs. He had juſt made a Peace with *France*, which in all Appearance wou'd be of a long Continuance. The *Welſh* lay ſtill in their own Country. The King of *Scotland* had given a convincing Proof of his Deſire to live in Peace, by reſtoring all the Places that might have occaſion'd a War. On the other Hand, *England* was in a profound Tranquillity, the *Normans* and *Engliſh* being equally ſatisfied with their Sovereign. Matters ſtanding thus, *Henry* thought he might congratulate himſelf upon his happy State, when on a ſudden the Pride and Obſtinacy of one of his Subjects rais'd a Storm, the weathering of which coſt him a thouſand Vexations, and the Loſs of his Honor: I mean *Thomas Becket*. He was the Son of a Citizen of *London* by

Diſturb'd by Becket.

by a *Syrian* Woman *, and had ſpent his Youth in the Study of the Law. He grew ſo famous at the Bar, that he was taken from thence, and made Archdeacon of *Canterbury*. In the Beginning of this Reign he had certain Affairs to manage at Court, which gave him an Opportunity of making himſelf known to the King, and of gaining his Eſteem and Good-Will. *Henry* having entertained a great Opinion of his Merit, quickly gave him a ſenſible Mark of his Eſteem, by conferring on him the Dignity of *High-Chancellor*. In the Diſcharge of this eminent Office, *Becket* behav'd towards all the World with ſo much Pride and Haughtineſs, as render'd him extremely troubleſome to his *Equals*, and inſupportable to his *Inferiors*. Above all things, he was a Lover of Pageantry and Show. 'Tis affirm'd that in the War of *Tholouſe*, where he attended the King, he mantain'd at his own Expence 700 *Knights*, and 1200 *Foot*. But if he was haughty to all others, he was not ſo with regard to the King. Upon all Occaſions he ſhow'd himſelf ſo entirely devoted to his Will, that the King look'd upon him as one always ready to ſacrifice every Thing to his Service. Whilſt he was thus prepoſſeſs'd in his Favour, he receiv'd the News, in *Normandy*, of the Death of *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This appearing to him a favourable Juncture for the putting in Execution certain Deſigns he had been ruminating upon, he reſolv'd to procure the Archbiſhoprick for *Becket*, as for a Perſon which might be very ſerviceable to him. How little Inclination ſoever the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*'s had to chooſe *Becket*, whom they thought to be too much a Courtier, the King's Recommendation was ſo urgent in his Behalf, that he was elected and conſecrated a little before that Prince's Return. As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf fix'd in that high Station, he ſent the *Great Seal* to his Benefactor, who little expected any ſuch Thing; and altering on a ſudden his manner of Living, he wore a Habit of coarſe Cloth, and kept only a few Domeſtick Servants

1163. *An Account of him.*

Made High-Chancellor;

Fitz-Steph p. 8.

and Archbiſhop.

Sends the Great-Seal *to the King, and alters his way of Living.*

* Her Name was *Mahauld*, ſaid to be Daughter to a *Saracen*, who had taken *Gilbert* Sheriff of *London*, *Becket*'s Father, Priſoner.

1163. clad very plain. By these and several other Things of the like Nature, he let the World see, that he was resolv'd thoroughly to reform his Life, or that he had some great Design in his Head. 'Twas some Time before his Intentions cou'd be div'd into, till at length, it appear'd, that on all Occasions he was driving at an Independent Power.

The Reason of the King's promoting Becket.

I have already remark'd in several Places, how much the Power of the Clergy was increas'd to the Prejudice of the Royal Authority. *Henry*, who had seen very bad Effects of it in the Reign of *Stephen*, resolv'd upon his Accession to the Crown, to do his Endeavour to bring this exorbitant Power within due Bounds. With this View it was that he began with the *Nobility*, to the end their uniting with the *Clergy* might the less obstruct his Designs. The Affairs which kept him employ'd in *France* for some years, prevented him from immediately setting about this Work. But as soon as he had settled all his Matters, he resolv'd to lose no Time, but forthwith to begin upon it, the moment he return'd to *England*. This was the Reason that he had so earnestly recommended *Becket* to get him elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, because he expected a greater Compliance from him than any other. The Business in hand was the reforming several Abuses which were very detrimental to the *State*, but at the same time advantageous to the *Clergy*, and consequently very difficult to be remedied, unless the Bishops themselves lent their helping Hand. There was need therefore of a great deal of Address, and of acting in Concert with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in so nice an Affair. To that Purpose, it was necessary that *See* shou'd be fill'd with a Person on whom he cou'd depend, and no one seem'd to him so proper as *Becket*, whom he had loaded with Favours. The Archbishop's sending the *Great-Seal* immediately upon his Promotion, made the King imagine, he was mistaken in his Man. Perhaps his Concern at this Proceeding was the Reason he took no Care to keep fair with this haughty Prelate, to whom he cou'd not forbear, at his Return into *England*, to show some Coldness. In all likelihood, *Becket* had been let into the King's Designs,

whilst

whilſt he was *High-Chancellor*; and in the Mind he was then in, had approv'd of them: But after he became Archbiſhop, he was quite another Man. Notwithſtanding the Obligations laid on him by his Prince, he was determin'd to croſs him in the Execution of his Projects; he pleas'd himſelf before-hand with the Thoughts of immortal Glory, for vigorouſly eſpouſing the *Cauſe of the Clergy*, which they generally affected to ſtile the *Cauſe of God*. 1163.

Becket *reſolves to oppoſe the King.*

One of the greateſt *Grievances* which call'd for redreſs, was the Remiſſneſs in puniſhing Prieſts convicted of any Crime. The Clergy having by degrees acquired an abſolute Power over all that belong'd to their *Body*, when a *Clergyman* was accus'd, the Matter was tried in the *Eccleſiaſtical Court*, from whence lay no Appeal; but the *Judgments* given againſt ſuch as they cou'd not but condemn, were ſo very favourable, that the moſt enormous Crimes were puniſh'd only with *Degradation*, and others with a ſhort *Suſpenſion*, or eaſy *Confinement*. The *Laity* cou'd not, without extreme Concern, ſee themſelves ſubject to the utmoſt Rigour of the Laws for Offences, which render'd *Clergymen* liable only to ſome very ſlight Corrections, and accordingly loudly complain'd of it. On the other Hand, the *Clergy*, ſure of going unpuniſh'd, daily committed againſt the *Laity* Outrages, which they durſt not repel for fear of incurring a Puniſhment. This Abuſe, which was already carried to too great a Height, grew worſe and worſe every Day. It was made appear, in the preſence of the King, that ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, there had been above a hundred Murthers committed in the Kingdom by *Eccleſiaſticks*, of whom not one had been puniſh'd ſo much as with *Degradation*, which was the Puniſhment enjoin'd, in the like Caſes, by the *Canons*. What was ſtill more aſtoniſhing, was that the Biſhops gloried in this their Indulgence: They were of Opinion they cou'd not give ſurer Maks of their Zeal for Religion and the Service of God, than by maintaining, to the utmoſt of their Power, theſe pretended

An Abuſe the King propos'd to redreſs.

Immu-

1163. *Immunities* of the *Clergy*, and conſequently, all the Abuſes that ſprung from thence.

The firſt Occaſion of the Quarrel between the King and Becket.

Things ſtanding thus, it happen'd, a little after the King's return, that a *Clergyman* of the *Dioceſe* of *Sarum* committed a Murther. The Matter having been tried in the Archbiſhop's Court, it was decreed, That the Murtherer, as a Puniſhment for his Crime, ſhou'd be depriv'd of his *Benefice*, and confin'd to a Monaſtery. The King having been inform'd of this *Sentence*, very warmly expoſtulated with the Archbiſhop, for puniſhing ſo ſlightly a Crime which was Death by the Laws of the Land. *Becket* receiv'd this Expoſtulation, as if it had been without any manner of Ground, and boldly aſſerted the *Immunities* of the *Church* and *Privileges* of the *Clergy*. He affirm'd, that an *Eccleſiaſtick* ought not to be put to death for any Crime whatever. *Henry* replied, that being appointed by God to cauſe Juſtice to be done to all his Subjects, without diſtinction, he did not underſtand why theſe pretended *Immunities* ſhou'd ſcreen Malefactors, of what Order ſoever, from the Puniſhments they deſerv'd. That there was no Probability God ſhou'd take Pleaſure in authorizing the Crimes of his Miniſters; but on the contrary, that they ought to be puniſh'd more ſeverely than *Laymen*. Laſtly, he declared, that ſince the *Eccleſiaſtical Court* was ſo favourable to *Clergymen*, his Intent was, that heinous Crimes, ſuch as Murther, Robbery, and the like, ſhou'd be tried in his *Courts*. *Becket* made anſwer, he wou'd never allow that the *Clergy* ſhou'd be tried any where but in the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, where Care ſhou'd be taken to puniſh them according to the *Canons*. That in Caſe they ſhou'd be ſentenc'd to be *degraded*, and afterwards ſhould commit other Crimes, the King's Judges might puniſh them as they thought fit; but it was unjuſt to puniſh them twice for the ſame Offence. This Diſpute being carried on with great heat, the King and the Archbiſhop parted extremely diſſatisfied with one another: *Becket* had even ſo little Regard for the King, that without conſidering the Paſſion he had put him into, he took this Opportunity to upbraid him

The King wou'd have the Clergy tried in the Civil Courts. Becket *oppoſes it.*

Hoved.

Another Reaſon of their Conteſt.

for

for having unjuſtly depriv'd him of the Cuſtody of the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, and by that means notoriouſly broke in upon the Privileges of the *See* of *Canterbury*. To theſe Occaſions of Complaint which he gave the King at that Time, he quickly added two others. He ſummon'd the Earl of *Clare* to do him *Homage* for the Caſtle of *Tunbridge*, which he pretended was a *Fief* of the Archbiſhoprick, without having vouchſaf'd to acquaint the King with any thing of the Matter. The Earl anſwer'd, That he held his Caſtle of the King by *Military Service*, with which the Archbiſhoprick had nothing to do. If one may judge by the Temper of *Becket*, his Claim to the Caſtle muſt needs have been very doubtful, ſince he let the Affair drop without puſhing it any farther. Having fail'd in this Attempt, he took Occaſion to extend his Juriſdiction, by *collating* one *Lawrence* a Prieſt to the Rectory of *Ainesford*, without having any Regard to the Patron's Right of *Preſentation*. But the Patron, who was a Baron of the Realm, being unwilling to loſe his Right, hindred *Lawrence* from taking Poſſeſſion of the *Benefice*. The Archbiſhop looking upon this as a heinous Crime, excommunicated the Patron, who applied to the King. As Matters then ſtood with *Henry*, he was extremely nettled at the little Regard the Archbiſhop ſhow'd for him. The Truth is, it had been part of the *Prerogative Royal* ever ſince *William the Conqueror*, That none of the immediate *Vaſſals* of the Crown were to be excommunicated without the King's Knowledge; But this was the very thing that *Becket* deſign'd to ſtrike at. Perhaps he had made this Step purely to have an Opportunity to raiſe this Diſpute. 1163.

Henry was exceedingly vex'd to find himſelf ſo far from the Execution of his Project; he was incens'd to the laſt degree againſt *Becket*, who ſeem'd to make it his Buſineſs to croſs him upon all Occaſions, and to diſpute even his very *Prerogatives*: And therefore, he reſolv'd to take new Meaſures to compaſs his Ends. He was ſenſible, 'twou'd be in vain to expect any Compliance from the Clergy, as long as the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſo openly oppos'd him. Henry *ſets about reducing the Power of the Clergy within due Bounds.*

1163. him. However, not to be over-hasty in Matters, he was willing to try first what fair Means wou'd do. He order'd the Archbishop to be put in Mind of the many Favours he had receiv'd from his Sovereign, and the Mischiefs his Obstinacy was going in all probability to bring on the *Church* and Kingdom. But these Remonstrances proving of no effect, he found himself oblig'd to search for the Means of doing, in spite of the Archbishop, what he had resolv'd to bring about by his help. So far was *Becket*'s Opposition from causing him to alter his Mind, that it made him the more eager and desirous to reduce the Power of the *Clergy* within its just Bounds.

He convenes the Lords,

To this purpose he conven'd the principal Lords of the Kingdom, as well *Spiritual* as *Temporal*, in order to consult about the Means of redressing the *Grievances* that had been introduc'd into the *State*. When they were met,

and complains of Becket.

he complain'd to them of the Proceedings of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He endeavour'd to make them sensible, that in case Care was not taken to curb the Fury of that Prelate's haughty and arrogant Temper, he wou'd at length usurp all the *Prerogatives* of the Crown, under the Pretence of *Religion*. He added, that the Steps the Archbishop had already made, were plain Indications of his Designs; and that they cou'd not be too speedy in preventing them. The Majority of the *Temporal* Lords, among whom there were few but what were offended at *Becket*'s Haughtiness, were not displeas'd at having an Opportunity to humble him. Besides, they desired nothing more than to have it in their Power to clip the Wings of the *Clergy*, who were upon all Occasions for soaring above the rest of the Nation. The King perceiving them in this Temper, propos'd a *Regulation*, which he assur'd them was absolutely necessary for the Preservation of *good Order* and *Tranquillity* in the Kingdom.

He proposes five Articles to be enacted into a Law.

This *Regulation* consisted of five Articles, which the King call'd the Customs of *Henry* I. his Grand-father, because they had been observ'd in the Reign of that Prince. The I. was, That no one should appeal to *Rome* without the King's Consent. II. That no Archbishop or Bishop

shou'd

ſhou'd go to *Rome*, tho' even ſummon'd by the Pope, without the King's leave firſt had and obtain'd. III. That no immediate *Vaſſal* of the Crown, or King's Officer, ſhou'd be excommunicated or ſubjected without the King's Knowledge. IV. That all *Clergymen* charg'd with Capital Crimes, ſhou'd be tried in the King's Courts. V. That ſuch *Eccleſiaſtical* Affairs, as all the Nation ſhou'd be concern'd in, as the Repairing of Churches, Tithes, and the like, ſhou'd be decided in the *Civil* Courts. 1163.

The Biſhops try to inſert a Clauſe to render them of no Effect.

Theſe Articles were approv'd of without any Difficulty by the *Temporal* Lords; but the Biſhops and Abbots refus'd to ſubſcribe them, unleſs this *Clauſe*, which render'd them of no Effect, was added, *Saving the Rights and Privileges of the* Clergy *and* Church. The King, provok'd at their Refuſal, ſuddenly quitted the Aſſembly, and went to *Woodſtock*, after he had however given the Chief among the *Clergy* to underſtand, that he wou'd take effectual Meaſures to ſet bounds to their Pride. The Prelates were ſo terrified at this Threat, that before they broke up, they reſolv'd to ſend Deputies to the King to beg his Pardon, and aſſure him, they were ready to comply with his Will. *Becket* ſtood out a good while againſt this Reſolution: But at laſt, preſs'd by his Brethren, he yielded to their Importunity, and conſented that the *Articles* ſhou'd be admitted without the *Saving Clauſe*. All thoſe that he had gain'd to his Side, following his Example, a Deputation was made, with which the King ſeem'd highly ſatisfied, and the rather becauſe it was done with unanimous Conſent. However, fearing *Becket* might fly from what he had done, on pretence that this *Convention* had not Authority enough to enact Laws of this kind, he reſolv'd to get them ratified by an *Aſſembly-General*, or *Parliament*. To this end he conven'd a *Parliament* at *Clarendon*, and propounded the ſame *Articles* that had been ſubſcribed by the former *Convention*: All the *Laics* having voted their Confirmation, the Prelates durſt not openly oppoſe it: But when they came to ſign, *Becket* and his Party made ſome Scruple to do it; and 'twas not without a great deal of Difficulty, that he was prevail'd upon

The King threatens them.

They ſubmit.

Diceto. Fitz-Ste. Newb.

Parliament at Clarendon

1163. upon to comply at the Inſtances of the other Biſhops *.

The Pope condemns the Articles.

How much ſoever againſt his Will the Archbiſhop had ſubſcribed the *Articles*, the King was highly delighted with it. He did not queſtion in the leaſt but that the Pope wou'd conſent to Laws which the Biſhops themſelves had deem'd neceſſary. In this Belief he reſolv'd to get them confirm'd by a *Bull*, in order to take from the Prelates all pretence of Recanting; but upon ſeeing the *Articles*, the Pope not only refus'd to give them the Sanction of his Authority, but even condemn'd them as very prejudicial to the *Church*, and deſtructive of her *Privileges*. Shortly after, *Becket* openly declar'd he repented of having ſigned the *Conſtitutions* of *Clarendon*; and that he thought himſelf guilty of ſo heinous a Crime in doing it, that he had nothing to truſt to for Pardon but the Pope's Mercy. Accordingly he ſuſpended himſelf as unworthy to perform the *Archiepiſcopal* Functions till the Pope ſhou'd be pleas'd to abſolve him. His Pardon having been quickly ſent him, he officiated again in his Church, after the Pope had given him his Word to ſtand by him. However *Alexander*, who was ſtill in *France*, willing to make *Henry* believe he had a mind to keep fair with him, ſent the Archbiſhop of *Roan* to him with Propoſals of an Accommodation; but as he had nothing poſitive to offer, and as the King wou'd not hearken to any Propoſal, unleſs the Pope wou'd confirm the *Articles* of *Clarendon*, there was no poſſibility of bringing Matters to a Concluſion.

Becket repents of his Signing.

The King proſecutes Becket.

When the King found that the Archbiſhop, elated at the Pope's Promiſe to protect him, became every Day more ſtiff and obſtinate, he endeavour'd by all manner of means

* The Laws made in this Aſſembly are ca'll'd the *Conſtitutions of Clarendon*, and are well worth peruſing, becauſe they contain the chief *Prerogatives* and *Privileges* that were claim'd as well by the *King* as the *Clergy*. They are divided into ſixteen Articles, of which Ten were voided by the Pope. The Reader may find them in *Gervaſe*'s Chronicle, and in *Matthew Paris*, from whence they are tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Tirrel*, Vol. II. B. 5. and in *Collier* Eccl. Hiſt. p. 351.

means to humble him. To this end he involv'd him in Troubles, which indeed gave him a great deal of Vexation, but were incapable of bringing him to a Compliance. Among ſeveral Actions that were enter'd againſt him, there were two of Moment: The firſt related to a certain *Manor* which he was in poſſeſſion of, and which [*John* the King's *Marſchal*] pretended was unjuſtly detain'd from him. The Archbiſhop having ſtood a Trial, was caſt and condemn'd to pay a Fine of 500 Pounds. This *Sentence* convinc'd him that they were reſolv'd to be as vexatious to him as poſſible; and that he ſhou'd loſe all the *Suits* that were commenc'd againſt him. In this Belief he came to a Reſolution to plead to none of them, chuſing rather to be caſt for Non-appearance, than by a peremptory Decree. The King ſeem'd hitherto not to intend to make him feel the whole Weight of his Reſentment; but ſoon after it appear'd that his deſign was to ſtrike him home. To this purpoſe he order'd him to be accus'd of two *Capital* Crimes: The firſt was, for having converted to his own Uſe the Revenues of the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, of which he had the Cuſtody during his Chancellorſhip. In the ſecond, he was charg'd with having imbezell'd 30000 Pound Sterling of the King's Money. Inſtead of clearing himſelf from what was alledg'd againſt him, he anſwer'd, That when he was made Archbiſhop, Prince *Henry* the King's Son, and the *Juſticiary*, had diſcharg'd him from giving any Account. He added, that ſuppoſing he had not been diſcharged, he was not bound to anſwer before *Laymen*, ſeeing he was inveſted with the firſt *Eccleſiaſtical* Dignity in the Kingdom. The former part of his Anſwer, certainly laid him open very much, ſince the Prince, from whom he had his Diſcharge, was not above 7 or 8 Years old, tho' he had the Title of *Guardian of the Realm* in the Abſence of the King his Father. Beſides, one wou'd think that a Perſon of his Character ſhou'd be always ready to render an Account of his Adminiſtration, both with Regard to the Profits of the *vacant Benefices*, and the King's Treaſure, tho' out of too much Complaiſance thoſe that were at the Head

1163.

Gervaſe.

Becket *refuſes to plead.*

1163. of Affairs, had dispens'd with it. As for the latter part of his Answer, he himself had taken away the Benefit of that *Plea*, by signing the *Articles of Clarendon*. But to this he replied, That the Pope having condemn'd these *Articles*, his *Sentence* was of greater Force than all the Laws of the Land. How proper soever that Reply might be to gain the Pope's Favour, it cou'd stand him in no stead in the King's Court, where *Judgment* was to be given pursuant to the said *Articles* pass'd into a Law. He was therefore look'd upon not only as a contumacious Person, but moreover as a Rebel that rose up against the Authority of Laws. All possible Endeavours were us'd to get him to own the Jurisdiction of the Court, where his Affair was brought; but there was no persuading him to that. He even refus'd to wait on the King, who had sent for him to try whether, by discoursing with him in Person, he could bring him to some Temper.

He refuses to go to the King.

This Refusal furnish'd the King with a Pretence to bring against him two fresh Accusations: First, for having fled from Justice. Secondly, for having disobey'd the King's Orders. Upon these Charges, to which he wou'd not Plead, all his *Moveable Goods* were confiscated. How severe soever this *Sentence* might be, the King wou'd not stop here. Having perceived that the *Indictment* was so form'd that the *Court* cou'd not come upon *Becket*'s Person, he order'd him to be accus'd of *Perjury* and *Treason*, for having violated the Oath he had taken to his Sovereign, and refus'd to pay the Obedience due to him. The Archbishop was thoroughly satisfied then, that the King was bent upon his Ruin: But his being satisfied of this, instead of inducing him to submit, serv'd only to make him sit the faster in his Obstinacy. Perhaps the natural Haughtiness and Stiffness of his Temper wou'd not suffer him to bend; or rather, he was resolv'd to render himself famous, by a Firmness, which in his Opinion, ought to rank him among the most renowned Confessors in the *Church*. When 'twas found there was no probability of prevailing upon him, the *Court* declar'd him *perjur'd*, and the Bishops in particular sent him Word, that

He is charg'd with two fresh Crimes.

His Goods are confiscated.

Charg'd with Perjury and Treason.

The Court declares him Perjur'd.

that they conſider'd him not as their *Primate*, neither wou'd they hold *Communion* with him any longer. All this not moving him in the leaſt, he look'd upon the *Sentence* paſs'd upon him as *void*, and continued his *Functions*, without troubling himſelf about the King's Diſpleaſure. 1163.

It ſeems as if the Barons had avoided giving Sentence on the Charge of Treaſon, which would have been puniſhable with Death, on purpoſe to leave him a Hole to creep out at by ſubmitting to the King's Will. But finding he was ſtill the ſame Man, the *Court* met once more to think of the means to ſubdue his Perverſeneſs. As ſoon as he was inform'd that the Barons were aſſembled in the Preſence of the King, he went to Church, and order'd theſe Words of the ſecond *Pſalm* to be ſung: *The Rulers take Counſel together againſt the Lord, and againſt his Anointed.* Then taking his *Croſs* in his Hand, he enter'd the Room where the King and the Barons were ſitting, without being ſent to, or asking Leave, tho' ſince the *Judgment* paſs'd upon him, he had no right to be there. The Archbiſhop of *York* ſeeing him enter in that Poſture, ſeverely reprimanded him. He told him, that coming into the Royal Preſence in that manner was bidding Defiance to the King, and bid him conſider that his Sovereign's Weapon was ſharper than his. *Becket* replied, *It was true, the King's Weapon cou'd kill the Body, but his deſtroy'd the Soul and ſent it to Hell.* This Anſwer, which ſeem'd to threaten the King with *Excommunication*, ſo provok'd that Monarch, that he order'd the Barons to paſs Sentence forthwith on the Crime *Becket* had juſt then incurr'd the Guilt of by his Preſumption. The *Court*, after a pretty long Debate, declar'd that he deſerv'd to be committed to Priſon and puniſh'd according to Law, for inſulting the King, and coming into the *Aſſembly* in ſuch a manner as might raiſe a Sedition among the People. This being reſolv'd, the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Cornwall* were ſent to ſummon him to appear and hear his *Sentence*: But he refus'd to come, declaring that the *Peers* had no Authority to judge him, and that he appeal'd to the Pope. The two

Hoved. p. 283.

He is condemn'd to Impriſonment.

1163. two Earls having repreſented to him, that by refuſing to ſubmit to the Laws of the Realm, he incurr'd the Guilt of Treaſon; he replied, That were it not for the Reſtraints of his *Character*, he wou'd vindicate himſelf in ſingle Combat againſt Thoſe that ſhou'd charge him with that Crime, and make them repent of their Calumny. However he did not think proper to wait the Iſſue, but privately made off that very Night in Diſguiſe, in order to retire into *Flanders*, going by the Name of *Dereman*.

Gervaſe.

Goes into Flanders *in Diſguiſe*.

1164. The King of *France* gladly receiv'd the news, that there was no Likelihood of Matters being made up between *Henry* and the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*. He was in hopes that *Becket* being ſupported wou'd imbroil his Sovereign in Troubles, of which *France* might make an Advantage. With this View, he ſent him an Offer of his Protection, and of a Refuge in his Dominions. *Henry* having been inform'd of what *Lewis* had done, ſent Ambaſſadors to repreſent to him, that it was very unbecoming in a Sovereign to ſhelter Perſons guilty of High-Treaſon. *Lewis* made anſwer, That he cou'd not diſpenſe with affording a *Sanctuary* in his Kingdom to the *Unfortunate*: that *Becket* was of that Number, and he cou'd not but conſider him as ſuch, till the Pope had paſs'd *Sentence* upon him. 'Twas thus that Jealouſy and State-Policy induc'd that Prince to inſiſt on the Pope's Authority in a Thing ſo prejudicial to all Sovereigns in general. His Paſſion prevented him from reflecting that in this Affair he cou'd not wound *Henry* but thro' his own Sides. But his extreme Deſire to involve the King of *England* in Troubles made him overlook all Conſiderations. He was not content with ſheltering the fugitive Prelate, but even importun'd the Pope to eſpouſe his Cauſe, and turn'd Sollicitor againſt *Henry*, whoſe Intereſts, in good Policy, he ought to have maintain'd.

The King of France *protects him.* Diceto. Gervaſe.

Stirs up the Pope againſt Henry.

There was no need of much Entreaty to gain the Pope. He was of himſelf ſenſible enough, that a favourable Opportunity offer'd to enlarge his Authority. Beſides, he was apprehenſive that, in Caſe he deſerted the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he ſhou'd find none, among the *Clergy*, that

that wou'd, for the future, ſtand by the *Rights* of the *Church*. So that the Downfal of that Prelate cou'd not but prove very fatal to the Intereſts of the *Clergy*. As ſoon as he heard that *Becket* was condemn'd, and forc'd to fly like a Criminal, he fell out into a great Paſſion againſt *Henry* and the Barons of *England*, and threaten'd to make them repent of their raſh Proceedings. In the mean Time, *Henry*, in hopes of being able to prepoſſeſs the Pope in his Favour, had ſent Ambaſſadours to inform him of all Particulars, and to deſire him to ſend *Legates* to *England* with full *Powers* finally to decide the Affair. The Archbiſhop of *York*, who was at the Head of this Embaſſy, ſpoke with great Vehemence againſt *Becket*. He charg'd him with want of Reſpect to the King, and of having menac'd him with Excommunication. He maintain'd that the Archbiſhop was guilty of Rebellion, in refuſing to ſtand to the Judgment of the *Court* of Barons, under the ridiculous Pretence, that he was their *Father*, and that it was againſt Decency, for a *Father* to be judg'd by his *Sons*. *Becket*, who was preſent at this Audience, ſpoke likewiſe for himſelf, and endeavour'd to juſtify his Conduct. He ſaid in the firſt Place, that he cou'd not be oblig'd to anſwer in a *Civil Court*, without a direct Violation of the *Canons* of the *Church*. *Secondly*, Suppoſing he had thought proper to own the Authority of the Court, he ſhou'd have been prevented from ſtanding to their *Judgment* by his certain Knowledge of their Reſolution to condemn him. *Laſtly*, He declar'd he cou'd not ſee wherein he had done amiſs in appealing to the Pope; ſince it cou'd not be denied but that he was the proper *Judge*, from whom he expected an impartial *Sentence*. Then addreſſing himſelf to the *Pope* and *Cardinals*, he intreated them to conſider the dangerous Conſequences this Affair might be attended with, if they ſuffer'd him to be oppreſs'd: That they were not to look upon this Buſineſs as a Conteſt between a Subject and his Sovereign, but as the Cauſe of the *Univerſal Church*, ſince 'twas certain that the King's Intent was to ſtrip the *Clergy* of their Privileges. The Ambaſſadors perceiving by this Diſcourſe that his Driſt was to engage the

1164.

Henry *ſends an Embaſſy to the Pope.*

Becket *accus'd.*

He defends himſelf.

Tries to engage the whole Church in his Quarrel.

1164. *The Ambaſſadors deſire* Legates *may be ſent to decide the Matter.*

the whole *Church* in his Quarrel, took occaſion from thence, to inſiſt the more earneſtly on the King's Requeſt, that the Affair might be tried in *England* by the *Legates* of the *Holy See*. By which they made it appear that the King their Maſter had no Deſign againſt the *Church*, ſince he was willing to abide by her *Judgment*. This Demand ſeem'd ſo reaſonable, that the Pope had no other way to ſhift it off, than by ſaying, he wou'd take *Cogniſance* of the Matter Himſelf: adding by way of juſtifying his Reſolution, that, in Imitation of the *Almighty*, *he wou'd not give his Glory to another*. The Reaſon why the Pope declin'd ſending *Legates*, was his Dread of their ſuffering themſelves to be bribed. In the mean while, he put off the Trial to a more convenient Seaſon. The Truth is, the preſent Conjuncture was ſuch, that he had not the Leiſure to go thro' with a *Cauſe* which requir'd ſo much Time to diſcuſs. He was on fire to be at *Rome*, whither he was recall'd upon the Death of *Victor* his Rival. However the *Schiſm* was ſtill kept on Foot, by the *Cardinals* of the oppoſite Party electing another Pope, who aſſum'd the Name of *Paſchal* III.

The Pope refuſes, and why?

Hoved. p. 284.

The Pope ſent for to Rome.

1165. Henry's *Proceedings againſt the Pope, and* Becket. Gervaſe. Hoved.

Henry being exceedingly incens'd at *Alexander*'s Proceedings, as a Mark of his Reſentment he forbid under the ſevereſt Penalties all *Appeals* to *Rome*. This Prohibition was quickly follow'd by an expreſs Order to commit to Priſon all the Relations of Thoſe that had accompanied *Becket* in his Flight, or that were gone to join him ſince his Departure. After This, he ſequeſtred, in the Hands of the Biſhop of *London*, the *Means* of all the *Eccleſiaſticks* that had openly ſided with the Archbiſhop in order to tie up their Hands from aſſiſting him. Moreover he injoin'd the Magiſtrates to puniſh upon the Spot, as Traytors, all Perſons that ſhou'd be taken either with the *Pope*'s or *Becket*'s *Letters* or *Mandates* about them, importing the *Excommunication* of any private Perſon, or an *Interdict* upon the Kingdom. He order'd likewiſe the Revenues of the *See* of *Canterbury* to be ſeiz'd, and all the Archbiſhop's Effects. *Laſtly*, Not content with forbidding all Perſons to pray for him in the Church, he baniſh'd all his Relations, not ſparing even the moſt diſtant.

These rigorous Proceedings serv'd only to exasperate the Archbishop the more, who, on his Part, excommunicated all that adher'd to the *Constitutions* of *Clarendon*, and particularly some of the Lords of the *Council*, who however made but a Jest of his *Censures*. At length, finding the King was bent to maintain his Ground, he took the Liberty to send him a threatning Letter, which it will not be amiss to insert here, as a Piece very proper to discover the *Character* of that Prelate. 1166. Becket *excommunicates the Lords of the Council.* Fitz-Step. Diceto.

THOMAS *Archbishop of* CANTERBURY, *To the* KING *of* ENGLAND.

His Letter to the King.

" I Have most earnestly desir'd to see you; and altho' I " can't deny but that in This I had a view to my own, " yet was it your Interest, that lay nearest my Heart. I " was in Hopes that when you shou'd see me again, you " wou'd call to mind the many Services I have done you, " with all imaginable Regard and Affection. For the " Truth of which I appeal to Him who is to judge all " Mankind, when they shall appear before his Tribunal " to be rewarded according to their Deeds. I flatter'd my " self that you wou'd be mov'd with Compassion towards " me, who am forc'd to beg my Bread in a strange Land, " tho' by the Grace of God, I have plenty of all things " necessary for my Subsistence. I receive however great " Consolation from the Words of the Apostle, *They that* " *live in Christ shall suffer Persecution*, and likewise from " that Saying of the Prophet, *I never saw the Righteous* " *forsaken, nor his Seed begging their Bread.* As to what " relates to you, I cannot but be sensibly affected with it, " for three Reasons. *First*, because you are my *Liege-* " *Lord: Secondly*, because you are my *King: Thirdly*, " because you are my *Spiritual Son.* As my *Liege-Lord*, " I owe and offer you my best Advice, such however as is " due from a Bishop, *Saving the Honour of God and of the*

1166. " *Head of the Church.* As *my King*, I owe you a pro-
" found Reſpect, and at the ſame Time, am bound to di-
" rect my Admonitions to you. As my Son, 'tis my
" Duty to correct and exhort you. *Kings* are anointed in
" three Places, the *Head*, the *Breaſt* and the *Arms*, the
" which denote, *Glory*. *Holineſs*, and *Power*. We find,
" from ſeveral Inſtances taken from the *Scriptures*, that the
" Kings, who deſpis'd the Commandments of the Lord,
" were depriv'd of *Glory*, *Underſtanding*, and *Might*:
" Such were *Pharaoh*, *Saul*, *Solomon*, *Nebuchadnezzar*
" and many others. On the contrary, They that hum-
" bled themſelves before God receiv'd a larger Meaſure of
" Grace and in greater Perfection. This was experienced
" by *David*, *Hezekiah* and ſome others. Take therefore,
" *my Liege-Lord*, the Advice of your *Vaſſal*: Hearken,
" *my King*, to the Admonitions of your Biſhop, and re-
" ceive, *my Son*, the Corrections of your Father, leaſt
" you are drawn aſide into *Schiſm*, or perſwaded to hold
" *Communion* with *Schiſmaticks*. All the World knows
" with what Honour and Devotion you receiv'd the Pope,
" how reſpectfully and zealouſly you protected the
" *Church of Rome*, and what ſuitable Returns the
" *Church* and *Pope* have made you. Remember therefore
" the Declaration you made, and even laid upon the Altar
" at your Coronation, to protect the *Church* of God in
" all her *Immunities*. Reſtore the Church of *Canterbury*,
" from which you receiv'd your Authority, to the State
" it was in under your Predeceſſors and mine: Otherwiſe
" be aſſur'd that you will draw down on your Head the
" Wrath and Vengeance of God.

This Letter was hardly capable of appeaſing the incenſed King. And truly, 'tis no eaſy Matter to believe, that the Writer thought it proper for that End, or that he penn'd it with that Intent. In the mean time, *Henry*, knowing that the King of *France* fomented the Diſ-union between him and the Court of *Rome*, by his offering to ſtand by the Pope, had a mind to let his *Holineſs* ſee on how weak a Support he relied in Caſe Things came to an open

Henry ſcreens himſelf from the Attacks of the Pope.

open Rupture. To this End, he levied a numerous Army, as well to prevent any Revolt the Pope might ſtir up in his Dominions, as to be in a Condition to oppoſe the King of *France* in Caſe of an Attack. This Precaution hindred no doubt *Alexander* from proceeding ſo vigorouſly as he intended, and made him perceive the Danger of precipitating Matters. The Truth is, a Prince back'd with a ſtrong Army has it always in his Power to render himſelf formidable to Thoſe who have none but *ſpiritual Weapons* to brandiſh. In the *Interim*, the Biſhop of *London* and the Reſt of the *Suffragans* of the *Province* of *Canterbury* wrote to the Archbiſhop on account of his Letter to the King, and remonſtrated to him the Pride he had ſhewn in writing to his Sovereign without the Cuſtomary *Salutations*, as if he had written to an Inferior. They repreſented to him moreover the mean Eſtate from whence the King had rais'd him to ſuch Grandeur, his Ingratitude to a Prince, whom he was ſo much indebted to, and his Arrogance in daring to threaten a Monarch ſo far exalted above him. In fine, they gave him notice that they appeal'd to the Pope, as a Remedy againſt whatever he ſhou'd act for the future, againſt them or the Kingdom, and appointed *Aſcenſion-Day*, for the producing the Reaſons of their *Appeal*.

1166.

Letter of his Suffragans *to* Becket. Hoved. p. 292.

They appeal to the Pope.

The Army, the King had on Foot in *England*, made the Pope look about him. He was afraid, that *Henry* wou'd at length enter into Alliance with the Emperor, and that in Caſe he did ſo, the King of *France* wou'd not be able, or at leaſt willing, to protect him. This Conſideration made him think his beſt way wou'd be to try to divert *Henry* from any ſuch Thoughts, by putting him in Hopes, the Difference wou'd ſpeedily be made up to his Advantage. Accordingly, when *Henry* leaſt expected it, *Alexander* appointed *Legates* to go and decide the Affair in *England*, and order'd them to depart forthwith. He greatly magnified to the King this Piece of Condeſcenſion. But the *Legates* were hardly ſet out, when he clogg'd the *Powers* he had given them with Reſtrictions, that tied up their Hands from giving a *Deciſive Sentence*. The *Legates*

The Pope amuſes the King with ſending Legates.

1166. being arriv'd at *London*, and ſetting about the Buſineſs they were come upon, a freſh Obſtacle unexpectedly occurr'd. *Becket* refus'd to put his Cauſe into their Hands, unleſs the King wou'd firſt reſtore all that He had taken from Him or his Friends. He further inſiſted upon a general Revocation of all the *Orders* he had given ſince the Beginning of the Conteſt; that is, in a Word, that he wou'd condemn himſelf Before-hand. This is a clear Evidence, that the *Legates* had not *full Powers* to decide the Matter, ſince the Archbiſhop's Refuſal to ſtand to their *Judgment*, without theſe Conditions, was ſufficient to ſtop their Proceedings. Accordingly 'twas no hard Matter for the King to ſee that the Pope intended only to amuſe him. In the mean time, *Becket*'s Friends, dreading the King wou'd go to Extremities, adviſed him to give his Sovereign ſome Satisfaction. He told them he was ready to comply with the King's Will, provided it was conſiſtent with *his Honour, the Church's Poſſeſſions, his own, and the Right of Others*. So many *Reſervations* muſt needs have made them ſenſible that he was not inclinable in the leaſt to relax. However theſe ſame Friends, who had ſo good an Opinion of him as to believe he was willing to ſacrifice his private Intereſts to the *Church*'s Peace, made him another Propoſal. They put the Queſtion to him, whether he wou'd agree to reſign the Archbiſhoprick, in Caſe the King wou'd, upon that Condition, give up the *Articles of Clarendon*. But they did not find him at all inclin'd to give that Proof of his Diſintereſtedneſs. He plainly told them, that wou'd not be acting upon the *Square*; ſince he cou'd not renounce his Dignity without betraying the Cauſe of God and of the *Church*; whereas the King was bound in Conſcience to annull his *new* Laws. This Reply, and the limited *Powers* the Pope had given his *Legates*, entirely cut off all the King's Hopes, and put him upon the Reſolution of creating the Archbiſhop as much Trouble as 'twas poſſible. With this View he ſent Word to the Abbot of *Pontigni*, who for two Years entertain'd *Becket* in his Monaſtery, that unleſs he caus'd him to go from thence forthwith, he would drive out of his Dominions all the Monks of

Becket refuſes to ſtand to their Sentence.

They try in vain to make up Matters.

Becket *is inflexible.*

The King threatens the Abbot of Pontigni *upon* Becket's *Account.*

Diceto.

of his Order *, and ſeize upon their Eſtates. Upon this *Becket* was forc'd to quit the Abby; but 'twas not long before he met with another Place of Refuge. The King of *France* admitted him into *Sens*, where he often reſided, and handſomely accommodated him with all Things neceſſary: His frequent Converſations with that Monarch, were a great means of increaſing the Jealouſy and Animoſity he had already entertain'd againſt *Henry*. 1166. Diceto.

Towards the latter end of this Year Queen *Eleanor* was deliver'd of a fourth Son, who was call'd *John*. The Birth of this Prince was quickly follow'd by the Death of the Empreſs *Matilda*, Mother to the King, in the 67th Year of her Age *1. She left in her *Will* very conſiderable *Legacies* to the *Poor* and the *Churches*, and bequeath'd a large Sum for the finiſhing the Bridge at *Roan* which ſhe had begun. *Prince* John *born*. 1167. Matilda. Diceto. Paris.

Hitherto the Pope and Archbiſhop had but little Reaſon to boaſt of the Succeſs of their Controverſy with *Henry*. *Becket*, depriv'd of his Revenues, languiſh'd away his Days in a melancholly Exile, whilſt the Pope receiv'd no Profits from *England*. His *Holineſs* eaſily foreſaw that if things remain'd in this paſs, his Authority wou'd be in danger of being trod upon, not only in *England*, but in other parts of *Chriſtendom*. Beſides, he was of an exceeding proud and haughty Temper. This is the ſame *Alexander* that ſome Years after treated ſo ſhamefully the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa* at *Venice* *2. There was no Hopes therefore, that a Pope of his Character wou'd ſuffer the King to carry the Day without long and violent Struggles. Accordingly, as ſoon as his Affairs were ſomewhat ſettled, he fell in good earneſt upon thinking how to end this Conteſt to his own Advantage. To begin making the King uneaſy, he ſhow'd an extraordinary Regard for *Becket*, and confirm'd to him all the Pri- *The Pope ſhows a great Regard for* Becket.

* Ciſtercians.

*1 She was buried at *Roan*, in the Abby of St. *Mary de Prez*.

*2 He was the 19th Emperor of *Germany* from *Charles the Great*: Upon a Quarrel with *Alexander*, he was excommunicated, and at length forc'd to ſubmit to the Pope, who inſolently trod on his Neck.

1167. Privileges his Predeceſſors had enjoy'd, affecting by this unſeaſonable and ill-tim'd Reſpect to inſult the King. The Truth is, there was no manner of occaſion of making this Step, whilſt the Archbiſhop was in Exile, and out of Favour with his Sovereign. *Henry*, willing to be even with him, caus'd a Rumour to be ſpread that he was going to withdraw his Obedience from *Alexander*, and recognize *Paſchal* III. He even went ſo far as to write to ſome of the Princes of *Germany*, to acquaint them that he was juſt upon the point of taking this Reſolution. And indeed, if the Matter had lain in his own Breaſt, 'tis very likely he wou'd have done it without any farther Conſideration; but 'twould have been no eaſy thing to bring the Nation to it, and eſpecially the *Clergy*. He had but very few Biſhops on his Side; all the reſt of the *Clergy* were for the *Pope* and *Becket* in their Hearts, tho' fear kept them from ſhowing it openly. *Alexander*, knowing their Inclinations, was the more ſtout and arrogant, and expreſs'd leſs Regard for the King than he wou'd have done doubtleſs, had he been apprehenſive of any Oppoſition from that Quarter. To let the King ſee that his Threats made no Impreſſion on him, he ſent a Letter to the Biſhop of *London*, wherein he ſeem'd willing to throw off all Regard for that Prince. He commanded the Biſhop boldly to admoniſh him, and to enjoin him, from him, to reſtore the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to his *See*, and annull the *Conſtitutions of Clarendon*. The Biſhop diſcharged his Commiſſion, tho' not in ſo imperious a manner as the Pope had order'd him; and after he had done, he ſent his *Holineſs* an Anſwer, wherein he repreſented to him that the King had made no Innovations, but only trod in the Steps of his Predeceſſors; that his Conduct cou'd not in Reaſon be blam'd, ſince he offer'd to ſubmit to the *Judgment* of the *Church*, provided the Affair might be tried in the Kingdom.

Henry *threatens to own* Paſchal *for Pope.*

The Pope deſpiſes his Threats, and ſends to the Biſhop of London *to admoniſh him.* Hoved. *The Biſhop's Anſwer to the Pope.* Hoved.

1168. How much ſoever the King might have the better on't hitherto, he wanted to clear his Hands of this troubleſome Buſineſs, which obſtructed the Execution of the Deſign he had form'd of conquering *Ireland*. Beſides, he

Conference between the King and Becket *before the King of* France.

he foreſaw that this Diſpute wou'd, in the long run, turn to his Diſadvantage; and be very prejudicial to the Nation. In this Belief, he deſir'd the King of *France* to appoint a Place where they Two might have an Interview with the Archbiſhop, in order to hear what he had to ſay for himſelf. *Lewis* having agreed to this Requeſt, *Becket* appear'd before the two Kings, and very boldly made his Defence. After which, being ask'd whether he wou'd own that he was bound to obey his Sovereign, he made anſwer, he was ready to pay Obedience to him in all Things, *Saving the Honour of God.* How reaſonable ſoever this Reſervation might appear, *Henry* look'd upon it as an Evaſion. He told the King of *France*, what *Becket* ſeem'd to promiſe was juſt nothing at all; ſince, by this *Saving Clauſe*, he reſerv'd a Power to pronounce whatever he ſhou'd not reliſh, contrary to the *Honour of God:* But, continued he, I ſhall make him this Offer, which cannot be ſuſpected of having a double Meaning: *There have been in* England *Kings not ſo Powerful as My-ſelf, and Archbiſhops that have been Great and Holy Men; Let him but pay me the ſame Regard as the* Greateſt *of his Predeceſſors paid the* Leaſt *of Mine, and I am ſatisfied.* This was not what *Becket* wanted; that he knew very well it wou'd be a hard matter to juſtify his Claims by any former *Precedents.* Accordingly he rejected the Offer, on pretence that as the Affair was now before the Pope, he cou'd agree to nothing without his Conſent. How great Partiality ſoever the King of *France* had all along ſhown for *Becket*, he cou'd not help owning, on this Occaſion, that the Archbiſhop's Obſtinacy was the ſole Obſtacle to a Peace. This Confeſſion was very ſerviceable to *Henry*, as it quaſh'd, in a good meaſure, the Report that had been ſo induſtriouſly ſpread abroad of his deſigning to aboliſh, in *England*, the *Privileges* of the *Clergy*. However it made no Impreſſion upon *Becket*, as well knowing the Pope was too much intereſted, and too deeply ingag'd in the Matter ever to draw back.

1168.

Diceto.

1169. Becket *excommunicates the* English *Priests.* Paris. Diceto. Gervas.

It plainly appear'd *Becket* was not mistaken, since quickly after, *Alexander* sent the King Notice that he cou'd not dispense with granting the Archbishop a Power to revenge with the Sword of *Excommunication*, the Injuries done to the Church and his own Person. As soon as *Becket* had the Pope's leave, he thunder'd out *Anathema's* against such Numbers of the *Clergy*, that there were hardly enough left unexcommunicated to officiate in the King's Chapel: Altho' the *Majority* were inclin'd to favour the *Cause* he maintain'd, yet was he not content therewith, but charged them with shameful Prevarication, in not openly espousing his Quarrel. *Henry*, provok'd at these Proceedings, appeal'd to a future *Council*, and sent the Pope Word, that unless he forthwith dispatch'd *Legates* with *full Powers* to decide the Affair, he shou'd take such Measures as wou'd not be very pleasing to him. This Menace threw *Alexander* into great *Perplexity*, because he cou'd not forbear being apprehensive of an Alliance between the King and the Emperor. On the other hand, he was so deeply ingag'd to maintain the *pretended Rights* of the *Church*, that he cou'd not desist without great prejudice to the *Holy See*. In this Case, he had recourse to the usual Methods which the Court of *Rome* ever practices with Success on the like Occasions: He made as if he was willing the Affair shou'd be tried in *England*; and accordingly, to make *Henry* swallow the *Bait* the more easily, he order'd the *Legates* to set forward, who met the King in *Normandy*. But as they were getting ready to go to him, they receiv'd fresh Instructions whereby they were expresly forbid to give a *decisive Sentence* without acquainting the Archbishop of *Sens* with it. This was enough to blast all Hopes of a sudden Peace, no one being more averse to it than that Prelate.

Henry *threatens the Pope, which puts him in great Perplexity.* Act. Pub. T. 1. p. 25.

He sends Legates. Diceto.

And sends them new Instructions.

Another Conference between the King and Becket *to no purpose.*

Some time after, the Pope willing to keep *Henry* still in the Belief that Matters might be amicably made up, desir'd the two Kings of *England* and *France* to consider of means to put an End to the Dispute. Upon this, *Henry* being come to *Paris*, *Becket* was order'd to appear once more before the two Princes. This Conference, which

which was design'd purely to amuse *Henry*, succeeded no better than the former. The Archbishop, without giving up the least Point, still insisted upon it, that before a Treaty was begun, the King ought to make Restitution of all that had been taken from Him, or His; to which *Henry* wou'd not consent, without knowing first the Terms of Reconciliation. This was all *Becket* cou'd have expected by way of Compensation, in Case he himself had made any Relaxation: But to pretend that the King shou'd begin with owning himself in the wrong, by thus making Restitution without any Advances on his Part, was in effect to declare, he wou'd not come to any Agreement. The only thing he offer'd as a Mark of his being inclin'd to Peace, was the referring the Matter to the *Judgment* of the *French Divines*. But this Offer having been rejected, the Negotiation broke off: However the King had this Benefit by it, that the World was again satisfied of his Inclination to Peace. 1169.

There is never any bringing Matters to an Accommodation with the *Clergy*, unless their Demands are all answer'd. They pretend that their Cause is the Cause of God, and consequently they can give up nothing without Sin. Upon this Principle it was that the Archbishop of *Sens* press'd the Pope to put *England* under an *Interdict*, and to excommunicate *Henry* for an obstinate *Heretick*. *Henry* having receiv'd Intelligence of what this Prelate was solliciting at *Rome*, publish'd a fresh Edict in *England*, forbidding the receiving any *Orders* from the *Pope* or *Becket*. Moreover he decreed, That in Case a *Letter of Interdict* shou'd come into the Kingdom, all who submitted to it shou'd be hang'd on the Spot as Traytors to their King and Country. In fine, he enjoin'd all *Clergymen* that were abroad, to return to their Churches on pain of forfeiting all their Incomes, and suspended the Payment of *Peter-Pence* 'till further Orders. These vigorous Proceedings having made the Pope apprehensive of some unlucky Revolution, shou'd he carry Things to extremity, he left the Business undecided, waiting for an

Vigorous Proceedings of the King against the Pope.

The Pope gains Time.

1169. Opportunity that shou'd enable him to push on the Affair more to his own Advantage.

1170. Henry *returns to* England. Gervas. Hoved. In this Interval *Henry*, who had spent almost four Years in *France*, return'd home in order to regulate some Matters, which his Absence had hindred him from attending to. The Administration of Justice was so shamefully neglected, that upon his Arrival, he found himself oblig'd to send Commissioners into all the Counties, with *full Powers* to enquire into the Misdemeanors of the Magistrates *, and to punish the Guilty.

Henry *the Kin-'s eldest Son crown'd.* Hoved. This and some other Affairs relating to the Good of the *Publick* being settled to the People's Satisfaction, *Henry* conven'd a General Assembly, at which were present the *Bishops*, *Abbots*, *Earls*, *Barons*, *Sheriffs*, and *Aldermen* of the principal Cities of the Kingdom. Before this numerous Assembly, he caus'd *Henry* his eldest Son to be Crown'd by the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London* and *Durham* assisting at the Solemnity. The next Day the young King receiv'd the *Fealties* of all the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and of the *Magistrates* of the Cities and *Counties*, who were summon'd on purpose to be present at the Coronation. At the Feast that was made upon this Occasion, the King himself wou'd carry up the first Dish to the Table: Then speaking to his Son, told him, *Never was Monarch serv'd in a more honourable Manner.* Instead of returning his Compliment, the young King, who was of a very haughty Spirit, turning to the Archbishop of *York*, who was next to him, said in a low Voice, *'Twas no such great Condescension in the Son of an Earl to serve the Son of a King.*

Pride of the young King. Pol. Virg. Becket *is mortified.* This Coronation, which was perform'd with an universal Consent, gave the King a double Satisfaction. He not only by that means secur'd the Crown in his Family, but moreover extremely mortified *Becket*. Indeed that Prelate was exceedingly vex'd to hear that they had without

* *Sheriffs* and other *Officers*. The Reader may see the *Articles of Enquiry* at large in *Tyrrel*, Vol. II. p. 463. which give great Light into the *Ministerial* Part of the Law in those Days.

out him perform'd a Ceremony of that Importance, the doing of which he pretended was a Privilege annex'd to the Dignity of Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 1170.

The King of *France* took great Offence at his Daughter's not being Crown'd with the Prince her Spouſe. His Diſcontent at it, join'd to ſome other Occaſions of Quarrelling, which are ſeldom wanting to neighbouring Princes, put him upon taking up Arms again. But this War was of ſo little Conſequence and ſhort Continuance, that it is entirely needleſs to enter into the Particulars of it: It ſuffices to ſay, in two Words, that 'twas almoſt as ſoon ended as begun, by a Treaty of Peace concluded between the two Monarchs. *Lewis complains of* Henry. Gerval. Virg. *They are Friends again.*

Quickly after, *Henry* was ſeiz'd with a violent Fever at *Domfront*, in the Province of *Main*. He was ſo dangerouſly Ill, that believing he was near his End, he haſtily made his Will. To *Henry* his eldeſt Son, he gave *England*, *Normandy*, *Main* and *Anjou*; and to *Richard* his ſecond Son, *Guienne*, and *Poictou*. As for *Geoffrey*, he thought *Bretaign* ſufficient for him, which he was to enjoy, after the Death of Duke *Conan* his Brother-in-law. As for *John* his fourth Son, he was ſatisfied with recommending him to be provided for by his eldeſt Brother. Henry *falls ſick, and makes his Will.*

Henry's Indiſpoſition had another conſiderable Effect. The approach of Death having rais'd Scruples in the King's Breaſt, which he had not minded whilſt in Health, he reſolv'd to make up Matters at any Rate with *Becket*, in caſe he recovered. He conſider'd that the Archbiſhop had been ſufficiently puniſh'd by a ſix Years Exile, during which Space he had been depriv'd of his Revenues. Beſides, he was deſirous, if it pleas'd God to prolong his Days, to ſit down in Quiet, which the Pope threaten'd continually to diſturb, by thund'ring out the *Church's Cenſures* againſt him. Purſuant to this Reſolution, as ſoon as his Health permitted, he held a Conference with the King of *France* at *Montmirail*, where *Becket* was preſent alſo. In the Temper the King was in, he agreed to almoſt every thing the Archbiſhop demanded: But after they had ajuſted the Terms, as *Becket* was ſtepping up to *He reſolves to make up Matters with* Becket. *A Conference at* Montmirail *comes to nothing by Accident.*

1170. the King to give him *the Kiss of Peace*, he took it in his Head to say, that he was going to *salute* him to *the Honour of God*. The King, who was not thoroughly satisfied of his Sincerity, imagining there was some hidden Mystery in that Expression, refus'd to receive his *Salute* accompanied with those Words, which to him seem'd superfluous. The Archbishop on the other hand, insisting upon saying them, all the Pains taken to adjust Matters became of no Effect by the over-strain'd Nicety of both Parties. However *Henry*, willing upon any Terms to get clear of this Business, order'd it so that another Interview was agreed upon at *Amboise*, where the King of *France* came attended by several Princes and Lords. Here at length all Difficulties were got over: *Henry* was in good earnest reconcil'd with *Becket*, and swore to restore him to the same State he was in before his Banishment; and likewise to make Restitution to his Relations and Friends of all that had been taken from them since his going out of *England*. Thus this Contest seem'd to be happily ended by the Generosity of the King, who protested that he heartily forgave all that was pass'd.

The Quarrel is decided.

But the Archbishop was not so easily appeas'd. Tho' he oblig'd *Henry* to pardon all those that had offended him, he himself cou'd not resolve to forgive those whom he thought he had Reason to complain of. He was chiefly exasperated against the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Durham* and *Exeter*, who had acted the most openly against him. Before he left *France*, in order to return into *England*, he got leave of the Pope to *suspend* the First, and *excommunicate* the Others, and accordingly did so the Moment he set Foot on Land. He had even no Regard to the Intreaties of the young King, who having had notice of his Design, had sent Messengers to him to divert him from it. Tho' by this Refusal he had given that Prince just Cause of Complaint against him, yet wou'd he go and salute him at *Woodstock*, where he resided. Some say the Desire of paying his Respects to the young King, was not the principal Motive of his intended Visit; but that his real Aim was

The revengeful Proceedings of Becket. Diceto.

Tyrrel.

to

to make a triumphant Entrance into *London*, thro' which he was to pass. Be this as it will, he lodg'd on the Road at *Southwark*, with a Design to be at *Woodstock* next Day; but he receiv'd a Letter from the young King, ordering him to repair forthwith to *Canterbury*. Tho' this was a great Mortification to him, he thought fit to obey the Order. Accordingly he set forward for the Capital of his *Diocese*, where he made his Entry with the Acclamations of the meaner sort of People, whilst the more considerate were sorry to see him thus Triumphant; who, far from being humbled by his long Exile, was grown more Proud and Haughty. This they had quickly Reason to perceive in a more especial manner, when mounting his *Archiepiscopal Chair* on *Christmas-day*, he solemnly excommunicated *Nigel de Sackvil*, and *Robert Brock*, both distinguish'd for their Birth and High Posts. He accus'd the Former of unjustly detaining a *Manor* belonging to the Archbishoprick, and the Latter of having cut off the Tail of a Horse that was carrying Provisions to his Palace. This Proceeding was a plain Indication that his Disgrace had made no Impression upon him; and that he was ready to revive the Quarrel when an Opportunity shou'd offer. The Truth is, had he intended to keep fair with the King, he wou'd not have excommunicated, for such trifling Matters, two of the *immediate Vassals* of the Crown, seeing that was one of the Articles which had occasion'd their Difference.

1170. *The young King refuses to see him.*

He enters Canterbury *in Triumph.*

He excommunicates two Barons. Fitz-Step. Gervas.

In the mean Time, the *suspended* and *excommunicated* Prelates were gone to carry their Complaints to the King, who was still in *Normandy*. When they came into his Presence, they threw themselves at his Feet, and complain'd that the Peace he had made with *Becket*, redoubled the Terrors and Troubles of those that had sacrific'd themselves to his Service. The Archbishop of *York* added, that as long as *Becket* was alive, 'twas impossible for *England* to enjoy any Tranquillity. *Henry*, exasperated by these Complaints, and tir'd out with being thus incessantly plagu'd by the Insolence of a Subject whom he had rais'd from the Dust, cou'd not help uttering these

The excommunicated Bishops complain to the King. Fitz-Step.

Words

1170. *Indiscreet Words of the King.* Gervs. p. 1414.

Words aloud: *I am very unhappy, that among the great Numbers I maintain, there's not a Man that dares undertake to revenge the Affronts I perpetually receive from the Hands of a wretched Priest.* These Words were not dropt in vain: Four of the King's Domesticks *, reflecting on the Kings Reproaches, plotted together to rid him of his Enemy. To this End they came to *Canterbury*, where they agreed upon the Method they were to take to put their Design in Execution. One Day, as the Archbishop was gone to the *Cathedral* with few Attendants, they enter'd the Church arm'd, and came up to the Altar, where he was standing. They began with upbraiding him in an outragious manner for his Pride and Ingratitude: To which he return'd so resolute an Answer, as gave them a Handle to put their Design in practice. As they were not come with an Intent to reproach him only, they broke his Skull with their Clubs in so violent a manner, that the Blood and Brains flew all over the Altar. After they had committed this Action they went off peaceably, no Body offering to stop them *1. The Resolution *Becket* show'd on this Occasion, the Zeal he express'd by recommending to God, with his last Breath, the *Cause* of the *Church*, the Time and Manner of his Death, aggravated the Guilt of his Murderers, and gain'd him more Friends

1171. *Four of the King's Domesticks plot against* Becket,

and murder him at the Altar.

* *Fitz-Stephens* calls them *Barons* and Servants of the Bedchamber, their Names were, *Reginald Fitz-Urse*, *William Tracy*, *Richard Britton*, and *Hugh Morvill*.

*1 Not daring to return to the King, they went and staid a Year at *Knarsborough* Castle in *Yorkshire*, belonging to *Hugh Morvill*; after which *Hovedon* says they went to *Rome* for Absolution, and were enjoin'd to go to *Jerusalem* and do *Penance* on the *Black* Mountain for Life. We have an Account of the manner of the Archbishop's Death at large, by *Gervase of Canterbury*, and *Edward Ryne*, who were Eye-witnesses. This last had his Arm almost cut off by receiving the first Blow that was made at *Becket's* Head, occasion'd, as he says, by the Archbishop's calling *Fitz-Urse*, *Pimp*. The Manuscript Relation of the Life and Sufferings of this Archbishop, written in a Hand of that Age, is preserv'd in the Library of *Gresham Colledge*. He was assassinated on the 30th of *December*, 1171. reckoning the beginning of the Year from *Christmas Day*.

Friends after he was dead, than ever he had during his Life. 1171.

Thus died this famous Archbiſhop, whom ſome have rank'd amongſt the moſt illuſtrious *Martyrs*, whilſt others believe they might, without any Injury, deny him the Character of an *honeſt Man*, and a *good Chriſtian*. About 50 Years after his Death, it was the Subject of a publick Diſpute at the *Univerſity* of *Paris*, whether *Becket* was in Heaven or Hell, ſo ambiguous a Point was his *Sanctity*. Some aſſerted, that for his extreme Pride, he had deſerv'd to be damn'd. Others, on the contrary maintain'd, that the Miracles wrought at his Tomb, were undoubted Proofs of his *Salvation*. It is true indeed, this laſt Argument wou'd have been unanſwerable, if theſe Miracles had been as evidently prov'd as they were induſtriouſly ſpread. Be this as it will, it is confeſt *Becket* ſuffer'd *Martyrdom*; but the Buſineſs is to determine, whether it was indeed for the *Cauſe* of *God* and *Religion*, or ſolely for *That* of the *Pope* and *Clergy*. I ſhall leave the Reader to make what Reflections he thinks proper on this Subject; whilſt I content my ſelf with relating the Conſequences of this Prelate's Death, which are no leſs remarkable than the Incidents of his Life. He had deſerv'd too well of the Court of *Rome*, not to have a Place in the Catalogue of the *Saints*. There were many in that Liſt, who in the Opinion of the Court of *Rome* it ſelf, were not ſo worthy of that Honour as one that had ſpilt his Blood in defence of the *Church*. He was therefore *canoniz'd* two or three Years after his Death. How deſirous ſoever the Pope might be to ſhew his Gratitude to the Memory of ſo faithful a Servant, there was a Neceſſity firſt that the World ſhou'd be convinc'd that the *Cauſe* he died for was approv'd by God; otherwiſe, his *Canonization* might have been objected againſt. Nothing was more proper to infuſe this Belief into the Minds of the People than *Miracles*. Accordingly, ſuch Multitudes were forthwith wrought at the Tomb of the *New Martyr*, that in any other Age but that, the *Number* and *Nature* of theſe *Miracles*, inſtead of ſatisfying the World, wou'd have

Reflections on his Character.

Abundance of Miracles attributed to him after his Death.

1171. have had a quite contrary Effect. Neither *Christ* nor his *Apostles* work'd the like, or so many, to prove the Truth of *Christianity*, as this *new Saint* did to authorize the *Privileges* and *Immunities* of the *Clergy*. 'Twas not thought sufficient to assert that he restor'd *dead Men* to Life; but 'twas further affirm'd that he *rais'd* the very *Beasts*. It was given out for certain, that being expos'd to view in the *Church* before he was buried, he rose up out of his Coffin and went and lighted the Wax Candles which had been put out. 'Tis said also, that after the *Funeral* Ceremony was over, he lifted up his Head to *bless* the People. To all these Miracles, abundance more are added, equally becoming the Majesty of God: However, they were spread abroad with that Confidence, that not a Man was found hardy enough to show the least sign of calling them in question. The Pope's *Legates*, sent some time after to examine into these Matters, found the People at *Canterbury* so possess'd of the Truth of all these Facts, that, upon so publick an Evidence, his *Holiness* thought he shou'd run no great Risk in *canonizing Becket* by the Name of *St. Thomas of Canterbury* *. The Tomb of the *new Saint* was at first deck'd with few Ornaments; but 50 Years after his Death, his Body was laid in a *Shrine*, inrich'd with a prodigious Quantity of *precious Stones*. As a further Honour to his Memory, the Pope order'd that every fiftieth Year a Jubilee shou'd be solemniz'd in the *Church*, where he lay. From thenceforward *Miracles* became so common at his Tomb, and their Fame spread so far, that they drew *Votaries* from all Parts of *Christendom*, who came to *Canterbury* in order to obtain the *Intercession* of this *new Saint*. In 1420, they kept an Account of above fifty thousand Foreigners, of all Ages and Sexes, that came in *Pilgrimage* that same Year to this renowned Tomb.

He is canonis'd

To avoid breaking off the Narrative of this famous Contest, I was oblig'd to defer 'till now the giving an Account of certain Occurrences which happen'd in the Interval, the most remarkable of which I shall here place all together.

In

In 1165, during the Heat of the Diſpute, the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* came into *England* in order to conduct *Matilda*, the King's Daughter to the Duke of *Saxony*, to whom ſhe was betroth'd. As all the Princes of *Germany* were then for the Antipope *Paſchal*, they were conſider'd as *Schiſmaticks* in all Places, where *Alexander* was own'd for Pope. This is the Reaſon why after the Departure of the Archbiſhop, the Churches, where he and the Prieſts that attended him, had ſaid *Maſs*, were all conſecrated a-new. The King durſt not oppoſe this Proceeding, for fear of making the Breach wider between him and *Alexander*, whom he was willing to keep fair with.

1171. *Marriage of* Matilda *the King's Daughter with the Duke of* Saxony. Diceto.

In 1166, certain *Hereticks* from *Germany* arriv'd in *England*, about thirty in Number, being headed by one *Gerhard*. 'Tis not diſtinctly known wherein their *Hereſy* conſiſted; in all likelihood, they father'd upon them, by forc'd Inferences, Opinions, which they entertain'd not. However this be, they were ſummon'd before a *Council* held on purpoſe at *Oxford*, where they were condemn'd and delivered over to the *ſecular* Power. The King, unwilling to give the Pope any *Hold*, treated theſe People very ſeverely. After he had branded them in the Cheek with a hot Iron, he forbid all his Subjects to give them any Relief. This Prohibition having been punctually obſerv'd, all thoſe Wretches miſerably periſh'd with Hunger, without any one's hearing them make the leaſt Complaint of this moſt inhumane Uſage. This is not the only Inſtance of there being no worſe Time for ſuch as the Court of *Rome* marks out for *Hereticks*, than when Princes are at Variance with the Pope.

German *Hereticks arrive in* England, *and are condemn'd at* Oxford. Brompton Neubrig. Virg.

Malcolm King of *Scotland* died much about this Time, and was ſucceeded by *William* his Brother.

King of Scotland *dies*

The Marriage of *Eleanor*, Daughter of *Henry*, with *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile* was concluded in 1169, a little before *Becket*'s Return into *England*.

Eleanor's *Marriage*.

Conan the Little, Duke of *Bretaign* dying in 1171, Prince *Geoffrey*, who had married his Daughter, ſucceeded him. But as he was not above 12 years old, the King his

Conan *dies, and is ſucceeded by* Geoffrey, Henry's *Son*.

1171. his Father took the Guardianship upon himself, and went in Person into *Bretaign*, to receive the Fealty of the Barons.

These are the most considerable Events, which fell out during the Difference between the King and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. I proceed now to what follow'd upon the Death of that Prelate.

Henry *charg'd with* Becket's *Murder.* Diceto. Brompton Hoved.

Henry, being rid of the Disturber of his Quiet, was in hopes to enjoy some Tranquillity. But he found that *Becket*, when dead, created him no less Trouble than when alive. His Enemies, the chief of which were the King of *France* and Archbishop of *Sens*, omitted not this Opportunity of imbroiling his Affairs. They boldly charg'd him with being the Author of *Becket*'s Murder, and endeavour'd by all Sorts of Means to stir up the Pope to revenge the Death of his Faithful Servant. Tho' 'twas no easy Matter to prove that *Henry* had any Hand in the Assassination, *Alexander* had a mind however to believe him guilty, that he might have a Handle to humble a Prince, that had all along stoutly oppos'd him. He was sensible this was a favourable Juncture to procure some Advantages which that Monarch wou'd never be brought to yield up at any other Time. With this View he threatned, to excommunicate him and put the Kingdom under an *Interdict*, unless he gave Marks of a sincere Repentance. Had this Prince been more weak, or less able, he wou'd never have extricated himself out of so slippery and dangerous a Business. But the Resolution he show'd on this Occasion, the Presents he distributed among the *Cardinals*, and his repeated Protestations, that he was ready to submit to the *Sentence* that shou'd be pronounc'd in *England*, averted this terrible Blow.

The Pope intends to press him vigorously.

Henry *acts with Address and Resolution.*

He forms the Design of conquering Ireland. Gir. Camb

Whilst this Affair was tran acting at *Rome*, *Henry* resum'd the Project of the Conquest of *Ireland*, form'd some Years before, but laid aside for the present, on Account of his Quarrel with *Becket*. The *Irish* having taken some *Englishmen* Prisoners, and afterwards sold them for Slaves to Foreigners, furnish'd him with a Pretence to form this Enterprize. But the real Motive was the Desire of enlarging his Dominions by the Conquest of an

Island

Iſland ſo adjacent to *England*. Two favourable Conjunctures had induc'd him to turn his Thoughts to this Conqueſt. In the firſt Place, He was at Peace with all his Neighbours. And *Secondly*, *Adrian* IV. a Native of *England*, being then Pope, he was in hopes of eaſily procuring his Approbation. Tho' the Outrages committed by the *Iriſh* againſt his Subjects might be one of the Reaſons of his intended Expedition, yet that was not the Thing he alledg'd to the Pope to obtain his Conſent. The *Glory of God* and the *Salvation of Souls*, plauſible Pretences, but which rarely ſet Princes upon Projects of this Nature, were the Arguments he inſiſted upon to prevail with *Adrian* to approve his Deſign. To which he added another and no leſs forcible Motive, the enlarging the Juriſdiction and Revenues of the *Holy See*. He pretended That the *Iriſh* being *Schiſmaticks* and bad Chriſtians, it was neceſſary to put them in the right Way, and oblige them to acknowledge the Pope's Authority, which till Then had been but little regarded by them: That the propereſt Means to that End was to bring them in Subjection to the Crown of *England*, which had all along been ſo devoted to the *Holy See*. This is what we find in the *Bull*, which *Adrian* ſent him on this Occaſion, wherein we may further obſerve, what Power the Popes aſſum'd to themſelves, and how attentive they were to every Thing that might help to increaſe their Grandeur. 1171.

1171.

ADRIAN,

SERVANT of the SERVANTS of GOD,

To his Son in CHRIST JESUS, HENRY King of *ENGLAND*.

Sends Greeting and Apostolical Benediction.

Adrian's Bull *to encourage the* Irish *Expedition.* Gir. Camb. An. 1154. Diceto. Paris. p. 95.

THE Desire your Magnificence *expresses to advance the Glory of your Name on Earth, and to obtain, in Heaven, the Prize of eternal Happiness, deserves, no doubt, great Commendations. As a good Catholick Prince, you are very careful to enlarge the* Borders *of the* Church, *to spread the Knowledge of the Truth among the Barbarous und Ignorant, and to pluck up Vice by the Roots in the Field of the Lord: And in Order to This you apply to us for Countenance and Direction. We are confident therefore that, by the Blessing of the Almighty, your Undertaking will be crown'd with Success suitable to the noble Motive which sets you upon it. For whatever is taken in Hand from a Principle of* Faith *and* Religion, *never fails of succeeding. It is certain, as you your self acknowledge, that* Ireland, *as well as all other Islands which have the Happiness of being* enlighten'd by the Sun of Righteousness, *and have submitted to the Doctrines of Christianity, are unquestionably St.* Peter's *Rights, and belong to the Jurisdiction of the* Roman Church. *We judge therefore, after having maturely consider'd the Enterprize you have propos'd to us, that it will be proper to settle in that Island* Colonies *of the* Faithful *who may be well-pleasing to God.*

You have advertis'd us, most dear Son in Christ, *of your Design of an Expedition into* Ireland, *to subject the Island to just Laws, and to root out Vice, which has long flourish'd There. You promise to pay Us out of every House a yearly Acknowledgment of* one Penny, *and to maintain the* Rights *of the* Church, *without the least Detriment or Diminution*

Upon

Upon which Promiſe, giving a ready Ear to your Requeſt, we conſent and allow, that you make a Deſcent on that Iſland, in order to enlarge the Bounds *of the* Church, *to check the Progreſs of Immorality, to reform the Manners of the Natives, and to promote the Growth of Virtue and the Chriſtian Religion. We exhort you to do whatever you ſhall think proper to advance the Honour of God and the Salvation of the People, whom we charge to ſubmit to your Juriſdiction, and to own you for their Sovereign Lord; Provided always that the* Rights *of the* Church *are inviolably preſerv'd, and the* Peter-Pence *duly paid. If therefore you think fit to put your Deſign in Execution, labour above all Things to improve the Inhabitants of the Iſland in Virtue. Uſe both your Own and the Endeavours of ſuch as you ſhall judge worthy to be employed in this Work, that the* Church *of God be inrich'd more and more, that Religion flouriſh in the Country, and that the Things tending to the Honour of God and Salvation of Souls be in ſuch manner diſpos'd, as may entitle you to an eternal Reward in Heaven, and an immortal Fame upon Earth.* 1171.

Remarks on this Bull.

Theſe are the Foundations of *Henry*'s Pretenſions to *Ireland*. In reading the *Bull*, 'tis hard to know which of the Two acted with the greateſt Hypocriſy, the King or the Pope. *Henry* alleg'd ſham Pretences in order to colour over his Ambition, and *Adrian* made as if he believ'd him, that he might have the Diſpoſal of a Country which belong'd not to him, and the transferring it to a Prince who had no manner of Right to it. But it is eaſy to diſcover, through all theſe Diſguiſes, the Motives which influenc'd the Pope. *Ireland* had not yet acknowledg'd the Superiority of the *Roman See* over the *Chriſtian Church*. That was the *Immorality* which was to be rooted out of the *Field of the Lord*. Submiſſion to the *Biſhop of Rome*, was the *Seed* that was to be carefully ſown and cheriſh'd, to the end the *Roman Church* might reap a plentiful Harveſt. What elſe can be meant by *ſpreading the Knowledge of the Truth*, where the Chriſtian Religion had been ſo long embrac'd before? But however this be, *Henry* countenanc'd by

1171. by the Pope and back'd by his Exhortations, waited only for a favourable Opportunity to execute his Design, which he was prevented from doing some Years on Account of *Becket*'s Affair. He had no sooner got rid of that Business, but he turn'd his Thoughts to the *Irish* Expedition, bent upon putting it in Practice, the Moment he shou'd have concluded a Peace with the King of *France*, with whom he was Then at War. However, tho' the War was not over, a fair Opportunity offer'd, which he fail'd not to lay hold on. But before I relate the Success of this Undertaking, 'twill be necessary to give some Account of that Island, which we shall soon see united to the *English* Monarchy.

Situation, Largeness, and Advantages of Ireland.

Ireland is situated on the West of *Great-Britain*, from which it is parted by an Arm of the Sea, call'd St. *George*'s *Channel*, which in some Places is not above three Leagues over. The Island is in Length from *South* to *North*, about 300, and in Breadth, from *East* to *West* 200 Miles. It is certain that in all *Europe* there is not a more temperate Climate than That of *Ireland*. Excessive Heat and Cold are seldom known there, because the Vapours rising from the Sea, with which it is surrounded, generally qualify these two Extremes. The Soil is very fertile, especially in the Southern Parts. They who tell us, that no Wheat grows there, no doubt, meant the North-Parts where the People commonly live upon Oatmeal-Bread. But every where else, there is good Wheat, and in Plenty sufficient for the Subsistence of the Natives. However the Island abounds most with Pasture-Grounds, and its chiefest Wealth consists in a prodigious Breed of Cattle. The Sea is stock'd with such Plenty of Fish, that were the Inhabitants destitute of all other Food, that alone wou'd be sufficient to sustain them. But the most considerable Advantage this Island enjoys, is a commodious Situation for *Trade* and *Commerce* with all Parts, not of *Europe* only, but of all the World. Add to this the great Number of good *Ports* which might very much facilitate the Exportation of its Commodities. These Privileges have rais'd the Jealousy of the *English* to such a Degree, that ever since

Gir. Camb. in Topag. Hibern.

their

their becoming Maſters of the *Iſland*, they have had nothing more at Heart, than the preventing the *Iriſh* from extending their Commerce, leaſt the Trade of *England* ſhou'd thereby receive too great a Prejudice. It is no wonder that an Iſland ſo fertile, ſo well ſituated, and ſo near a Neighbour to *England*, ſhou'd attract the Eyes of *Henry* II. ſet no Bounds to his Ambition. 1171.

Its firſt Inhabitants.

If we refer the Matter to ſome *Iriſh* Hiſtorians, we muſt go back beyond the *Flood* to find the firſt Inhabitants of this Iſland. But there are others leſs prejudic'd in this Point who give us the following Account of their Origin. They affirm, that in the third Age of the World, *Ireland* was inhabited with *Scyths*, whoſe Number, in the Fourth (*a*), was conſiderably augmented by ſome Colonies of *Spaniards*. Theſe two Nations, in Proceſs of Time, not only peopled *Ireland*, but the *Hebrides* alſo, from whence Part of them went and ſettled in *North-Britain*, as hath been already related in the *Introduction*.

Divers Names of this Iſland.

Several Names have been given to this Iſland, all form'd from the Word *Erin*, the Name the Natives give it themſelves. Such are *Ierna*, *Juverna*, *Iouernia Ouernia*, *Bernia*, *Hybernia*, all which plainly mark the ſame Origin. The *Britons* ſtil'd it in their Language *Yverdon*. The *Romans*, *Hibernia*, and the *Saxons*, *Iren-landt*, that is, *the Country of the Iren* or *Erin*. The Etymology of the Word *Erin* is not well known; but *Cambden*'s Conjecture, who derives it from an *Iriſh* Word ſignifying *Weſt*, ſeems to me the moſt probable; becauſe in reality, *Ireland* is the moſt *Weſtern* Iſland in *Europe* *. *Iſidore* and *Bede* call it *Scotia* with reſpect to the Inhabitants, who for the moſt Part came from *Scythia*, as was ſaid before, and for that reaſon were call'd *Scots*. The ſame Writers term it alſo *Scotia Major*, to diſtinguiſh it from *North-Britain* inhabited by the ſame Nation. Others give it the Name of *Britannia Parva*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Great-Britain*, pretending that Ptolemy.

(*a*) They have not explain'd what they mean by the third and fourth Age of the World.

* *Bochartus* derives *Hibernia* from *Ibernae*, a *Phœnician* word ſignifying *the furtheſt Habitation*.

1171. that all the Isles in those Parts were to be call'd the *Britannick Islands*. We are still more in the dark with regard to the Origin of the *Irish* Tongue, which has nothing, not even its *Letters*, in common with the Languages of the Neighbouring Nations.

Its Language different from all others.

Conversion of the Irish. Ninnius.

Pope *Celestinus* I. was the first that undertook the Conversion of the *Irish* to Christianity, by sending *Palladius* to preach the Gospel to Them. But being deprived of this their first Bishop by an untimely Death, *Patrick*, Disciple of St. *Germanus* was sent in his Stead, who converted the greatest Part of the Natives. Their Descendents have all along consider'd him as their *Apostle*, and still hold him in great Veneration. Shortly after their Conversion, *Ireland* abounded with *Monks*, who for the most Part became so famous for their *Sanctity*, that they were the Occasion of the Island's being term'd *the Country of Saints*. From hence great Numbers of *Learned* and *Zealous* Men came forth, who very much help'd forward the Conversion of the *Albin-Scots*, *Picts*, and *Anglo-Saxons*. Such were *Columbanus*, *Aidan*, *Finan*, *Colman*, *Kilian*, and many others of whom I have spoken in several Places.

The great Fame of the first Irish *Monks.*

Ireland *suffers much from Invasion.*

Religion and *Learning* which flourish'd in *Ireland* *, were expell'd thence by foreign Invasions, to which that Island was frequently expos'd. A King of *Northumberland* *1 sent a numerous Army thither, which committed great Ravages. Afterwards the *Norwegians* wasted the Country in a terrible Manner for thirty Years together, under the Conduct of one *Turgesius*, who at length was cut off by an Ambuscade. This Devastation was quickly follow'd by the Invasion of certain People from *Germany*, call'd by Historians *Estmanni* that is, *the Men of the East*. Shortly after, *Edgar* King of *England* subdued *Ireland*, if any Credit is to be given to a *Charter* that goes under

* *Cambden* observes that the *Saxons* in those days flock'd to *Ireland*, as to the *great Mart of Learning*: Which is the Reason why we so often find this in our Writers, *Such a one sent his Son over to* Ireland *to be educated*. Vide Bed. l. 3 c. 7. and 27.

*1 *Egfrid*. See Hist. of Northum. Vol. I.

under his Name, wherein he makes his Boasts of that Conquest. But how great soever the Ravages might be, which the Island suffer'd from the Hands of Foreigners, the *civil* Dissentions at Home were attended with still worse Consequences. The *Irish* were hardly freed from the Invasions of Foreigners, particularly of the *Danes*, who made them feel the Effects of their Fury, no less than the *English*, when a Civil War broke out among them, which ended in the cantoning out the Island into several petty States. These Kingdoms, which at first were many in Number, and consequently very small, were at length reduc'd to seven, namely, *Connaught*, *Corck*, *Leinster*, *Ossery*, *Meath*, *Limerick*, and *Ulster* (a)*. The King of *Connaught*, who was the Chief of these petty Sovereigns, held the Rest in a Sort of Dependence, with much the same Authority as the *Anglo-Saxon* Monarchs exercis'd during the *Heptarchy*. This is the Reason why the *Irish Annals* give *Roderick* King of *Connaught*, who was on the Throne in the Time of *Henry* II. the Title of *Monarch*, tho' at the same Time there were more Kings besides him in the Island. Such was the State and Condition of *Ireland*, when the *English* undertook the Conquest of it. A Difference between two of these Kings, the weakest of whom invited the *English* to his Assistance, was the Occasion of the *Irish* losing their Liberty. This was not the first Time that the like Cause had produc'd the like Effect. The same imprudent Proceeding furnish'd the *Moors* with an Opportunity of conquering *Spain*, and the *Anglo-Saxons* of subduing *Britain*. Hence it appears how dangerous a Thing it is to invite into a Kingdom an Army of Foreigners, which one is not sure of being able to drive out again with the same Ease.

1171.

Domestick Dissentions.

Ireland *parcell'd out into seven Kingdoms.*

An. 1066.

(a) These seven Kingdoms were reduc'd to four large Provinces, into which the Island is at present divided, *Ulster*, *Leinster*, *Munster*, and *Connaught*. * To which formerly was added *Meath*, now reckon'd Part of *Leinster*. These four Provinces are divided into thirty one *Counties* or *Shires*, four Archbishopricks, and nineteen Bishopricks.

1171. *The King of* Leinſter *deſires Aid of* Henry.

Among the Sovereigns then reigning in *Ireland*, *Dermoth* King of *Leinſter*, was one of the moſt conſiderable, for Extent of Dominions. From the Time of this Prince's Acceſſion to the Throne, he had acted in ſo arbitrary a Manner that he was become extremely odious to his Subjects. But he made very ſlight of his People's Hatred, as he was at Peace with his Neighbours, who had no manner of Concern in what paſs'd in his Kingdom. However in proceſs of time he himſelf drew them upon him, by carrying off by Force, the Wife of *O-Rorick* King of *Meath*. *O-Rorick*, willing to revenge the Affront, levied an Army, and with the Help of *Roderick* King of *Connaught*, attack'd *Dermoth*; who finding himſelf abandon'd by his Subjects, was forc'd to leave *Ireland*, for fear of falling into the Hands of his Enemy. As he had nothing to truſt to in the Iſland, where the Reſt of the Kings refus'd to ingage in his Quarrel, he went and apply'd for Protection to the King of *England*, who was then in *France*. After he had acquainted him with his Caſe, he promis'd to become his *Vaſſal*, if by his Aid he ſhou'd be reſtor'd to his Throne. Nothing cou'd be more grateful than this Propoſal to a Prince who had been conſidering for ſeveral years, of the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, and wanted only an Opportunity to interpoſe in the Affairs of that Iſland. Henry *promiſes him Aid.* However as the War he had then with *France*, permitted him not to lend the depos'd King immediate Succours, he contented himſelf with aſſuring him that as ſoon as the War was over, he wou'd aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his Power. Nevertheleſs he thought it his Intereſt to perſwade *Dermoth* to begin a War, from whence he hop'd himſelf to reap great Advantage. With this View, he adviſ'd him to go over into *England*, and endeavour in the mean Time to obtain what Aſſiſtance he cou'd from ſome *Engliſh* Barons. *Dermoth* follow'd his Advice, and relying on *Henry*'s Word, came into *England*, where *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, and *Richard Strongbow* enter'd into his Alliance, upon certain Terms. *Two* Engliſh *Lords make an Alliance with* Dermoth. The former was prevail'd upon in hopes of making a conſiderable Fortune in *Ireland*. The Latter, who held large Poſſeſſions in *England* and *Wales*, was gain'd by *Dermoth's*

moth's promising to give him his only Daughter in Marriage, and to settle the *Succession* upon him. 1171.

These two Lords having drawn together some Troops among their Friends and Vassals, *Fitz-Stephen*, who was ready first, accompanied *Dermoth* into *Ireland*, with 400 Men. Being landed near *Waterford*, the King of *Leinster* lead them to the City of *Wexford*, which is not far from thence. The City being presently taken, was given to *Fitz-Stephen*, who settled there a Colony of *English* *. After this Exploit, the Adventurers having made up an Army of 3000 Men, by the coming in of the People of the Country, march'd against the King of *Ossery*. This Prince, who did not expect to be attack'd, being unprovided for his Defence, was forc'd to submit to what Terms the Conquerors were pleas'd to impose upon him.

They arrive in Ireland, *and take* Wexford.

They subdue the King of Ossery.

In the mean time, *Roderick*, the Monarch had conven'd the *States* of the Island, and brought them to a Resolution of warring against *Dermoth* and the *English*. Indeed, 'twas no hard Matter to perceive that their Designs were not wholly confin'd to the assisting the King of *Leinster*: But as the Adventurers were already grown formidable, he was willing, before he ran any Hazard, to try by way of Negotiation, to get them to depart the Island. He address'd himself first to *Fitz-Stephen*, and order'd him a considerable Sum to retire. His Offer being rejected, he turn'd to *Dermoth* and endeavour'd to perswade him to send away the *English*, by assuring him he wou'd restore him to his Kingdom. *Dermoth* immediately clos'd in with his Proposal; but when they came to talk of performing the Articles of their Agreement, each mistrusting the other, they cou'd agree neither upon the Time nor the Manner of doing it: Whilst their Thoughts were taken up in devising some Expedient for their mutual Security, the Earl of *Pembroke* arriv'd from *England* with

The King of Connaught *tries in vain to send back the* English.

The Earl of Pembroke *arrives.*

* These were the first *English* settled in *Ireland*, where they have continued ever since, retaining still our antient Garb, and much of our old Language, with a Mixture of *Irish*. *Camden* has given us a List of such as went into *Ireland* with *Dermoth*.

1171. 1200 Men: His first Enterprize was the taking of *Waterford*, the Inhabitants whereof he put all to the Sword. This Conquest having broke off the Negotiation, the Earl of *Pembroke* married the Daughter of *Dermoth*, and quickly after he took possession of the Kingdom of *Leinster*, which fell to him by the Death of his Father-in-law. The *Irish* gave that Prince the Sirname of *Ningal*, as much as to say *a Friend to Foreigners*.

Dermoth *dies, and is succeeded by the Earl.*

After the Death of *Dermoth*, the Adventurers prepar'd to push on their Conquest: As they saw that the Terror of their Arms was spread over all *Ireland*, they took the Advantage of it, and marching on became Masters of *Dublin*, and some other Places. *Roderick*, and the rest of the Kings were in such Confusion, that they made but a very faint Resistance. It is almost incredible that the *Irish*, who were exceeding numerous, shou'd suffer themselves to be thus over-run by a Handful of *Englishmen*; the Reason of it is imputed to their great dread of the *English* Bows, the Use of which 'till then was to them unknown.

The English *take* Dublin.

The Reason of their swift Progress.

Upon the News of these extraordinary Successes, *Henry* grew jealous of the Adventurers. He had been in hopes they wou'd have stood in need of his Assistance, and by that means furnish'd him with a Pretence to go over in Person into *Ireland* and subdue the Island; but finding by reason of the faint Resistance of the *Irish*, his Aid was become needless; he was afraid that the Conquerors wou'd render themselves Masters of the whole Country, which he had design'd for himself. Possess'd with this Fear, he thought it necessary to oblige them to apply to him. To this end, he forbids all his Subjects exporting Provisions or Ammunitions to *Ireland*; and commands all those that were already in that Island to return Home forthwith. These Orders, which were issued on pretence that the Adventurers had engag'd in their Undertaking without his Leave, had the Effect he expected. As soon as the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Fitz-Stephens* were inform'd of the King's Edict, they sent Deputies to him to assure him of their Obedience; and to tell him that all their present and future Conquests shou'd be at his Command.

Henry *jealous of the Adventurers.*

He calls them Home.

They treat with Him.

This

This Submiſſion readily appeas'd the King, who had no further Thoughts of recalling them. Some time after he made an Agreement with them, whereby he was to be put in Poſſeſſion of all the *Sea-Ports*; and the reſt of the Conqueſts they had already made, were to remain in their Hands, on Condition they did Homage for them to the King and his Succeſſors. Matters being thus ſettled, *Henry* went over himſelf into *Ireland* with a formidable Army, and landed at *Waterford*. The *Iriſh*, who had not been able to ſtand againſt a few private Perſons, and conſequently were in no Condition to reſiſt ſo great Forces, choſe to ſubmit themſelves voluntarily. During *Henry*'s ſtay at *Waterford*, he ſaw all the Kings of the Iſland arrive at his Court, who, in emulation of one another, preſs'd to ſwear *Fealty* to him.

1171.

1172. Henry *goes to* Ireland. Chron. Camb. *The whole Iſland ſubmits.*

Thus *Henry*, without ſpilling on drop of Blood, became Maſter of *Ireland* in leſs Time than a Man wou'd take up in travelling over it. After he had plac'd freſh Garriſons in *Waterford*, *Wexford*, and ſome other Maritime Towns, purſuant to his Agreement with the Adventurers, he came to *Dublin*, where he made ſome Regulations for the better governing his new Conqueſt. Shortly after he ſet out for *England*, leaving at *Dublin*, *Hugh Lacy* to govern the Iſland in his Name, with the Title of *Grand Juſticiary of Ireland*.

Henry *comes to* Dublin, *from whence he returns to* England.

If they, who are acquainted with the Largeneſs and Importance of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, are ſurpris'd at the eaſe wherewith the *Engliſh* ſubdued it, they will have no leſs Reaſon to wonder, when they ſhall ſee, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, how much it coſt them to keep it. There are thoſe who make no Scruple to ſay, that, conſidering the Blood that has been ſpilt, and the Money that has been expended to maintain the *Engliſh* in their Conqueſt, it had been better for them if the Iſland had been in the bottom of the Sea. It is certain, their keeping it at preſent is not ſo much on the Score of any Benefit they receive from thence, as to prevent its falling into the Hands of a foreign Power. The Truth is, it can't become ſubject

1172. ject to a new Master without great Detriment to the Trade and Commerce of *England*.

He meets the Pope's Legates in Normandy Bromp. Hoved.

Henry had not Time to make any longer stay in *Ireland*; he was in haste to go to *Normandy*, in order to meet the *Legates* the Pope had sent to examine into *Becket*'s Murder. Four Months were spent in debating this Matter: Tho' the *Legates* had Orders to give the King *Absolution*, they however took, from all Hands, *Depositions* in order to try to prove him guilty, that they might enhance the Favour he was going to receive from *His Holiness*. In fine, after abundance of affected Difficulties and Delays, he was permitted to clear himself by taking a solemn Oath that he neither commanded nor consented to *Becket's* Assassination. He publickly declared, That he was extremely sorry for having been the Occasion of it, by the rash Words he had imprudently drop'd; and that he was ready to undergo what *Penance* the *Legates* shou'd enjoin him. Upon his taking this Oath, and making this Declaration, he was absolv'd from his pretended Crime, on Terms which display'd his Innocence less than the Favour done him by the Pope. To obtain his *Absolution* he bound himself in the following Articles: I. Never to oppose the Pope's Will, so long as he own'd him for a *Catholick* Prince. II. That he wou'd not hinder *Appeals* to the *Holy See*. III. That he wou'd lead an Army to the *Holy Land*, against the *Infidels*, and remain there three Years successively. However, he was at liberty to send thither only 300 Men at his own Charges; in Case he chose rather to go in Person and wage War with the *Saracens* in *Spain*. IV. That he wou'd recall all that had suffer'd Banishment for the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and restore to them their Estates and Revenues. V. *Lastly*, That he wou'd abolish all Laws and Customs which had been lately introduc'd to the prejudice of the *Church of England*. To these, which were made publick, was added a *Secret* Article, whereby the King oblig'd himself to go bare-foot to *Becket*'s Tomb, and receive the *Discipline* from the Hands of all the Monks of St. *Augustin*'s. Thus ended

He swears to his Innocence of Becket's *Murder, and is absolv'd.*

The Terms of his Absolution.

ended that Affair, which notwithſtanding *Henry*'s Reſolution in the Beginning, turn'd at length to the Pope's Advantage, and carried his Power and Authority to a greater height than ever. Indeed, this Inſtance was exceeding proper to ſtrike a Terror into all Sovereigns, being an evident Demonſtration, how dangerous a Thing it was to contradict the Pleaſure of the Court of *Rome*. How great Reaſon had they to ſtand in fear of ſo formidable a Power, which had juſt treated with ſuch Indignity, one of the moſt potent Princes in *Europe*? 1172.

In the beginning of the Year 1173, *Roger*, Abbot of *Bec* in *Normandy*, was choſen Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, after the *See* had been vacant a little above a Twelvemonth. 1173. Roger *elected Archbiſhop.*

Henry imagin'd, that after having maſter'd ſo many Difficulties he ſhou'd paſs the Reſidue of his Days in Peace, amidſt the Grandeur and Glory he was encircled with: But he quickly found, that the Vexations he had endur'd in *Becket*'s Affair were not the only ones capable of diſturbing his Felicity. During his Abſence, a Conſpiracy had been forming againſt him, which was ſo much the more dangerous, as the Queen his Wife, and his own Sons were the Authors of it. Beſides, it was countenanc'd by one of the principal Barons of the Realm, and ſeveral foreign Princes. Queen *Eleanor* was ſpurr'd on to this by her extreme Jealouſy, which the King had given her but too much Reaſon to entertain. Among the many *Miſtreſſes* he kept, *Fair Roſamond*, Daughter to the Lord *Clifford*, having the greateſt Aſcendent over him, became the principal Object of the Queen's jealous Rage, who cou'd not forbear threatning her. *Henry* fancied he had ſecur'd her from all Attempts, by keeping her in a certain *Labyrinth* he had built on purpoſe at *Woodſtock*: But his great Care prov'd all in vain. Whilſt he was gone to *Normandy*, the Queen, taking the Advantage of his Abſence, had found the means to diſpatch out of the way this hated Rival, that had created her ſo much un-

A great Conſpiracy againſt the King Hoved. Hygd. Paris.

The Authors and Cauſes of it.

The Queen puts Roſamond *the King's Miſtreſs to death.*

1173. uneaſineſs *. After this Act, deſpairing of ever being able to regain the King's Affections, ſhe had carried her Revenge farther, and ſpirited up her Sons to revolt againſt him. *Henry*, his eldeſt Son, a young Prince of an exceeding haughty Temper, was grown weary of bearing the Title of *King* without the Authority. *Richard*, naturally turbulent and reſtleſs, was tired with being under the Diſcipline of the King, who indeed had made him Earl of *Poictou*, but ſuffer'd him not to enjoy the Benefit of it. *Geoffrey* had ſtill greater Reaſon to complain than his Brothers: He ſaw himſelf depriv'd of the Government of *Bretaign*, under the ſpecious pretence of a *Guardianſhip*, which he thought there was no manner of Occaſion for any longer. 'Twas no hard Matter for theſe young Princes to draw into the Conſpiracy ſeveral *Engliſh* Barons, who were in hopes of enjoying a greater ſhare of Credit and Authority under the young *Henry* than under his Father. The King of *France*, ever jealous of *Henry*'s flouriſhing Condition, very readily made one in the Project of dethroning him. He was not ſatisfied with aſſiſting the Princes himſelf, but got the Earls of *Flanders*, *Bulloign*, and *Blois* his Vaſſals (the laſt of whom was his Brother-in-law) to enter into the League. *William*, King of *Scotland*, was prevail'd upon alſo to have a Hand in an Undertaking, which might furniſh him with an Opportunity of recovering the Dominions his Brother *Malcolm* had deliver'd up to *England*. This Confederacy broke out on a ſudden, when *Henry* leaſt expected it. *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Bretaign* were attack'd all at once by the Arms of the Confederates. The King of *Scotland* invaded *Cumberland*, and *England* was divided into two Parties

Reaſons of the Diſcontents of the King's Sons.

* *Tyrrel* obſerves that our Hiſtorians are wholly ſilent as to the Queens getting at *Roſamond*; ſo that the Story of her making her drink Poyſon has no better Foundation than the old Ballad made upon it. It is certain ſhe did not live long, tho' the Time of her Death is not mention'd. She was buried in the *Chapter-houſe* of *Godſtow* Nunnery, near *Oxford*, where her Epitaph, which *Brompton* gives you, was to be ſeen in his Time. There are no Remains of the *Labyrinth* at this Day.

Parties, one for the young, and the other for the old King. 1173.
But before I enter upon the Particulars of this War, it will be neceſſary to ſee what Meaſures *Henry*'s Enemies had taken to ſurprize him.

After the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, *Henry*, intending to go to *Normandy*, paſs'd thro' *England* in order to take the King his Son along with him, being entirely ignorant of the Plots that had been contriving in his Abſence. Upon his Arrival at *Roan*, he receiv'd a Letter from the King of *France*, importing his earneſt Deſire to ſee his Daughter and Son-in-law, and intreating him to let them come and ſpend a few Days at *Paris*. The young Prince, having obtain'd leave, forthwith repair'd to the King his Father-in-law, with whom he concerted Meaſures, that the Confederates might all enter upon Action at the ſame Time. In the mean while, as he put off his Return under divers Pretences, *Henry* grew ſomewhat uneaſy at it; perhaps he had receiv'd ſome confus'd Hints of what was brewing; or, it may be, he was apprehenſive that by too long converſing with *Lewis*, ill Impreſſions might be made in the Mind of the young Prince. Be this as it will, he ſent for him, and the young King durſt not refuſe to go, for fear of giving him a Suſpicion of the Conſpiracy, which it greatly behov'd him to keep ſecret. As ſoon as he came back, the King, together with his Son, ſet out for *Montferrand*, a ſmall Town in *Auvergne*, where he was to hold a Conference with *Hubert* Earl of *Maurienna*, *Alphonſus* Earl of *Arragon* and *Barcelona*, *Girard* Earl of *Vienna*, and *Raymond* Earl of *Tholouſe*: What Buſineſs he had with theſe Princes, except the Earl of *Marienna*, I know not. He was to treat with this laſt about a Marriage between *John* his fourth Son, and *Alice* the Daughter of that Earl. This Affair was begun at *Montferrand*; but as it cou'd not be brought to a Concluſion there, *Hubert* accompanied the King to *Limoges*, where he preſs'd him to declare what he wou'd do for the Prince his Son, on the Score of his Marriage. *Henry* offer'd to ſettle on *John* the Cities of *Lodun*, *Chinon*, and *Mirebel*, which the young King, who was

Henry *the Son viſits the King of* France, *and concerts Meaſures with him againſt his Father.*

The King ſends for him. Virg. Bromp. Diceto.

Project of a Marriage between Prince John *and the Daughter of the Earl of* Maurienna. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 33.

1173. preſent, oppos'd to the utmoſt of his Power. He alledg'd 'twas very ſtrange the King ſhou'd be willing to aſſign an *Appenage* to his youngeſt Son, whilſt he refus'd to give one, during his Life, to the eldeſt, who bore the Title of King without having wherewithal to ſupport the Dignity. This Oppoſition created a great Coldneſs between the Father and Son, which was ſtill increas'd by the young King's demanding *Normandy* of his Father, 'till ſuch time as he ſhou'd come to the Crown of *England*. His Aim in making this Demand was only to come at a Pretence to complain in order to open the *Scene* he had concerted with the King of *France*.

Falling out between the King and his eldeſt Son.

Henry began from that Time to ſuſpect his Son had ſome Deſign in his Head. As he did not queſtion but that he had been corrupted by the King of *France*, he caus'd him to be ſo narrowly watch'd, that 'twas eaſy to ſee he was afraid of letting him go away. On the other Hand, the young Prince, dreading ſome unlucky Turn, in Caſe the King ſhou'd diſcover his Intentions, was reſolv'd to prevent the Danger. What Care ſoever the Father might take, he cou'd not hinder his Son from privately withdrawing from Court, and going over to the King of *France*. This entirely confirm'd the old King in his Suſpicions: But however, he was ſtill ignorant what his Son's Deſign might be. As ſoon as the Queen, who reſided at *London*, had intelligence of the King her Son's Arrival at *Paris*, ſhe ſent thither likewiſe *Richard* and *Geoffrey*, before *Henry* cou'd have Time to give any Orders about them. Thus the old King ſaw himſelf deſerted on a ſudden by his whole Family, without knowing what all theſe Proceedings tended to. His Wrath, which he cou'd not then vent upon his Sons, fell upon the Queen, whom he caus'd to be cloſely confin'd; but he reap'd no other Benefit from thence, but the Pleaſure of being reveng'd. Quickly after, the Confederate Princes having attack'd him in ſeveral Places, he ſtood in need of all his Reſolution to bear up under ſo many Vexations, and of all his Prudence, to make Head againſt ſo many Enemies. *Richard* repair'd to *Guienne*, where he caus'd

The King is ſuſpicious of him.

He withdraws to the King of France. Diceto.

Eleanor *ſends away* Richard *and* Geoffrey, *for which ſhe is impriſon'd.* Virg.

The King is attack'd in ſeveral Places.

caus'd the greateſt Part of the Country to revolt. *Geoffrey* having rais'd an Inſurrection in *Bretaign*, put himſelf at the Head of it, with deſign to wreſt from the King his Father the Government of that Dukedom. *Normandy* was attack'd by the King of *France*, aſſiſted by the Earls of *Flanders*, *Bulloign* and *Blois*. The King of *Scotland* made an Irruption into the *Northern* Parts of *England*. The Earl of *Leiceſter* landed at *Southampton* an Army he had levied in *France*, in hopes of ſtirring up all the *Engliſh* to revolt againſt the King. Thus *Henry* ſaw in all Parts of his Dominions hoſtile Armies, againſt whom he had made no Preparations. 1173.

In the mean while *Henry* the Son, who continued at *Paris*, acted as if he had been ſole King of *England*. He receiv'd the Homage of the *Vaſſals*: He made Grants and Donations of the Crown Lands: He aſſign'd Penſions out of the publick Revenues, and had his Seal apart, as if the King his Father had no manner of Right to intermeddle in the Government of his Kingdom. He wou'd not keep ſo much as a ſingle Perſon about him that did not ſwear *Fealty* to him without any Reſervation of the like Duty to the old King. The young Prince thought he had taken ſuch ſure Meaſures, that he look'd upon the Downfall of the King his Father as infallible. The King of *France* willing to ſooth him up in this Notion, affected continually to throw out ſatyrical Jeſts againſt old *Henry*, and wou'd hardly bear that any one ſhou'd call him *King* in his Preſence. The Truth is, the Ruin of that Monarch ſeem'd to be very near, ſince he had ſo many Enemies to deal with at once. But if he had ſhown ſome want of Reſolution, when he had to do with the Pope, he was far from any ſuch Thing upon this Occaſion. Never did his Virtues ſhine with ſo bright a Luſtre than at the Time when he ſaw himſelf as it were compell'd to give way to his Ill-fortune; and, as one may ſay, reduc'd to Extremity. Animated with freſh Courage at the ſight of the impending Danger, he manag'd his Matters with ſo much Reſolution, Prudence, and Forecaſt, that, in ſpight of the Obſtacles which ſtarted up inceſſantly,

Henry the Son acts as ſole King. Walſing. Paris. Hoved.

The old King defends himſelf vigorouſly and ſucceſsfully.

1173. ceſſantly, and from all Quarters, he obtain'd in the End a glorious Advantage over all his Enemies. The King of *France* found himſelf conſtrain'd to abandon *Verneuil*, which had coſt him a long Siege. An Army of *Brabançons*, ſent by *Henry* into *Bretaign*, vanquiſh'd the revolted *Bretaigns*, upon which they return'd to their Duty.

The Earl of Leiceſter *defeated and taken Priſoner.*

The Earl of *Leiceſter* was defeated in *England*, and taken Priſoner by *Humphrey Bohun*, General of the *Engliſh* Army, who took the Opportunity of a Truce he had made with the King of *Scotland*, to go and give the Earl Battle.

The King of Scotland *made Priſoner.*

As ſoon as the Truce was expir'd, *William* renew'd his Ravages in *Northumberland:* But whilſt he was intent upon the Plunder, he unluckily, or rather imprudently ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſurpriz'd unawares by the *Engliſh* General, who put his Army to rout, and took him Priſoner. The *Scotch* pretend this was done during the Truce; but the *Engliſh* affirm 'twas after the Truce was out. Be this as it will, the King being fallen into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, was carried firſt to *Richmond* Caſtle, from whence he was convey'd into *Normandy*.

Henry's *great Succeſs in* France.

Whilſt the Arms of *Henry* were thus crown'd with Succeſs in *England*, he was taken up in *France*, in reducing the Cities and Provinces that had revolted againſt him. Tho' 'twas not poſſible for him to be every where, he order'd his Matters ſo well, that in a few Months either by Himſelf or by Others, he became Maſter of the principal Places in *Guienne*, *Saintonge*, *Anjou*, *Poictou*, and *Bretaign*. Theſe good Succeſſes, which quite broke the Meaſures of his Enemies, entirely diſſipated the Fears he had been juſtly ſeiz'd with in the beginning of the War.

Contrary Winds prevent the young King from leading an Army into England.

In the mean Time, the King his Son, perceiving him thus embroil'd in *France*, took that Opportunity of raiſing an Army of *Frenchmen* and *Flemings*. As ſoon as the Troops were ready for Action, he put himſelf at their Head, and march'd towards *Gravelin*, where he deſign'd to embark. His Project was to paſs over into *England*, and join the King of *Scotland* and Earl of *Leiceſter*, who had not been yet defeated. Cou'd he have croſs'd the Sea

Sea at that Juncture, he wou'd undoubtedly have been Maſter of *England*. But he was detain'd ſo long by contrary Winds, that it was too late to put his Deſign in Execution. Whilſt he was waiting in vain for a favourable Gale, the King his Father had Time to reſtore his Affairs in *France*; after which, he went and embark'd at *Barfleur*, from whence he ſafely arriv'd in *England*. From *Southampton*, where he landed, he proceeded directly to *Canterbury*, in order to do *Penance* at *Becket*'s Tomb, to which he had oblig'd himſelf upon receiving *Abſolution*. As ſoon as he came in Sight of the Town, he alighted from his Horſe, tho' he was then three Miles off, and having pull'd off his Boots, he walk'd Bare-foot, in extreme Pain, till he came to the *ſacred* Tomb. There it was, after he had reſted himſelf a little, that he ſubmitted to the ſhameful *Diſcipline* impos'd upon him. He was ſcourg'd by the Hands of the *Prior* and Monks of St. *Auguſtin*'s, and ſpent the Night in Prayer in the *Cathedral* lying on the cold Pavement. On the Morrow, after having aſſiſted at a *ſolemn Proceſſion* round the *Tomb*, he departed for *London*. They have not fail'd to remark, in order to inhance the Credit, which this *new Saint* had in the Court of Heaven, that *Henry* was indebted for the Victory, his Arms obtain'd over the King of *Scotland*, to the Interceſſion of *the Bleſſed St. Thomas* *. 'Tis further affirm'd, that the King himſelf was ſo perſwaded of This, that he publickly return'd him Thanks, thereby acknowledging he did not in the leaſt queſtion his *Sanctity*.

1173.

The old King arrives in England, *and does Penance at* Becket's *Tomb.* Hoved. Gervaſ.

He is ſcourg'd by the Monks.

Walt. de Heming.

After the Defeat of the Earl of *Leiceſter* and of the King of *Scotland*, the young King's Party not daring to keep the Field any longer, were retir'd to their Strong-Holds and Caſtles. The King's Impatience to ſee them entirely reduc'd, ſuffer'd him not to make any Stay at *London*. A few days after his Arrival, he march'd with his Army to beſiege the Caſtles which were ſtill in the Hands of his Son's Partiſans. But the greateſt Part ſurrender'd them-

He reduces all the Rebels in England.

* It happen'd that the very Day the King left *Canterbury*, being the 13th of *July*, the King of *Scotland* was taken Priſoner, which the *Monks* imputed to the Merits of *Becket*.

1173. themſelves upon his Approach, and the Reſt held out but a few days. In the mean Time, the King of *France* deſpairing of any Aſſiſtance from *England*, after the Defeat of the Confederates, recall'd his Troops from *Gravelin* and went and laid Siege to *Roan*. He was in hopes of being Maſter of that City before *Henry* cou'd come to its Relief. But the brave Reſiſtance of the Inhabitants baffled his Deſigns. Upon the firſt Notice of the Siege, *Henry* put to Sea with a good Body of Troops, and made ſuch Speed, that he arriv'd in *Normandy* before *Lewis* had made any great Progreſs. His ſudden Coming ſtruck ſuch a Terror into his Enemy, that he rais'd the Siege, and retreated in the utmoſt Confuſion, leaving all his Baggage behind him. Some even aſſert, he cou'd not get off but by the Means of a Treaty, which he made no Manner of Account afterwards.

Lewis *beſieges* Roan.

Henry *forces him to raiſe the Siege.*

Hoved.

Henry's *proſperous State.*

Henry's Affairs were then in the moſt flouriſhing Condition he had ever ſeen them in. Abſolute Maſter in *England*, he beheld the *Scots* caſt down and diſheartned by the Impriſonment of their King. *Ireland* continu'd in Obedience. The *Welſh* remain'd quietly within their own Bounds. *Normandy*, *Guienne*, and the other Provinces beyond Sea, were entirely reduc'd, except a few Caſtles in *Poictou* in poſſeſſion of Prince *Richard*. 'Tis no wonder therefore that *Lewis*, now above ſixty Years of Age, ſhou'd deſpair of compaſſing the Ends he had propos'd to himſelf in the Beginning of the War. He found that the Confederacy, which he had fancied capable of pulling down *Henry*, had, on the contrary fix'd him the firmer in his Throne. On the other hand, he was apprehenſive, that in Caſe he ſhou'd die during the War, *Philip* his Son, who was not above ten years old, wou'd be hard put to it to carry it on. Theſe Conſiderations inſpir'd him with a Deſire to make Peace. *Henry* was of the ſame Mind. He ardently wiſh'd to deprive his Sons of the Protection of *France*, which was the only Thing they had left to depend upon. *Richard* his ſecond Son, a Prince of a fiery and reſtleſs Temper, was the only Perſon that oppos'd the ſo much wiſh'd-for Peace. But neither his Brothers, nor the

1174.

Richard *in vain oppoſes the making Peace.*

Hoved.

King

King of *France* thought proper to continue the War for his Sake. They agreed therefore to a Truce, during which they oblig'd themſelves to give him no Aſſiſtance. *Henry* his Father laid hold on this Juncture, and went and reduc'd to Obedience this obſtinate Son of His; who at length, ſeeing himſelf deſtitute of all Support, came and threw himſelf at his Feet, humbly imploring his Pardon. He met with a better Reception than he expected, and attended his Father to the Place where the two Monarchs had agreed to meet in order to treat of the Terms of Peace. In the Mind they both were in, 'twas no difficult Matter for them to ſettle the Articles. *Henry* granted a general Pardon to all that had revolted againſt him, without any Exception. The young King, his eldeſt Son, promis'd to be obedient for the future, and to let Prince *John* his Brother enjoy the *Appenage* which had been granted him. *Geoffrey* and *Richard* were ſatisfied with what the King their Father allotted them, or pretended to be ſo. In fine, the King of *France* promis'd to ſurrender to *Henry* what Caſtles he had taken in the Beginning of the War. To make the Reconciliation between the two Kings the ſtronger, a Marriage was reſolv'd upon between *Richard* and *Alice* Daughter of *Lewis*. The Princeſs, who was very young, was put into the Hands of *Henry* the Father, in order to be educated in *England*, till ſhe came of a fit Age to marry. But he abus'd this Truſt, as will be ſeen in the Sequel.

1174. *A Truce between the two Kings.*

Follow'd by a Peace. Hoved.

It was further agreed on by this Treaty, that all the Priſoners on both Sides ſhou'd be ſet at Liberty. But in order to exclude the King of *Scotland*, *Henry* had inſerted a Clauſe, importing that ſuch as had already treated with him about their Ranſom were not to have the Benefit of this Article. *William* was of this Number, and perhaps the only One among all the Priſoners. His Impatience to be releas'd had caus'd him to ſubmit to very hard Terms. He was to make Reſtitution of all he had taken from *England*, and do Homage for his Kingdom to that Crown. Upon his having ſworn to perform theſe Engagements, he had been ſet at Liberty. As ſoon as *Henry* had ſettled all his

The King of Scotland *is releas'd upon hard Terms.* Act. Pub. Tom. I. p. 37. Diceto. Virg.

1174. *He does Homage to both the* Henries *for* Scotland. Hoved. p. 311.

his Affairs in *France*, he repair'd to *York*, attended by the King his Son, and a numerous Train of Nobility. Here it was that before a great Number of Barons of both Realms, *William* did Homage to the two Kings of *England* for the Kingdom of *Scotland* in general, and for the County of *Galloway* in particular. This Homage was confirm'd by the solemn Oaths of the Barons of *Scotland*, that in case their King shou'd recede from what he had done, they wou'd withdraw their Obedience, and consent that the Kingdom of *Scotland* shou'd be put under an *Interdict*. But as *Henry* did not much rely on these Engagements, *William*, for his further Security, put into his Hands the Castles of *Roxborough*, *Berwick*, *Sterling* and *Edenburg*. This Affair being concluded, the young King went back to *France*, where he remain'd three years, laying out his Time in improving in all the *Exercises* of the Body and Mind, proper for a Prince.

He delivers up several Castles.

Henry *the Son goes to* France.

1175. Henry *confirms the Laws of* St. Edward. Paris.

Peace being again restor'd to *England*, from whence it had been long banish'd, *Henry* took this Opportunity to enact new Laws, and revive others that had lain neglected. Generally the Laws, which are for the Advantage of the Sovereigns, are very strictly observed, because they themselves take Care to see it done; but it too frequently happens that they are apt to neglect Those that are beneficial to the People. By this Means it is, that they continually enlarge their Power. But then this is also what often occasions Revolts, which prove sometimes more prejudicial to Kings than the Laws they have neglected or evaded. *Henry* had just experienc'd, in a sensible Manner, how dangerous it is to have to do with a discontented Nation. Besides, his three Sons, who had found the Means to make an Advantage of the People's Discontents, were full of Life, and in all Appearance, not much alter'd by the Peace he had lately made with them. He thought therefore, that, in order to prevent them from engaging in a fresh Rebellion, the best Way wou'd be to gain the People's Affections by renewing the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*. As these Laws were very advantageous for the Subject, in Comparison of Those of the *Norman* Kings, the only End of which

which was the augmenting the Revenues of the Prince, and the ſtretching the Royal Prerogative. Both *Nobles* and *People* paſſionately long'd for their Re-eſtabliſhment. They had even us'd ſome Endeavours in the preceeding Reigns, to get them in Force again, but to little Purpoſe. Nothing therefore cou'd be more grateful to the *Engliſh* than to ſee them reſtor'd. But this Condeſcenſion was a mere Flouriſh only, and went no farther than ſome publick Orders, which were never executed. 1175.

About this Time alſo *Henry* divided *England* into ſix Parts or Diſtricts, which were aſſign'd to ſo many Judges *, who were to go, at certain Times, and *hold the Aſſizes*, that is, to miniſter Juſtice to the People. This is what is ſtill practis'd at this very Day. At certain Seaſons of the Year ſtil'd *Terms*, the *Chancellor* ſends the *Judges* into the ſeveral *Counties* to do Juſtice, each in his own *Circuit*; which is the Name given to the Counties aſſign'd him *1. 1176. *Inſtitution of the itinerant Judges.* Hoved.

Henry made uſe likewiſe of theſe peaceable Times, to demoliſh all the fortified Caſtles which ſtill remain'd in private Hands, and were a great Check to the Power of the Sovereign. *The King razes the Caſtles.*

Whilſt the King was thus employ'd in the Affairs of the Publick, the Princeſs *Joanna* his Daughter was demanded in Marriage by *William the Good*, King of *Sicily*. This Match ſeeming to him advantagous for his Daughter, he diſpach'd Ambaſſadors to *Sicily* to ſettle the Marriage Articles; after which he ſent away the young Queen with a ſplendid Retinue. *The Princeſs* Joanna *is married to the King of* Sicily.

Prince *John*, his fourth Son, who of all his Children was his greateſt Favourite, being arriv'd to the Age of ele- *He has a Mind to erect* Ireland *into a Kingdom for Prince* John. Brompt. Hoved.

* *Hoveden* ſays, Three *Judges* to each *Circuit*; his Words are Theſe, *Juſticiarii itinerantes conſtituti per* Henricum *ſecundum, qui diviſit Regnum ſuum in ſex partes, per quarum ſingulas* tres Juſticiarios *itinerantes conſtituit*, &c. p. 313.

*1 Mr. *Rapin* is here miſtaken; for 'tis not in *Term*-Time, but immediately after *Hilary-Term* and *Trinity-Term* that the twelve Judges *go the Circuit* two by two; whence the *Aſſizes*, which are held but twice a Year, are call'd *Lent-Aſſizes*, and *Summer-Aſſizes*.

1176. ven years, he resolv'd to erect *Ireland* into a Kingdom on Purpose to bestow it on his beloved Son. As the Pope's Consent was necessary, he sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to negotiate the Affair. But how impatient soever he might be to see this done, it cou'd not be brought about till some years after, when it was no longer in his Power to make an Advantage of the Pope's Favour.

1177. About this Time the King of *France* perceiving himself to be much broken with Age, form'd the Design of procuring his Son *Philip* to be crown'd according to the Custom of his Predecessors: But a violent Distemper, which seiz'd the young Prince, obstructed Proceedings, and made him almost despair of his Life; *Lewis* was so affected with the Danger his Son was in, that it induc'd him to go in Pilgrimage to *Becket*'s Tomb, to obtain the Intercession of that *Saint* for the Prince's Recovery. *Henry* met him at *Dover*, and conducted him to *Canterbury*, where they both offer'd up their Prayers. When *Lewis* left the City, he gave considerable Presents to the *Church*, where the *Saint* lay interred *.

The King of France visits Becket's Tomb. Mezeray.

1178.

1179.

The Assizes of Northampton. I have slightly pass'd over the Occurrences of these last seven Years, as seeming to me of little Consequence to Foreigners: However the *English* Reader might meet in this Interval, with some Things worth his Notice. For Instance, the *Assizes of Northampton* make a very considerable Article. This was the renewing of the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, except such as related to the *Clergy*, which had been the Rise of the Contest between the King and *Becket*. We find also that during this Time, *Henry* made several Regulations for the better ministring of Justice and governing the State, which may be of some Use to the *English*, but undoubtedly signify but little to Foreigners. For which reason I thought it needless to give an Account of these Matters. However I must not omit one Particular which greatly redounds to the Glory of that Monarch.

Alphonso

* He offer'd at *Becket*'s Tomb a massy Cup of pure Gold, and gave to the Monks 7200 Gallons of Wine yearly, and freed from all *Toll* or Custom whatsoever they shou'd buy in his Kingdom. All which he confirm'd by a Charter under his Seal. *Hoved.*

Alphonſo King of *Caſtile*, and *Garcias* King of *Navarre*, having ſeveral Conteſts about certain Caſtles and Territories, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry* to entreat him to be *Umpire* between them, promiſing to ſtand by his Judgment. So great a Truſt redounding very much to that Prince's Honour, he thought himſelf oblig'd to uſe all poſſible Precautions to give Content to both Parties, or at leaſt to avoid the Imputation of having pronounc'd an unjuſt Sentence. To that End, he conven'd at *London* all the Barons and Judges of the Realm in order to have their Advice. The Affair being maturely examined into, he paſs'd a *Judgment*, in which both Kings thought proper to acquieſce (*a*). 1179. *The Kings of* Caſtile *and* Navarre *make* Henry *Arbitrator of their Differences.* Hoved. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 33.

We have an Account in *the Collection of publick Acts* of an Agreement between *Lewis* and *Henry*, whereby theſe two Monarchs bound themſelves to go together to *the Holy Land*. But as this *Record* is without Date, there is no ſetting down the preciſe Time of it. In all probability, it was made whilſt *Lewis* was at *Canterbury*. The Death of that Prince, which happen'd in 1180, prevented their intended Expedition. *Philip* his Son, who was afterwards ſirnam'd *the Auguſt*, mounted the Throne of *France* after him. 1180. Lewis *dies, and is ſucceeded by his Son* Philip.

Pope *Alexander* III. departed this Life alſo, in the Year 1181, and was ſucceeded by *Lucius* III. 1181. Lucius *made Pope.*

How great a Tranquillity ſoever, to all outward Appearance, there might then be in the Court of *England*, Ambition, Luſt, Jealouſy, in a word, all the Paſſions that raiſe the ſtrongeſt Emotions in the Hearts of Men, rul'd with an abſolute Sway over the whole Royal Family. Young *Henry* was exceedingly diſguſted at his having the bare Title of King without the Power. The King his Father, who had been all his Life a Slave to his Luſt, had not loſt his amorous Inclinations, tho' he was in his fiftieth Year. He was fallen in Love with *Alice* of *France*, deſign'd for *Richard* his Son, and Hiſtorians for the moſt *The State of the Court of* England. Brompt. p. 1151.

(*a*) You have the Particulars of this Controverſy and the King's Judgment in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, Tom. I. p. 42. and 50.

1182. Part, give us to understand, that the young Princess was but too obliging to him. *Richard* demanded Leave to consummate his Marriage. But he did this more for the Sake of having a Handle to complain, than out of any Desire to espouse a Princess whom all the World suspected of holding a criminal Commerce with her Father-in-law that was to be. *Geoffrey* being now in his four and twentieth Year, was tir'd with being under the Guardianship of the King his Father, who on the specious Pretence of Protection, with-held *Bretaign* from him. *John* was still less satisfied at his having nothing settled upon him, whilst his Brothers were so well provided for. However, as the King show'd a great deal of Affection for him, 'twas very probable, that before his Death he wou'd settle an *Appenage* on a Son he lov'd so tenderly. Queen *Eleanor* was still kept in Confinement, notwithstanding the Intercession of her Sons for her being set at Liberty.

Henry *sows Dissention among his Sons.*

Henry was not unacquainted with the Sentiments of his three eldest Sons. Altho' he carefully conceal'd his Fears, he was apprehensive however that another Conspiracy, like the former, wou'd wrest the Crown from him in his old Age. To screen himself from their Practices, he believ'd the best way wou'd be to sow Dissentions among them, least their Union shou'd one day prove fatal to him. With this View, he put it in the Head of his eldest Son, that his Brothers ought to do him Homage for the Dominions they were possess'd of, or at least, bore the Titles of. The young King gladly embrac'd this Proposal, and resolv'd to demand Homage of his Brothers. But the two younger ones were not at all dispos'd to comply. *Richard* affirm'd, that the Dutchy of *Guienne*, which was to be his Portion, was not a *Fief* of the Crown of *England*; and in That he was very right. *Geoffrey* had not altogether the same Reason to alledge, since he was not ignorant that the Dutchy of *Bretaign* was held of *Normandy*. But then it was necessary that the King shou'd deliver up *Normandy* to his eldest Son, otherwise this Last cou'd have no manner of Right to demand Homage. In the mean time 'twas far enough from the Father's Intention, to divest himself

himſelf of that Dutchy before his Death, eſpecially on the Score of a Son, whoſe Ambition he was but too well acquainted with. By this Means *Geoffrey* ſhifted off his Brother's Demand. He feign'd however to remain reſpectfully attach'd to the King his Father, tho' in private there was a good Underſtanding between him and *Richard*, who was in the ſame Caſe. Young *Henry*, whom the King his Father had politickly engag'd in this Diſpute, was not long in perceiving what he drove at. However he us'd a profound Diſſimulation. Whilſt he made as if he was incens'd againſt his Brothers, he privately concerted Meaſures with them how to bereave the King of the Supreme Power, which he had earneſtly long'd, for many Years to be inveſted with. But God permitted him not to puſh on any farther the Execution of his unjuſt Deſign. A Diſtemper, which took him out of the World, in the 28th Year of his Age, freed the King his Father from the impending Danger. Already the young Prince had repair'd to *Guienne*, with Deſign to ſtir up the *Gaſcoigns* to a Revolt, when he was ſeiz'd with a ſlow Fever, which conſtrain'd him to remain in the Caſtle of *Martel* in *Quercy*. As ſoon as he perceiv'd that his Illneſs grew every Day worſe, and that in all appearance he ſhou'd never recover, he expreſs'd great Concern for all he had done or projected againſt the King his Father. He even deſir'd to ſee him, that he might give him Marks of his Repentance. Before he died, he had the Satisfaction of receiving a Ring which the King ſent him in Token of his Pardon. If Hiſtorians have not carried Matters too far, the Prince's Repentance appears to be very ſincere. He ſhed abundance of Tears upon Receipt of the Ring; and as he found himſelf then at the Point of Death, he caus'd himſelf to be laid on a Bed ſtrew'd with Aſhes, habited in Sackcloth, and a Cord about his Neck, and in that Poſture gave up the Ghoſt. The Father's Tenderneſs was awaken'd upon News of his Son's Death. Tho' he had no Reaſon to be ſatisfied with his Conduct, he was extremely afflicted for his Loſs. But in all Appearance he was ſoon comforted.

1182.

Walſingh.

1183. *Death of King* Henry *the Son.* Hoved. p. 354.

It

1183. It is certain, that this young Prince was endow'd with excellent Qualities; perhaps he wou'd have behav'd more to his Father's Satisfaction, had he been leſs indulg'd in his Childhood. As there is no doubt but that he was ſpoil'd at firſt by his Father's extraordinary Fondneſs; ſo on the other Hand, the Conſtraint he was kept under after his Coronation, made him look upon his own Father as his Enemy. This was what put him upon plotting to dethrone him, till at length Death caus'd him to behold Things in quite another Light. *Margaret* of *France*, his Wife, by whom he had a Son which died an Infant, was ſent home to King *Philip* her Brother, who gave her in Marriage ſome time after to *Bela* King of *Hungary*.

1184. The Death of young *Henry* put a Stop for a time to the Troubles that were juſt going to diſtract the Royal Family. *Richard*, tho' naturally of an impetuous Temper, remain'd for ſome Time in quiet, in order to ſee how the King wou'd behave in relation to him, ſince he was become his *Heir Apparent*.

The Patriarch of Jeruſalem *comes and demands the King's Aid.* Bromp. Diceto.

During this Tranquillity, arriv'd at Court *Heraclius*, Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, who was come to entreat the King's Aid in behalf of the Chriſtians of the *Holy Land*. He preſented him with the Keys of *the Holy Sepulcher*, and of the *Tower of David*, in Token of their Deſire of having him for their Sovereign, as being Grandſon to *Fulk* of *Anjou*, who had been King of *Jeruſalem*. Before he return'd an Anſwer to the *Patriarch*, *Henry* conven'd an Aſſembly of the Barons at *Clerkenwell* near *London*, where that Prelate ſet forth with Tears in his Eyes, the Calamities the Chriſtians of *Paleſtine* groan'd under. Then he endeavour'd to perſwade the King, that he had an undoubted Right to the Crown of *Jeruſalem*. But this Compliment was too groſs, ſince it was notorious that *Fulk*, Grandfather to *Henry*, had worn that Crown in Right of his ſecond Wife, whereas *Geoffrey*, Father to *Henry* was born of the Firſt. To this Harangue, the *Patriarch* added a Letter from the Pope, addreſs'd to all Chriſtian Princes, to exhort them to aſſiſt their *Brethren* in *Paleſtine*. *Henry* having ask'd the Opinion of his Barons

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in relation to what the *Patriarch* had ſaid, They told him, they did not judge it proper for him to venture his Perſon in an Expedition of that Nature, but that it was ſufficient to grant a Supply of Money towards it. The King follow'd their Advice; and having furniſh'd the Patriarch with a conſiderable Sum, he contented himſelf with giving his Subjects leave to undertake the *Cruſade*, without embarking himſelf in the Enterpriſe. Purſuant to the King's Permiſſion, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſeveral Earls, Barons, Knights, and vaſt Multitudes of People of a lower Rank, prepar'd for this Undertaking. But the *Patriarch*, willing to make his Court to the King, told him, when he took his leave, that he ſhou'd have preferr'd his ſingle Perſon before all the *Engliſh* that had engag'd in the Service *.

1184. *The King furniſhes him with Money.*

Abundance of People undertake the Cruſade.

The Pope was not at all pleas'd with *Henry*'s refuſing to undertake the *Cruſade:* He even teſtified his Reſentment by denying in his turn certain Requeſts which he wou'd have granted him, had he not been diſguſted. However, not to diſcourage him entirely, he gave him leave to Crown his youngeſt Son Prince *John*, King of *Ireland*, to whom he ſent for that purpoſe, a Crown of Peacock's Feathers interwoven with Gold. In granting this Favour, he took care to reſerve a *Penny* from every Houſe in *Ireland* yearly, and ſeveral other Advantages, procuring by that means, in exchange for his Leave, which coſt him nothing, a conſiderable Addition to his Revenues. As ſoon as the King had receiv'd the Pope's Anſwer, he knighted Prince *John*, and ſent him Governor into *Ireland*, not daring to have him crown'd there, leaſt he ſhou'd give

1185. *The Pope ſends a Crown to Prince* John. Hoved.

John *made Governor of* Ireland.

* *Brompton* ſays, that the *Patriarch* gave the King very hard Words when he went with him to the Sea-ſide; and upon the King's ſtill excuſing himſelf from going to the *Holy-Land*, becauſe his Sons wou'd rebel againſt him in his Abſence; the *Patriarch* in great Anger replied, *And no wonder, for from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they wou'd go.* This he ſaid, reflecting on an old Story of a certain Counteſs of *Anjou*, the King's Great Grandmother, who being reckon'd a *Witch*, was ſaid to have flown out of Window while ſhe was at *Maſs* againſt her Will, and was never ſeen afterwards. *Bromp.* p. 1145.

1185. give *Richard* a Handle to ask the ſame Favour in *England*. *John* was very well receiv'd in the Iſland, where he was look'd upon as the Perſon that was one Day to be their Sovereign. But ſuffering himſelf to be guided by the Advice of ſome young Gentlemen who attended him thither, he ſo alienated the Affections of the *Iriſh*, that the King was forc'd at length to recall him.

He is recall'd. Gir. Camb.

Urban III. *Pope, and* Baldwin *Archbiſhop.*

Pope *Lucius* III. dying this Year, *Urban* III. his Succeſſor, appointed the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his Legate in *England*. *Baldwin*, a *Ciſtercian* Monk, was then Archbiſhop, having ſucceeded *Richard* who died in 1184.

Richard *raiſes Troubles in* Guienne.

The Affairs of *Ireland* created the King but little Uneaſineſs, in compariſon of the Troubles caus'd by the violent Temper of his Son *Richard*. This young Prince having lain quiet ever ſince his elder Brother's Death, was at length grown weary of a State ſo little agreeable to his Humour: He had made a Journey to *Guienne*, where he had taken upon him to rule with an abſolute Authority, without any Regard to the Orders of the King his Father. In this he was ſupported by the *Gaſcoigns* themſelves, who choſe much rather to have a Sovereign of their own, than to depend on the Crown of *England*. After *Richard* had labour'd ſome time to ſecure that Province in his Intereſts, he went into *Poictou*, where he drew ſome Troops together in order to war againſt the *Bretaigns*, who had given him ſome Diſguſt. *Geoffrey* his Brother, who was then in *Bretaign*, ſurpris'd at this unexpected Attack, ſpeedily levied a ſmall Army and went and gave him Battle: But as his Forces were inferior in Number, he was eaſily defeated. *Richard* wou'd have puſh'd his Deſign further, if the Dread he was in of his Father, who was preparing to come and chaſtiſe him, had not oblig'd him to retire into *Poictou*, where he pretended to ſtand upon his Defence. In the mean time, *Henry*, perfectly well acquainted with his Son's Temper, which cou'd not be tam'd but by force, had got ready an Army capable of taking from him all Hopes of making any Reſiſtance: But before he brought things to Extremity, he ſent him Word, it was his abſolute Command that he ſhou'd not concern

1186. *He makes War with the* Bretaigns. Hoved.

Henry *prepares to chaſtiſe him.*

concern himself any more with the Affairs of *Guienne*, which he cou'd not enjoy till after the Death of the Queen his Mother; and upon that Condition, he wou'd leave him in Possession of *Poicton*; but in Case he refus'd to obey, he wou'd not only compel him to it, but likewise disinherit him of the Crown of *England*. *Richard*, terrified at these Menaces, and at the King's great Preparations, thought fit to comply with his Will; but as his Submission was constrain'd, he was dissatisfied in his Mind, the Effects of which soon became visible. The Example of *William the Conqueror*, who had preferr'd his second before his eldest Son, seem'd in some Measure to authorize the King to threaten *Richard* in this manner. Accordingly the young Prince cou'd not forbear being concern'd at it, in the Dread he was in, that one of his Brothers might supplant him. The Thoughts of this made him keep fair with the King his Father, and endeavour to curb the natural Impetuosity of his Temper. But he was freed in part from his Fears by the Death of *Geoffrey* his Brother, at *Paris*, where he was gone to assist at a *Tournament* *. This Prince, who had already a Daughter call *Eleanor*, left *Constance* of *Bretaign* his Wife big with Child, who was quickly after deliver'd of a Son, whose Name was *Arthur*.

1186. Richard submits. Death of Geoffrey Duke of Bretaign.

Henry was mighty desirous of having the Guardianship of these Infants, that he might have a Pretence of keeping *Bretaign*. With this View he took a Journey thither, in hopes of obtaining the Consent of the *States*: But *Constance*, his Daughter-in-law, strongly oppos'd him. She affirm'd, that being Mother of the Children, it was her Business to take Care of their Education. Moreover, she maintain'd that they had no claim to any Thing till after her Death; seeing their Father had been Duke of *Bretaign* only in her Right. But *Henry*, as Grandfather, pretended he had an unquestionable Title to the Guardian-

The Affairs of Bretaign. Argente.

* Our Historians say, that being flung from his Horse, he was unluckily trampled to death before he cou'd be taken up. But the *French* Writers, who shou'd know best, tell us he died of a Fever. He was buried in *Notre Dame* Church.

1186. ſhip of his Grandchildren. The *States* of *Bretaign*, who were more afraid of his Power than convinc'd by his Reaſons, were in great Perplexity what to do. Juſtice and their own Intereſt requir'd, that *Conſtance*, to whom the Dutchy belong'd by Inheritance, ſhou'd have the Government of it: But on the other hand, it was dangerous to ſend away the King without ſome Satisfaction. In fine, they pitch'd upon an Expedient with which the King was well enough pleas'd, becauſe he plainly ſaw 'twou'd be very difficult to get a better. The Dutcheſs was made Guardian to her Children; and it was decreed, That all Orders and publick Acts ſhou'd run jointly in her's and her Son's Name; but with this Proviſo, that nothing of Moment ſhou'd be tranſacted without the Advice and Conſent of the King of *England*. Before he quitted *Bretaign*, *Henry* caus'd the *States* to ſwear *Fealty* to young *Arthur* as their Sovereign. He was apprehenſive, that in caſe *Conſtance* ſhou'd marry again, and have Children by a ſecond Husband, ſhe wou'd prefer them before thoſe by her firſt.

Philip forms Deſigns againſt Henry.

Henry wou'd not perhaps have been ſatisfied with what he had obtain'd of the *Bretaigns*, had he not been afraid that *Philip*, King of *France*, wou'd have interpos'd in the Matter. This Prince, young as he was, had vaſt Projects in his Head: He cou'd not help ſhowing his Uneaſineſs at ſo many fine Provinces of his Kingdom being in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. Since his Acceſſion to the Throne, he had form'd a Deſign to wreſt them out of their Hands, and to make uſe, for that Purpoſe, of all Opportunities that ſhou'd offer. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he imagin'd that the Diſſention between *Henry* and his Son *Richard*, wou'd furniſh him with a favourable Juncture, which he ought not to let ſlip. He was perſwaded that theſe Princes being at Variance, and without Armies, and not ſuſpecting they were going to be attack'd, it wou'd not be impoſſible for him to take from them

He commences a War.

ſome Part of their Dominions in *France*. In this Belief he made extraordinary Preparations, giving out they were deſign'd

deſign'd for ſuch Uſes as ſerv'd beſt to conceal his real Intent. As ſoon as he was in a Condition to act, he ſummon'd *Richard* to appear and do him Homage for *Poitou*, and requir'd King *Henry* to deliver up the Country of *Vexin*, and all that he had receiv'd as *Margaret*'s Dowry, Widow to his eldeſt Son. But he found he had not taken right Meaſures for that time: *Henry* and *Richard* being united for their common Intereſt, kept him ſo well employ'd, one in *Normandy*, the other in *Guienne*, that he was fain to ſue for a Truce, which was granted him for two Years. 1186. *Truce between the two Kings.* Diceto.

Having experienc'd how difficult it wou'd be for him to compaſs his Ends, unleſs he fomented the Diſcord which had already begun to break out between *Henry* and *Richard*, he forthwith ſet about that Work. To accompliſh his Deſign the more eaſily, he order'd it ſo, that, during the Truce, *Richard* came and paid him a Viſit at *Paris*, where he gave him ſeemingly a very hearty Welcome, even to the very letting him lye in the ſame Bed with him. Theſe Careſſes wrought a ſudden Effect in the Mind of the *Engliſh* Prince, who never once ſuſpected the Motive of them. In a little time he entertain'd ſo ſtrong an Affection for *Philip*, that he communicated to him all the Reaſons that he imagin'd he had to be diſſatisfied with the King his Father. *Philip*, making an Advantage of this Confidence, made as if he pitied his Caſe, and had his Intereſts very much at Heart: He wonder'd with him, that the King his Father ſhou'd deal ſo hardly by him; and that after having caus'd his elder Brother to be crown'd long before he was come to his Years, he ſhou'd refuſe him the ſame Favour. He ſlily intimated, that there was Reaſon to fear he had ſome deſign to place on the Throne his youngeſt Son *John*, of whom he was exceeding fond. From theſe Conſiderations it was natural to infer, that there was a Neceſſity of taking Care before-hand to prevent ſo unjuſt a Proceeding. *Richard* receiv'd theſe Marks of Affection with that Earneſtneſs and Confidence, that *Philip* was in great hopes of attaining his Ends. 1187. Philip *ſeduces* Richard.

1187. *Complaints of* Richard *against his Father.*

In the mean time, *Richard*'s long ſtay at *Paris* made the King his Father extremely uneaſy, who never ceas'd ſending for him. He was quickly ſenſible that his Suſpicions were not without Grounds. At the time the Truce was about to expire, *Richard*, without quitting the Court of *France*, openly complain'd of his Father's preventing him from conſummating his Marriage with the Princeſs that was deſign'd for his Wife. But as *Henry* might recall him on pretence of ſolemnizing the Nuptials, he had another excuſe ready for his not returning home. He pretended to have had private Intelligence that the King had a Mind to apprehend him, and keep him in Cuſtody, that he might with the greater Eaſe place his younger Son on the Throne. Theſe Proceedings of *Richard* threw *Henry* into great Perplexities; he perceiv'd that this Affair might be attended with ill Conſequences, if he found not the Means to get his Son out of the Hands of *Philip*: But 'twas no eaſy Matter to do this, if *Richard* himſelf was unwilling. As the main Buſineſs therefore was to gain his Son, he privately diſpatch'd a truſty Meſſenger, who made him ſenſible that he had imprudently fallen into the King of *France*'s Snare, whoſe ſole Aim was to ſow Diſſention between him and the King his Father, in order to make his Advantage of their Miſunderſtanding. *Richard* being prevail'd upon by theſe Remonſtrances, abruptly left the Court of *France*, and return'd to the King.

He returns Home.

The taking of Jeruſalem *by the* Saracens. Hoved. Diceto.

The Truce being expir'd, the two Monarchs took up Arms again. But juſt as they were renewing Acts of Hoſtility, they receiv'd a melancholy Piece of News, which ſuſpended their Animoſity for a Time. This was that the City of *Jeruſalem* was taken by *Saladin* Sultan of *Babylon*, and that *Guy de Luſignan*, who was the laſt that ſway'd the Sceptre of that Kingdom, was in the Hands of the *Infidels*. As the Union of the *Chriſtians* had formerly been the means of conquering the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, ſo their Diſſentions were the Occaſion of its Downfall, after it had laſted very near a whole Century.

This

This News, which put the Princes of *Europe* under a great Conſternation, was particularly fatal to Pope *Urban* III, who died with Grief. He was quickly followed by *Gregory* VIII. his Succeſſor, who having ſat in the *Papal Chair* but three Months, made Room by his Death for *Clement* III. 1187. Clement III. *Pope.*

The two Kings of *France* and *England* were very ſenſibly affected with the Loſs the Chriſtians had lately ſuffer'd in the Eaſt. Their Zeal being rouz'd upon that Occaſion, they reſolv'd with one Conſent to drop their private Quarrel in order to eſpouſe *the Cauſe of God* (for ſo they term'd it in thoſe Days) and to have a Meeting at *Giſors*, to conſult about the means how to remedy this Misfortune. At this Interview, their firſt Buſineſs was to renew the Truce: Then the two Monarchs, as well as the Earl of *Flanders*, who was preſent at the Conference, took upon them the *Croſs*, diſtinguiſhing themſelves by three different Colours. *Philip* choſe a Red, *Henry* a White, and the Earl of *Flanders* a Grey *Croſs*. The Subjects of each Prince that ingag'd in the *Cruſade*, imitated them in this Diſtinction. Philip *and* Henry *make a Truce, and undertake the Croſs.* Mezeray.

But the Zeal the two Kings had ſhown, was not long-liv'd. Their Ardor quickly gave way to an Animoſity ſo much the more ſurpriſing, as the Occaſion of it was very ſlight and of little moment. Prince *Richard*, who was to make one in the Expedition to the *Holy Land*, having occaſion for Money to defray his Expences, was come to *Poictou* in order to raiſe ſome. Whilſt he was employ'd in this Affair, one of *Raymund* Earl of *Tholouſe*'s Officers, who was paſſing thro' his Territories, having given him ſome cauſe of Diſguſt, he clapt him up in Priſon. *Raymund* having Notice of it, order'd by way of Repriſal, two *Poictevin* Gentlemen to be taken up, as they were going by *Tholouſe*, in their return from a Pilgrimage to St. *James* of *Compoſtella*. Theſe Acts of Violence having rais'd a very warm Quarrel between the two Princes, *Richard* took occaſion from thence to revive the Pretenſions of the Houſe of *Poictou* to the Earldom 1188. *Quarrel between* Richard *and the Earl of* Tholouſe. Diceto.

of

1188. of *Tholouſe*. This furniſh'd him with a Pretence to enter Earl *Raymund*'s Country with a powerful Army, where he became Maſter of *Moiſſac*, and ſeveral other Places. *Raymund* finding himſelf thus engag'd in a War, of which he did not queſtion but the King of *England* was the Author, demanded the Aſſiſtance of *France*. Tho' *Philip* knew better than the Earl of *Tholouſe*, and was very ſenſible that *Richard* might very poſſibly undertake the War without the Knowledge of the King his Father, he pretended however to believe it was done by *Henry*'s Orders. Accordingly, under pretence of aſſiſting the Earl of *Tholouſe* his Vaſſal, he made a Diverſion in *Berri*, where he took *Iſſoudun*. This was the Occaſion of the freſh Rupture between the two Kings, when they ſeem'd to breath nothing but Death and Deſtruction againſt the *Infidels*.

The War renewed between Philip *and* Henry.

The beginning of this War having nothing remarkable in it, it will be needleſs to relate the Particulars. 'Tis ſufficient to take notice of its Conſequences, which prov'd very fatal to the King of *England*. Whilſt it was vigorouſly carried on by both Parties, all on a ſudden, when *Henry leaſt* expected it, *Richard* his Son left him and went over to the King of *France*. It is very probable, this was brought about by *Philip*'s Intrigues, which the Hiſtorians have not taken care to clear up. Be this as it will, *Richard* pretended to have two Occaſions of Complaint againſt the King his Father. The firſt was, that he detain'd from him the Princeſs *Alice*, and had offer'd *Philip*, who preſs'd him to order his Nuptials to be ſolemniz'd, to marry her to Prince *John* upon more advantageous Terms. Whether this was Fact, or whether *Philip* had imparted a Falſhood to him by way of Secret, in order to ſet him at Variance with *Henry*, he believ'd, or feign'd to believe, that a Project was on foot to deprive him of his Birth-right, and to place his younger Brother on the Throne. The other Occaſion of Complaint was, that *Philip* having offer'd to conſent to a Truce, *Henry* had refus'd to comply, affirming 'twas more proper to conclude a Peace, whereby the Pretenſions of each Party might be

Richard *goes over to the King of* France.

Richard's *Complaints.*

be adjuſted, before they engag'd in their Expedition to the *Holy Land*. This was what *Richard* did not like: His Reaſon was, becauſe by a Peace he wou'd have been oblig'd to yield up all his Conqueſts in the Earldom of *Tholouſe*, whereas by a Truce he wou'd have kept Poſſeſſion of them. 1188.

As much as *Richard*'s Revolt diſquieted the King his Father, ſo much did it rejoice *Philip*, who, from that time had a great Advantage over his Enemy. In going off, *Richard* had ſet againſt the King part of his Provinces in *France*, and by that means had almoſt diſabled him from carrying on the War. For this Reaſon *Henry* haſten'd to the utmoſt of his Power, the Concluſion of the Peace: But *Philip* propos'd ſuch hard Terms, that there was no accepting them. He requir'd, that the Marriage between *Richard* and *Alice* ſhou'd be conſummated; and that the Prince ſhou'd be crown'd before his Father's Death, to the end no one for the future might diſpute his Right to the Crown. *Henry* cou'd not reliſh either of theſe two Conditions: His Love for *Alice* wou'd not ſuffer him to ſee her in the Arms of another, and perhaps there were very ſtrong Reaſons againſt his giving her to his Son. On the other Hand, he had experienc'd too much to his Coſt, the ill Conſequences of having crown'd *Henry* his eldeſt Son, to be willing to run the ſame risk with regard to this, who ſeem'd to him no leſs dangerous than his Brother. This firſt Attempt having fail'd, *Henry* made another Effort towards obtaining a Peace: But he found that *Philip*, grown more untractable, added a third Article. He demanded that *Henry* ſhou'd carry Prince *John* with him to the *Holy Land*, leaſt in the Abſence of *Richard*, he ſhou'd ſeize upon the Crown in caſe their Father died in the Expedition. *Henry*, incens'd at *Philip*'s intermeddling ſo far in his Family-Affairs, broke off the Negotiation. This Rupture confirm'd *Richard* in his Suſpicion that he had a mind to deprive him of the Crown, in order to ſet it on the Head of his younger Brother. 1189. Henry *tries in vain to make Peace.* Hoved.

All

1189. Philip *receives* Richard's *Homage.*

All Hopes of Peace being vaniſh'd, *Philip* receiv'd the Homage of *Richard* for all the Provinces in *France* belonging to the Crown of *England*, pretending that *Henry* had incurr'd the Guilt of Rebellion, in warring againſt his Sovereign.

This Step being taken, they return'd to the ſhedding of Chriſtian Blood with greater Fury than ever, and the Zeal they had expreſs'd againſt the *Infidels* inſenſibly cool'd. *Henry* lay under a great Diſadvantage in this War. His Subjects in *France*, for the moſt Part, had abandon'd him and ſided with his Son. This Revolt was ſo general, that being gone to *keep* his *Chriſtmas* at *Saumur*, he had the Mortification to ſee himſelf attended but by three or four Nobles. His Vexation was ſtill encreas'd by the ill Succeſs of the following Campaign. His Troops, every where defeated, were at length reduc'd to ſo ſmall a Number, that it was not in his Power to continue the War. His Affairs being in this wretched Poſture, he deſir'd the Pope to interpoſe his Authority to procure him a Peace. But this Method prov'd ineffectual. 'Tis true, the Pope ſent *Legates* into *France*, who threatned *Philip* with Excommunication, in Caſe he prevented the King of *England* from accompliſhing his Vow. But theſe Menaces had not the Effect that was expected from them. The *French* Monarch boldly replied, that the Pope had nothing to do to intermeddle in the Affairs of his Kingdom, eſpecially when the Buſineſs in hand was the chaſtiſing one of his *Vaſſals* who had been ſo audacious as to take up Arms againſt him. And added, with an inſulting Air, *He did not queſtion, but that the Smell of* [*the King of* England's] Sterlings *made the Legates talk in that Strain.* *Henry* dreading the Conſequences of ſo unfortunate a War, and finding the Pope cou'd do him no further Service, was fain at length, to agree to the Terms *Philip* was pleas'd to impoſe upon him, the Principal of which were Theſe:

Henry *is deſerted by his* French *Subjects.* Hoved. p. 371.

He is every where defeated.

He applies to the Pope.

Philip's *Reply to the Legates.* Hoved.

Henry *is fain to comply with* Philip's *Terms.*

The Articles of the Peace. Diceto. Brady.

That all *Henry*'s Subjects, as well *Engliſh* as *French*, ſhou'd ſwear Fealty to *Richard*; and that Thoſe who had ſided

ſided with the Son, ſhou'd not return to the Father, 'till within one Month at furtheſt before he ſet out for the *Holy Land*. 1189.

That the two Kings, with Prince *Richard*, ſhou'd meet at *Vezelay* in *Nivernois*, in order to begin their Journey.

That all the Subjects of the King of *England* ſhou'd have free Paſſage all over *France*, paying only the old Cuſtoms.

That *Henry* ſhou'd be oblig'd to pay to the King of *France* twenty thouſand Marks for the Damages he had ſuſtain'd in the War.

That all the Barons ſubject to the King of *England* ſhou'd ſwear that in Caſe he violated the Treaty they wou'd aſſiſt the King of *France* againſt him.

That the Cities of *Tours* and *Mans* ſhou'd remain in the Hands of *Philip*, untill the King of *England* had perform'd all theſe Articles *.

'Twas with extreme Reluctancy, that a Prince of ſo high a Spirit as was *Henry*, ſtoop'd to ſuch hard Conditions. The Remembrance of the Advantages, he had all along obtain'd over *France* before this fatal War, inſtead of comforting him, ſerv'd only to render his Cup the more Bitter. Cloſe at the Heels of this Mortification follow'd another, which he cou'd not bear up under. He diſcover'd, that during the late War, his beloved Son Prince *John* had held Intelligence with *Philip*, and was concern'd in all his Brother's Plots to dethrone a Father who had always ſhown a tender Affection for him. His Grief threw him into ſo violent a Paſſion, that he curs'd the Day in which he was born, and utter'd Imprecations againſt his Sons, which the Biſhops then preſent cou'd never bring him to revoke. Quickly after, he fell ſick at *Chinon*; and perceiving his End was at Hand, he caus'd himſelf to be carried into the Church before the Altar,

Henry *finds that his Son* John *had held Intelligence with* Richard. Brompt.

He curſes his Sons.

He dies at Chinon.

* The firſt Article was, that *Alice* ſhou'd be deliver'd to one Perſon in five whom Earl *Richard* ſhou'd chuſe, and that She ſhou'd be married to him at his Return from *Jeruſalem*. Hoved. p 372.

1189. where after he had confeſs'd himſelf and ſhown ſome Signs of Repentance, he expir'd. His Eyes were no ſooner clos'd but his Domeſticks all left him, ſome of whom had even the Inſolence to ſtrip him and leave him quite naked in the Church. His Corps was remov'd to *Fonteverard*, where he was buried according to his own Order *. An extraordinary Accident render'd this Removal of his Body very remarkable. *Richard* his Son being come to meet the Funeral Pomp, in order to attend his Father to his Grave, as ſoon as he approach'd, the Blood in great Abundance guſh'd out of the Mouth and Noſtrils of the Corps. *Richard*, tho' naturally very hard-hearted, was ſo mov'd at this Sight that he burſt out into Tears, and openly accus'd himſelf of having been the Occaſion of his Father's Death.

His Corps bleed at the Approach of Richard.

Character of Henry II.

Such was the End of *Henry* II. one of the moſt illuſtrious Princes of his Time, both for Greatneſs of *Genius* and Extent of Dominions. The Mixture of Vices and Virtues which met in this Monarch makes it a hard Matter to give him a general Character which will exactly ſuit with him. He was Valiant, Prudent, Generous, Politick, Studious, Learned, and of an exalted Genius. On the other Hand, he was exceſſive Haughty, of an immeaſurable Ambition *', and a boundleſs Luſt: Never ſatisfied with Love or Empire, he ſpent his whole Life in Purſuit of new Conqueſts in Both. He attempted the Chaſtity of all that came in his way, not excepting the Princeſs deſign'd for his own Son: Failings, which in a great Meaſure

* He was interr'd in the Choir of the Nunnery which he himſelf had founded with Deſign to be buried there. A ſtately Tomb hath been ſince erected for him and *Eleanor* his Queen, as alſo for his Son King *Richard* and his Queen, at the Charge of the Lady Abbeſs *Jeane Baptiſte de Bourbon*, natural Daughter to King *Henry* the Fourth of *France*; their Effigies in Braſs, which before lay in other Parts of the Church, being remov'd and plac'd together in one Monument. See *Stanford*'s Genealogical Hiſtory of the Kings of *England*, p 64, 65.

*' He ſaid in his Proſperity, *The whole World was but ſufficient for one Great Man.*

ſure balance all his noble Endowments. In the Beginning of his Reign, which was one of the happieſt for ſome years, there was not in *Europe* a King more fear'd or reſpected. Encircled with Glory and Honour which ſeem'd to promiſe him great Proſperity, he was look'd upon as the happieſt Prince in the World, before *Becket*'s Affair interrupted his Felicity. But that fatal Quarrel, which created him ſo many Uneaſineſſes, being follow'd by Diſſentions in his own Family, he beheld the Reverſe of the good Fortune which till then had attended him. However, if this Prince was unhappy, his Misfortunes fell only on his own Head and not on his Kingdom, which had never been in ſo flouriſhing a Condition as in his Reign. By his Acceſſion to the Crown, *England* became one of the moſt powerful States in *Europe*, and began from thenceforward to be on an equal Foot with *France*, to which before it was very much inferior. Beſides the large and rich Provinces which were annex'd, in his Time, to the *Engliſh* Monarchy, the Conqueſt of *Ireland* is what gives a great Luſtre to his Reign, and ought to render his Memory precious to the *Engliſh*. He died on the 6th of *July* in the Year 1189, in the 57th year of his Age, after having reign'd thirty four Years, eight Months and twelve Days. 1189.

Of the five Sons, which he had by *Eleanor* of *Guienne* his Wife, *Richard* and *John* only ſurviv'd him: But *Geoffrey*, his third Son, had left behind him a Son and a Daughter, of whom I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. *Matilda* his eldeſt Daughter, who had been married to the Duke of *Saxony* *, died immediately after him. *Eleanor* was Wife to *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*, and *Joanna* to *William* II. ſirnam'd *the Good*, King of *Sicily*. *His lawful Iſſue.*

Beſides

* *Henry* Duke of *Saxony* King *Henry*'s Son-in-law, having been accus'd of Treaſon againſt the Emperor *Frederick*, was condemn'd to Baniſhment for three Years, and depriv'd of his Dominions. Some Years after the Emperor reſtor'd to him that Part of them, containing at this Day the Dutchies of *Hanover*, *Zell*, and *Wolfembuttle*. From this Duke *Henry* by *Matilda* is deſcended his preſent Majeſty King GEORGE.

1189. *His base Issue.*

Besides his lawful Issue, *Henry* had two natural Sons by *Rosamond Clifford*; namely, *William*, sirnam'd *Long-Sword*, who was Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Geoffrey*, who was Archbishop of *York*. By a Daughter of Sir *Ralph Blewit*, *Henry* had also another natural Son call'd *Morgan*, who, having been elected Bishop of *Durham*, cou'd not obtain the Pope's Confirmation, because he refus'd to take the Name of his Mother's Father.

'Tis pretended that the Corps of the Great Arthur *was found in this Reign.* Brompt.

Some Historians relate that in the Reign of *Henry* II. was found in the Church-Yard of *Glassenbury-Abbey*, a Grave wherein were three Bodies laid one upon another, each in a Coffin by it self. 'Twas pretended that the First was *Genevier*'s, second Wife of the Great *Arthur*, the Second, *Mordred*'s his Nephew, and the Third, *Arthur*'s himself, which was distinguish'd by a leaden Cross, whereon were these Words: *Here lies the illustrious King* Arthur *in the Isle of* Avalon. What is further asserted, that his Legs were a Third longer than Those of the largest Men, and that there was the Distance of a Span between his Eye-brows, renders this Relation somewhat doubtful. However this Discovery, whether Real or not, serv'd to undeceive some weak simple People among the *Welsh*, who were still in Expectation of the Return of their Heroe.

SECT. II.

6. RICHARD I. *Sirnamed* CŒUR-de-LION.

AS ſoon as *Henry* was laid in his Grave, every one plainly perceived that *Richard*'s Complaints had been nothing more than mere Pretences to colour his Rebellion. He had earneſtly deſired leave to conſummate his Marriage with *Alice* of *France*, and complained of the King his Father's great Injuſtice in obſtructing his Happineſs. And yet, when it was in his Power to make himſelf happy, as he pretended, he dropped all Thoughts of it. On the other Hand, his Jealouſies and Fears, on account of Prince *John* his Brother, vaniſhed on a ſudden. Inſtead of returning forthwith into *England*, as he would doubtleſs have done, had he been apprehenſive of the Cabals of the Prince his Brother, he ſtaid above a Month in *France*, after the Death of *Henry*, without having the leaſt

1189. Richard *has no thoughts of marrying* Alice;

and ſhows no Jealouſy of his Brother John.

1189. *He does Homage to Philip and is crowned Duke of Normandy.*

least Uneasiness on that Score. His first Care was to do Homage to *Philip*, and return him Thanks at the same time for the Protection he had granted him. This Visit procured him the Restitution of the Places that Monarch had taken during the late War. Then he went and received the *Ducal* Crown of *Normandy* at *Roan*, where he remained some Time, which was a clear Evidence he was not afraid that his Absence might cause any Prejudice to his Affairs in *England*. And indeed, so far were the *English* from disputing his Right to the Crown, that they performed his Orders as if he had been already invested with it. The first he sent thither was to set at Liberty Queen *Eleanor* his Mother, who had been confined 16 Years. At the same Time he entrusted her with the Administration of the Government during his Absence, and impowered her to release what Prisoners she thought fit. The Queen, whose Sufferings had made her sensible of those of other People, used with Pleasure, for the Relief of the Unfortunate, the Power the King her Son had given her. She was even observed, during the Residue of her Life, to omit no Opportunity of exercising her Charity towards such as were debarred the Sweets of Liberty, the Value of which she had been but too well acquainted with during her long Confinement.

He releases the Queen his Mother. Hoved.

He banishes from his Presence such as had sided with him. Hoved. P. 373.

Eleanor's Compassion for Prisoners had nothing in it but what was very natural: But *Richard*'s Treatment of those that had for his sake exposed themselves to the Resentment of the King his Father was something very surprizing. Instead of rewarding them, as they expected, he forbid them ever appearing in his Presence. At the same Time he affected to load with Favours all that had stood out against his Sollicitations. Thus was seen on that Occasion, an Instance of what has been often remarked, that such as make use of indirect Means to compass their Ends, detest in their Hearts the Instruments they employ, and approve of the Conduct of those who are not to be diverted from their Duty.

After

After *Richard* had ſettled all his Affairs in *France*, he came to *London*, where he was ſolemnly crowned by *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who adminiſtred to him the Cuſtomary Oath. Ever ſince *William the Conquerour*, there had been no King but what had taken the ſame Oath; though not one of them had made a Conſcience of keeping it. This was what the Archbiſhop took the freedom to repreſent to *Richard*, conjuring him at the ſame Time, in the Name of God, to be mindful of the Engagements he was entered into upon his taking upon him the Royal Dignity. *Richard* made Anſwer, that by God's Aſſiſtance he would punctually perform them all *. 1189. *He is crowned at* London. Diceto. Gervaſ. Hoved.

The Ceremony of the Coronation was ſomewhat diſturbed by the Maſſacre of ſome *Jews*, who by ſtriving too eagerly to get into the Church to ſee the Solemnity, gave Occaſion to the People to fall upon them and kill ſeveral before their Fury could be reſtrained. But the Authors of this Diſorder were not ſuffered to go unpuniſhed; The King having ordered a ſtrict Enquiry to be made, ſome of the chief Ring-leaders were put to Death. *Some Jews ſlain.* Nubrig. *l.* 4.

* It may not be amiſs from *Hoveden* and *Diceto* (who were Eye witneſſes) to ſet down the Ceremonies at large, ſince we may learn from thence the whole Form of an ancient *Coronation*: The Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, *Roan*, *Triers*, (who came over with the King) and *Dublin*, with other Biſhops and Abbots in rich *Copes*, and having the *Croſs*, *Holy Water*, and *Cenſors* carried before them, received the Duke at the Door of his Privy chamber, and conducted him with a *Solemn Proceſſion* to the Abbey-Church of *Weſtminſter*. In the Middle of the Biſhops and Clergy went four Barons, each carrying a Golden Candleſtick, with a Taper; after whom came *Geoffrey de Lucy*, bearing the Royal Cap, and *John the Marſhal* next, with a maſſy pair of Gold Spurs: Then *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Royal Sceptre: After him *William Fitz-Patrick* Earl of *Salisbury*, with a *Golden Rod*, having a *Dove* on the Top: Then three other Earls, *David* Brother to the King of *Scotland*, as Earl of *Huntingdon*; Prince *John* Earl of *Lancaſter* and *Derby*, with *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, each bearing a Sword upright, the Scbboards richly adorned with Gold: After them ſix Earls and Barons bearing a *checkered Table*, on which were laid the *Royal Robes*, and other *Regalia*: Then came *William Mandevil* Earl of *Albemarle*, bearing a large Crown of Gold ſet with precious

It is not to be wondered at, that the People ſhould fall foul of the *Jews* upon ſo ſlight an Occaſion. Ever ſince the News of the taking of *Jeruſalem* was ſpread over *Europe*, nothing but Vengeance was breathed againſt the Enemies of Chriſt: Though the *Jews* had no Hand in the *Revolution* that had juſt happened in the *Eaſt*, their not being *Chriſtians* was enough to render them Objects of Hatred. At ſuch a Juncture, they would doubtleſs have found themſelves expoſed to worſe Perſecutions, if the Preparations which were making for the *Cruſade*, had not turned

cious Stones: Then Duke *Richard* himſelf (between the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Bath*) over whom a Canopy of State was born by four Barons: Then followed a great Train of Earls, Barons, Knights *&c.* In this Order he came into the Church, where before the *High-Altar*, laying his Hand on the *Evangeliſts* and *Relicks* of *Saints*, he took a Solemn Oath to endeavour to his utmoſt, *1ſt. That the Church of God and Chriſtian People might enjoy Peace. 2dly. That he would prohibit all Rapine and Violence. 3dly That he would command juſt Judgements to be given with Equity and Mercy.* Then they put off all his Garments from his Middle upwards, except his Shirt, which was open on the Shoulders, and the Archbiſhop anointed him on the *Head*, the *Breaſt*, and the *Arms*; then covering his Head with a Linnen Cloth, he ſet the Cap thereon, which *Geoffrey de Lucy* carried; and when he had put on his *Dalmatica*, or Upper-Garment, the Archbiſhop delivered to him the Sword of the Kingdom; which done, two Earls put on his Shoes, and he was led, with the Royal Mantle hung on him, to the Altar, from whence the Crown was taken and given to the Archbiſhop, who ſet it upon the King's Head, delivering the *Sceptre* into his Right Hand and the *Rod Royal* into his Left. Thus crowned, he was brought back to his Throne with the ſame Solemnity as before. Then *Maſs* began, and when they came to the *Offertory*, the King offered a *Mark* of pure Gold, as his Predeceſſors were wont to do. After *Maſs*, he was atttended thus royally arrayed, to a Chamber adjoining, in like Proceſſion as before: Whence (after a ſhort Repoſe) he with the ſame Proceſſion returned into the *Choir*; and having put off his heavy *Crown* and *Robes*, he went to Dinner. At the *Coronation Feaſt*, which was kept in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the Citizens of *London* were his Butlers, and thoſe of *Wincheſter* ſerved up the Meat. Then the Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſat down with the King, whilſt the Earls and Barons ſerved in the King's Palace as their Places and Dignities required. *Hoved.* 373. *Diceto*, 647.

turned the Fury of the People againſt the *Saracens* *. Their Zeal, eſpecially in *France* and *England*, ran ſo high, that the Number of the *Croiſes* was prodigious. Every one gloried, either in liſting himſelf to go in Perſon againſt the *Infidels*, or in advancing Money towards carrying on the War. *Richard* had bound himſelf by a Vow to this Expedition, before the Death of the King his Father. He had renewed his Engagement at the laſt Interview between him and *Philip*, where theſe two Monarchs had agreed to join their Forces, and go to the Aſſiſtance of the Chriſtians in *Paleſtine*. *Richard* was hardly on the Throne, when, for fear he ſhould forget his Promiſe, *Philip* ſent to put him in mind of it. There was no need to uſe much Sollicitation to incline him to that Undertaking. So far was he from deſiring to be excuſed, that his Thoughts were wholly employed in making Preparations for his Journey, and all his other Affairs laid aſide for the Sake of that. Whether he acted from a pure Principle of *Zeal* and *Devotion*, or from an eager Deſire of acquiring Fame, is what I dare not determine. However, if one may be allowed to paſs a Judgement from the Character of *Richard*, it may be preſumed that he was ſwayed more by the Motive of *Glory* than of *Religion*.

1189. *The Ardor of the Chriſtians for the Cruſade.*

Philip *puts* Richard *in mind of his Vow.*

Hoved. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 63.

As

* The Example of the *Londoners* was followed in the Towns of *Norwich*, St. *Edmundsbury*, *Lincoln*, *Stanford* and *Lynn*, where the Rabble roſe upon the *Jews*; but their greateſt Fury was exerted againſt them at *York*, where 500 Men, beſides Women and Children, having prevailed with the Governour to let them into the Caſtle to avoid the Rage of the Populace; the *High Sheriff* came and required them to deliver it up, which they refuſing to do, the People drew up in a Body and attacked the Caſtle. At laſt the *Jews* offered a great Sum of Money to go off with their Lives; but the People denied to give them Quarter. Upon which an antient *Rabbin* propoſed the killing themſelves rather than fall into the Hands of the *uncircumciſed Chriſtians*. This Motion was unanimouſly agreed to, and their Method in putting their tragical Reſolve in execution was thus: Every Maſter of a Family cut his Wife's and Children's Throats firſt, then diſpatched his Servants, and concluded with the Slaughter of himſelf. *Will.* of *Newburgh*, p. 4. c. 9.

1189. *The Means used by* Richard *to raise Money.*

As this Prince had great Designs in View, and as his Aim was to lead a powerful Army into *Palestine*, there was a Necessity of his raising vast Sums of Money for its Maintenance. Accordingly he was wholly intent upon that Business, till the Time came that he was to set forward. The late King had left in his Coffers above a hundred thousand Marks, and *Richard* had drawn almost the like Sum from the High-Treasurer and others, who had had the Management of the *Treasury* in the late Reign. But as these Sums did not seem to him sufficient for the Charges of his Voyage, there were no Ways and Means but what he made use of to increase them. He sold almost all the *Crown-Lands* to such as had a Mind to purchase them. The Bishops and Abbots, as they had the most ready Money by them, made a greater Advantage of this Juncture than other Men. The Bishop of *Durham* purchased the Earldom of *Northumberland* for himself and Successors; upon which the King said merrily, That *He had made a young Earl of an old Bishop.* But this new Dignity was not capable of satisfying the Ambition of the Prelate, he gave moreover ten thousand Marks to be appointed *Regent* during the King's Absence. As it evidently appeared that *Richard* was unwilling to omit any Means that might procure him ready Money, to defray the Expences of his intended Voyage, the King of *Scotland* was of Opinion, he ought to lay hold on this Opportunity. To that Purpose, he made him an Offer of ten thousand Marks to deliver up *Berwick* and *Roxborough*, and to desist from his Claim to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*. *Richard*, very readily closing with this Proposal, gave up the two Places, and by an *Authentick Charter*, discharged the King of *Scotland*, and his Successors from the Homage *Henry* II. had extorted from him.

Hoved.

Nubrig. c. 5.

Hoved.

Rich. *of the* Devizes.

Abundance of People were very uneasy at these *Alienations*. There were even some that took the Liberty to represent to the King the ill Consequences of them. But he stopped their Mouths with this Reply; *I would sell* London *itself could I meet with a Chapman able to purchase it.* The Sums he had amassed by these extraordinary Ways, not

not anſwering yet to the Vaſtneſs of his Projects, he bethought himſelf of a new Expedient to augment them. As there were great Numbers who had haſtily and unadviſedly engaged in the *Cruſade*, he procured from the Pope a Power to diſpenſe with ſuch as repented of their Vow. By that means he levied large Sums of Money. After he had practiſed theſe general Methods, he proceeded to exact Money from the richeſt of his Subjects. He borrowed of Thoſe who led unblameable Lives: But for ſuch as gave him any Handle, he threatned to call them to a ſtrict Account, and ſo put them under a Neceſſity of ſaving themſelves harmleſs by making him Preſents. It was by this Means that he compelled *Glanville* a rich Lawyer, whom he had clapt up in Priſon, to purchaſe his Liberty with Fifteen Thouſand Pounds *Sterling**. Though he had reſolved to leave the *Great Seal* in his Abſence in the Hands of *Longchamp* his Favourite, whom he had juſt made *High-Chancellor*, he demanded of him however a large Sum to continue him in that Poſt. Whilſt he was thus heaping up Money, the *Clergy* were exerting their utmoſt Endeavours to procure him Soldiers. The *Pulpits* reſounded with the great Merit of ſerving in the *Holy War*. The *Confeſſors* enjoined no *Penances* but what tended to promote the grand Deſign of recovering the *Holy Land*. By this Means the Army quickly became very numerous, and ſo much the better provided with all Things, as there was not an Officer or common Soldier but what had furniſhed themſelves with Neceſſaries.

1189. Hoved. P. 375.

Richo*f the* Dev.

In

* This was *Ranulph de Glanvil* whom *Henry* II. made *chief Juſticiary* of all *England*, *Cujus ſapientia* (ſays *Hoveden*) *condita ſunt Leges ſubſcriptæ quas* Anglicanas *vocamus*, after which he gives us the Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor* and *William* I. as if theſe had never been brought into any regular Form before his Time. The Book that now carries his Name has kept the ſame Title in its ſeveral Editions, viz. *Tractacus de Legibus & conſuetudinibus Regni Angliæ, tempore Regis* Henrici II *compoſitus*, &c. In which we have *Forms* of ſuch *Writs* as were then (and are moſtly ſtill) in uſe, upon all the ſeveral Occaſions there treated on. He is ſaid to be the Inventor of the famous Writ of *Aſſize*, or *de novel Diſſeſin*. He died in his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, being very aged.

1189 Richard *uneasy on Account of his Brother* Gerval. Hoved. Paris.

In the midst of the King's Satisfaction at seeing the Preparations for his Voyage in so great Forwardness, there was one Thing that gave him some Disquiet. As in all Probability, he should be gone a good while, he was apprehensive that the Prince his Brother might take the Advantage of his Absence and seize the Crown. He would very fain have carried him along with him. But as *John* showed no Inclination for the Expedition, he would not compel him to make a *Vow* against his Will. To get rid of his Fears, he resolved to load with Favours the young Prince, whose Ambition he was not yet thoroughly acquainted with. He was persuaded, that the Grants he should make him would engage him to a suitable Return of Gratitude. In this Belief, he invested him with six Earldoms, *Cornwal*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, and *Lancaster*, and gave him to Wife *Avisa* Heiress of the House of *Glouceſter*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* forbad the Marriage, on the Score of their being too near a-kin (*a*). But there was a sort of Necessity for it. The late Earl of *Glouceſter* Father of *Avisa*, for Reasons unknown, had made Prince *John* his Heir. This Settlement would infallibly have caused a great Law-Suit, wherein it was to be feared the Prince would be cast, and from thence take Occasion to raise Disturbances. The Death of his Wife, who was Daughter to the Earl of *Morton*, made the King easy in that Respect. By her Death a very natural Way offered of making up Matters, by joining the two Parties in Marriage. Accordingly the Prohibition of the Archbishop, though founded on the *Canons*, gave place for once to Reasons of State, and *John* became also Earl of *Glouceſter* in Right of *Avisa* his Wife. In the mean Time, although *Richard* had, as I may say, shared his Kingdom with his Brother, he would not however let him have any Hand in the Government during his Absence, lest he should make him too powerful. His Fears of this had even induced him to cause him to swear that he would remain in *Normandy*; but before his Departure he released him from his

Gives him six Earldoms, and the Heiress of Glouceſter *in Marriage.*

(*a*) *Henry* I. was Great-Grandfather to both.

his Oath. It was to *Longchamp* his Favourite that he committed the *Regency*, jointly with the Biſhop of *Durham*. *Longchamp* was a *Norman* of mean Extraction, who, by his Intereſt with the King, was become Biſhop of *Ely*, *High-Chancellor*, and the Pope's *Legate* over all *England*. All theſe Dignities, together with the *Regency*, rendered him the moſt powerful Subject that had ever been in *England*. So that it was not without Reaſon that a Hiſtorian gives him the Titles of *Prince* and *Pontiff* of the *Engliſh*, ſince all the Power *Spiritual* and *Temporal* was united in his Perſon. 1189. Longchamp *and the Biſhop of* Durham *made Regents.* Paris.

After *Richard* had taken all the Meaſures he thought neceſſary for the well-governing the State, he was willing to ſecure its Tranquility by renewing his Alliances with the Kings of *Scotland* and *Wales*. With this view he deſired theſe two Princes to come into *England* in order to regulate all the Affairs he might have with them, and to take from them all Pretence of diſturbing the Peace of his Subjects. The former, who had reaſon to ſit down contented, made a ſtrict Alliance with him, and as ſome affirm, ſent Prince *David* his Brother to attend him in his Expedition with 500 *Scotchmen*. *Griffin* King of *Wales* had ſent into *England Rees* his eldeſt Son: But ſome Difference in Point of *Ceremony* ariſing, that Prince returned home without ſeeing the King. However, as *Richard*'s Buſineſs with the *Welſh* was of no great Moment, that Accident cauſed him not to delay his Voyage. Richard *makes an Alliance with the King of* Scotland.

All Things being ready for his Departure, *Richard* paſſed over into *France* with all his Troops, and marched for *Marſeilles*, where his Fleet had Orders to wait for him. The two Armies of *France* and *England* joined at *Vezelai*, as had been agreed upon. As ſoon as the two Kings arrived there, they renewed their Alliance, and obliged themſelves to protect and defend one another upon all Occaſions. They agreed moreover that all Quarrels which might happen in their Abſence between their Subjects, ſhould be ſuperſeded till their Return. The Biſhops that had attended them thus far, promiſed to excommunicate all that ſhould attempt to diſturb the Peace of the two Kingdoms. 1190. *He goes into* France *and joins* Philip *at* Vezelai. Paris. Gervaſ. Hoved.

1190. *They part at* Lyons.

After the two Monarchs had concerted every thing that was thought necessary towards accomplishing their Designs, they marched together as far as *Lyons*, where they parted. *Philip* set forward for *Genoa*, and *Richard* for *Marseilles*, where he was to meet his Fleet. But he waited there a long time to no purpose. A violent Storm had so dispersed his Ships, that they had not been able as yet to join again. It had even happened that Part of them having been driven by Stress of Weather into *Portugal*, the King of that Country had made use of the Assistance *Providence* had sent him, to relieve the City of *Santaren*, besieged at that Time by the *Miramolin* [or Emperour] of *Africa*. These Hindrances having prevented the Fleet from arriving at *Marseilles* by the Time the King expected it, he could not prevail with himself to wait any longer. His Eagerness to be at *Messina*, the general Rendezvous of the *Croises*, made him fit out some Vessels at *Marseilles*, and having embarked Part of his Troops he set sail for *Sicily*. Some Accident having obliged him to come to an Anchor at the Mouth of the *Tyber*, the Pope sent the Bishop of *Ostia* to invite him to come and refresh himself a few Days at *Rome*: but he would not go. Quickly after he had the Satisfaction to see his Fleet arrive with the rest of the Army, and continuing his Course towards *Messina*, he arrived there the 20th of *September*. The Sight of so vast an Armament caused no less Admiration in the *Sicilians* than Jealousy in the King of *France*, who beheld with Regret the Forces of his *Vassal* superiour to his Own. As the Stay these two Monarchs made in *Sicily* occasioned some remarkable Occurrences, it will be necessary, for the better clearing up Matters, to trace them to their first Rise.

Richard *finds not his Fleet at* Marseilles.

The Affair of Sicily. Fasello. Buonfiglio.

Tancred, who reigned then in *Sicily*, was base Son of King *Roger*, who had left Issue *William* sirnamed *the Bad*, and *Constantia* a Nun at *Palermo*. To *William the Bad* succeeded *William the Good*, his Son, who having married *Joanna* of *England*, Sister of *Richard*, died without Heirs. After his Death Pope *Clement* III, who sat then in the *Papal Chair*, pretended that *Sicily* as a *Fief* of the *Church*, was devolved to the *Holy See*. In the mean Time, *Tancred* the

the Baſtard found the Means to get himſelf elected, on Pretence that there was an actual Neceſſity of a King to defend *Sicily* againſt the *Saracens* who had got Footing there. *Clement* dying in the Interim, *Celeſtine* III, his Succeſſor, kept up the ſame Pretenſions, and treating *Tancred* as an Uſurper, he reſolved to exert his utmoſt to wreſt the Crown from him. But as he was ſenſible he could not do this alone, he applied to the Emperour *Henry* VI, of the Houſe of *Swabia*, and gave him the Kingdom of *Sicily*, in Caſe he could conquer it. To give him another Right beſides that of *Donation*, he cauſed the Princeſs *Conſtantia* to be taken out of the Nunnery of *Palermo*, and after he had diſpenſed with her *Vow*, married her to *Henry*, though ſhe was then fifty Years old. How little Appearance ſoever there might be of their having any Heirs, *Conſtantia* proved with Child in the two and fiftieth Year of her Age. And to remove all Suſpicion of foul Play, ſhe was brought to Bed, publickly in a Tent, of a Son called *Frederick*. The Queen Dowager of *Sicily* having in all Appearance ſided a little too far with the Pope, *Tancred* had ſhut her up in Priſon, where ſhe had been detained ever ſince. But upon *Richard*'s Arrival ſhe was ſet at Liberty, and ſent to the King her Brother, who would not take up with ſo ſlight a Satisfaction. He demanded for the Queen his Siſter the *Dower* that had been aſſigned her by King *William* II, her Husband, and threatned to uſe Force in caſe *Tancred* refuſed to comply. This Demand and the Menaces it was attended with made the King of *Sicily* look upon *Richard* as his real Enemy. *Richard* finding that *Tancred* was very backward in giving him the Satisfaction he required, and fearing perhaps ſome Treachery from him, thought it beſt to provide for his Safety. To that End he ſeized upon a Caſtle and Monaſtery not far from *Meſſina*, where he laid up his Stores under a ſtrong Garriſon. *Tancred*, who was naturally miſtruſtful, did not queſtion but that the King of *England* was come at the Inſtance of the Pope, and ſought only an Opportunity to deprive him of his Crown. In order to fruſtrate this imaginary Deſign, he managed it ſo that the Inhabitants of *Meſſina* took Occa-

1190.

Richard *ſeizes a Caſtle near* Meſſina. Hoved.

1190. *The* English *drove out of* Meſſina.

ſion from ſome Diſorder that happened in their City, to expel thence all the *Engliſh*, which could not be done without the Loſs of ſome Lives. *Richard*, incenſed at this Outrage, reſolved to attack *Meſſina* forthwith: But *Tancred*, who was at *Palermo*, having proteſted to him that he had no hand in the Riot, and that he would puniſh the Authors of it, he took Patience, waiting for the Performance of his Promiſe. In the mean time the *Meſſinians* continuing to ſhut their Gates againſt the *Engliſh*, and *Tancred* putting off too long the promiſed Satisfaction, *Richard* perceived at length that he ſought only to amuſe him. His Indignation at this Uſage was ſo great, that without demanding any more a Reparation, which he had in his Power to procure himſelf, he reſolved upon entring *Meſſina* by Force of Arms. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he attacked the City ſo furiouſly, that he became Maſter of it in the firſt Aſſault. He was no ſooner entered but he ordered his Banners to be diſplayed on the Walls, even in that Part of the Town which had been alloted to the *French*. Upon their Arrival at *Meſſina* the two Kings had agreed, that in order to prevent any Diſputes which might ariſe among the Soldiers, the City ſhould be divided into two Parts, and that each Nation ſhould have one half to themſelves for their neceſſary Occaſions. It was therefore manifeſt that by ſetting up his Banners in the Diviſion aſſigned to the *French*, *Richard* broke the Agreement he had made with *Philip*. Accordingly he complained ſo bitterly of it, that the two Monarchs would have come to an entire Rupture, had not the Matter been made up by the Mediation of the Great Men on both Sides. *Richard* at length took down his Banners, and proteſted that he had no manner of Deſign to affront *Philip*, but that his only Aim was to compel the King of *Sicily* to give him Satisfaction for the Injury done to the *Engliſh*. To make appear that he really meant as he ſaid, he delivered the Cuſtody of *Meſſina* to the *Templars*, till the Difference between him and *Tancred* ſhould be decided. Matters being thus adjuſted, *Tancred*, who till then had kept at *Palermo*, came to *Richard* at *Meſſina*, and choſe to ſatisfy his Demands in a handſome Manner.

Richard *takes* Meſſina.

Affronts Philip;

who complains of it, and Richard *gives him ſatisfaction.*

Hoved.

ner. He made a Treaty with him, whereby he bound himſelf to pay to the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, Siſter of *Richard*, twenty Thouſand Ounces of Gold for her Dower, and the ſame Number to *Richard* in lieu of certain *Legacies*, which *William the Good* had left *Heury* II, his Father-in-law, in his *Will*. By this ſame Treaty, a Match was agreed upon between *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, Nephew to *Richard*, and *Tancred*'s Daughter. Moreover, *Tancred* promiſed to fit out ten Gallies and ſix large Ships for the Service of the *Croiſes*. Upon theſe Terms, *Richard* deſiſted from all other Demands whatſoever, and ſubjected his Dominions to the Pope's *Cenſures*, in Caſe he violated his Oath. Theſe two Princes being in Appearance perfectly reconciled, *Richard* made a Preſent to *Tancred* of King *Arthur*'s Sword, to which the *Britons* had given the Name of *Caliburn*.

1190. *Treaty between* Richard *and* Tancred. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 66. Hoved.

Although outwardly *Tancred* ſeemed ſatisfied, he could not away with his inward Vexation at a Treaty which Force alone had compelled him to ſign. He would very fain have engaged the King of *France* in his Quarrel, and made a League with him againſt *Richard*. But his Propoſal having been rejected, he went another way to work. As it was not in his Power to be revenged ſeparately, either of *Richard* who had offended him, or of *Philip* who had denied him his Aſſiſtance, he attempted to revenge himſelf upon both at once, by ſowing Diſſention between them. To that Purpoſe, he privately warned the King of *England*, that *Philip* was brewing ill Deſigns againſt him. He even ſhowed him a Letter which he ſaid he had from the Duke of *Burgundy*, wherein it appeared that what he told him was not without Ground. *Richard* gave Ear to his Information, and complained of *Philip*, who on the other Hand accuſed him of ſeeking Pretences to diſſolve their Union. This Quarrel went ſo far, that the two Monarchs came at length to an open Rupture. *Philip* ſent *Richard* word, that unleſs he conſummated his Marriage with *Alice*, as he had promiſed to do, he ſhould look upon him as his mortal Foe. *Richard* as boldly replied, that he could by no means marry a Princeſs, of whom the King his Father had begotten a Son, and offered to prove it by Wit-

1191. Tancred *ſows Diſſention between* Richard *and* Philip. Hoved. P. 392.

1191. Witneſſes who were there upon the Spot. *Philip* not thinking proper to puſh this Matter any farther, perſwaded as he was, that the Honour of the Princeſs his Siſter might greatly ſuffer by it, he deſiſted from his Demand. After ſeveral Conferences, he agreed that *Richard* ſhould have Liberty to marry whom he pleaſed; a Liberty which that Prince had already taken of himſelf, by concluding a Marriage with *Berenguella* of *Navarre*. *Philip*'s Moderation ſeemed to cauſe an entire Reconciliation between the two King's: But *Tancred*'s late Information had made ſo deep an Impreſſion on the Mind of *Richard*; and what *Richard* had offered to prove concerning *Alice*, had ſo exaſperated *Philip*, that from thenceforward they were never more Friends. However, they prepared themſelves for the Continuation of their Voyage.

Agreement between the two Kings, Act. Pub. T. I. p. 69.

An *Engliſh* Hiſtorian * aſſures us, that whilſt they were making ready for their Departure, *Richard* touched with Remorſe of Conſcience, made a *general Confeſſion* of all his Sins, which was followed by a very viſible Reformation and Amendment of Life. It were to be wiſhed that this Author had given a more particular Account of this Matter, and ſhown what were the Fruits of his Repentance. One is ſurprized to find he mentions no other Effect of it, but his Deſire to confer with one *Joachim*, a *Ciſtercian* Abbot, whom he ſent for to come to him. This Abbot paſſed all over *Italy* for a *Prophet*; and from thence in all likelihood, ſprang *Richard*'s Deſire to ſee him. It is ſaid, that Preaching one Day before that Prince, he aſſerted that *Antichriſt* was already born, that he was at *Rome*, that he would be placed in the *Papal Chair*, and exalt himſelf *above all the Gods*; that is, above all the Princes of the Earth. Quickly after, the Emperour and Empreſs went and received on their Knees the *Imperial Crown* from the Hands of the Pope; who after he had ſet it on their Heads, kicked it off with his Foot to ſhow his Superiority. This Action afforded ample Matter for Reflection, to ſuch as were prepoſſeſſed in Favour of *Joachim*. They maintained that this Prediction was accompliſhed by that Proceeding of the Pope's.

* Hoved. p. 388. p. 402.

The

The two Monarchs having ſpent the Winter at *Meſſina*, made themſelves ready for their Voyage as ſoon as the Seaſon permitted. *Philip* ſet ſail firſt, *Richard* not being able to go with him, becauſe he expected *Eleanor* his Mother, who was bringing along with her the Princeſs of *Navarre* his Bride. Accordingly theſe two Princeſſes arrived a few Days after *Philip* ſailed; but *Eleanor* returned home forthwith, leaving *Berenguella* with the Queen Dowager of *Sicily* her Daughter, who was to accompany the King her Brother to the *Holy Land*. Immediately after *Eleanor*'s Departure, *Richard* put to Sea with a Fleet of 150 Sail, 52 Gallies, 10 large Ships of Burden loaded with Proviſions, and abundance of ſmall Veſſels for the Service of the Fleet. It is no where ſaid how many Men were embarked on this Occaſion; but by the Number of Ships employed in the Expedition, it is eaſy to gueſs that the *Engliſh* Army muſt needs have been very numerous. Whilſt the Fleet was rowing between the Iſlands of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, a ſudden and violent Storm aroſe, which diſperſed the Ships, and drove part of them on Shore on the Coaſt of *Cyprus*. That Iſle was then under the Dominion of *Iſaac* of the *Comnenian Race*, who after having been Governour of it under the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, had uſurped at length the ſupreme Power, and aſſumed the Title of Emperour. He was a covetous and brutiſh Man, that by his continual Cruelties and Extortions had drawn on himſelf the Hatred of his Subjects; but they durſt not openly ſhow it. They waited for a favourable Opportunity to free themſelves from his Tyranny, which his own Avarice, and the Arrival of the *Engliſh* Fleet furniſhed them with ſooner than they had expected. This inhuman Prince, inſtead of aſſiſting the *Engliſh* that were ſtranded juſt by the Port of *Limiſſo*, impriſoned thoſe that had eſcaped the Shipwreck, and ſeized their Effects. He would not ſo much as ſuffer the Ship, which had the Princeſſes on board, to enter into his Harbour, but was ſo cruel as to leave them expoſed to the Wind and Seas. The Fleet, which had been ſeparated, being at length joined again on the Coaſt of *Cyprus*, *Richard* heard with extreme Indig-

1191.

Iſaac *King of* Cyprus, *was Cruel and Avaricious.*

He treats the Engliſh *ill.*

1191. Richard *becomes Master of* Cyprus.

Indignation, the Barbarity of *Isaac* towards the *English*. However, not to retard his Voyage, he was contented with sending to demand the Prisoners, and all that he had plundered them of. The insulting Answer he received from him having made him resolve upon another Course, he set about landing his Men, and so furiously attacked *Isaac*, that he compelled him to abandon the Shore, after having made great havock of his Troops. The *English*, improving their Advantage, went directly and assaulted the City of *Limisso*, which they carried by the first Attack; and *Isaac* with his only Daughter were made Prisoners. A few Days after the pretended Emperour found the Means to escape; but as no one would harbour him, he chose to surrender himself voluntarily to the King of *England*, whom he earnestly besought not to put him in Irons. *Richard* insulting over his Misfortune, granted his Request in a literal Sense, by commanding him to be bound with Silver Fetters.

The taking of *Limisso* having inspired *Richard* with the Thoughts of subduing the whole Island of *Cyprus*, he met with very little Difficulty in that Undertaking. The *Cypriots* were so well pleased to find themselves freed from their Tyrant, that without making any Resistance they submitted themselves to a Prince whom they looked upon as their Deliverer, and who confirmed to them all the Privileges they had enjoyed under the Emperours of *Constantinople*. During his Stay in that Island, arrived *Guy* of *Lusignan* King of *Jerusalem*, who had procured his Liberty by delivering up the City of *Ascalon* to the *Sultan*. *Geoffrey* his Brother, *Raymond of Antioch*, *Boamond* his Son, and some other Princes and Lords of *Palestine*, attended the dispossessed King, who was come to implore the Protection of the King of *England*. Here it was also that *Richard* consummated his Marriage with *Berenguella*, and not at *Messina*, as some have affirmed. Before he left *Cyprus*, he sent *Isaac* his Prisoner to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, to be confined there; but for his Daughter she was to go with him to *Palestine*. The Regard he showed for that beautiful Princess, gave some Occasion to suspect that Com-

Guy *of* Lusignan *comes to* Richard. Hoved.

Richard *consummates his Marriage with* Berenguella. Hoved.

Compaſſion was not the ſole Motive of his keeping her near him. This Suſpicion was confirmed, when it was perceived he cooled by degrees in his Affection to his new Queen. But theſe are Particulars more proper for a *Romance* than a *Hiſtory*. 1191.

Whilſt *Richard*'s Affairs went on thus proſperouſly Abroad, *England* began to ſuffer by his Abſence. He had no ſooner croſſed the Sea, but the two Regents not being able to agree together, came at length, after ſeveral Diſputes, to an open Rupture. *Longchamp* had a great Advantage over his Collegue, as well by the high Poſts he was in, as by his Abilities, which gave him a Superiority, which he knew very well how to make the beſt of. By pretending that their Diſſention was very prejudicial to the Affairs of State, he found the Means to exclude him by degrees from the Adminiſtration, and to aſſume the whole Power to himſelf. Such an Arbitrary Act might have been coloured with the Pretence that the King's Service neceſſarily required it, had it been done by one of another Character: But *Longchamp* was known to be a Man of a proud and imperious Temper, and of a boundleſs Ambition, which made him look upon all his Dignities, how high ſoever they were, as below his Deſerts. He affected to appear in Publick with a Retinue more numerous and ſplendid than that of a King. This exorbitant Magnificence made an Hiſtorian ſay, that when he lodged but one ſingle Night in a Monaſtery, he conſumed three Years Revenue *. He treated all Perſons with an inſupportable Inſolence, uſing his Power with a Haughtineſs ſcarce to be born in a crowned Head. Beſides, he was a *Norman*, and exceeding partial to *Foreigners*, Qualities which alone were ſufficient to render him odious to the *Engliſh*. The outed Biſhop had written to the King, who upon the Receipt of his Complaints at *Marſeilles*, had ſent him with all diſpatch *Letters Patents*, by which he committed to him the Government of the *Counties* lying North

Troubles in England. Hoved. Paris. Neubrig.

The haughty Conduct of Longchamp.

Hoved.

* He had uſually 1500 in his Retinue. He was originally but a Farmer's Son.

1191. of the *Humber*. The *Letters* being arrived, the Bishop was so unwise as to give them into *Longchamp*'s Hands, who under pretence of examining them refused to restore them, and by that Means rendered them of no Effect. To this he added another and no less bold Act: He ordered the Bishop to be apprehended, and detained him in Prison till he had delivered up certain Castles which gave him too great Power in the Northern Parts.

He despises the Counsellors appointed by the King. They complain to Prince John.

Richard had appointed six Lords to serve as *Counsellors* to the *Regents* *. But *Longchamp*, who was not willing to take Council of any Person never communicated any Affairs to these Lords. On the contrary, he affected to treat them with extreme Contempt. These arbitrary Proceedings obliged at length the Bishop of *Durham* and the six *Counsellors* to carry their Complaints to Prince *John*, who had all along been stiled *Earl of Morton*, a Title he bore during his first Marriage. The young Prince readily promised them his Protection, being very glad that their Disgust furnished him with an Opportunity and Pretence of interposing in the Administration, from which he thought himself unjustly debarred. From that Time making an Advantage of the Temper the *Nobles* for the most Part were in, with regard to the *Regent*, he managed them so dexterously that each of them promised to back him; and the Downfal of *Longchamp* was resolved upon. There was nothing wanting but a Pretence, which quickly after offered.

The Occasion of Long-champ's *Downfal.*

Some time before *Richard*'s Departure for the *Holy Land*, *Geoffery*, his Bastard Brother, had been elected Archbishop of *York*; whether they had neglected to ask his Consent, or whether he had designed that Dignity for another, this Election was displeasing to the King. In the Passion he was in with *Geoffrey*, he was just upon the Point of ordering him to be taken into Custody. However, upon *Geoffrey*'s protesting to him that he did not intend to take advantage of his Election, he pardoned him on Condition he

* Their Names were *Hugh Bardolf*, *William* Earl *Marshal*, *Geoffrey Fitz Peters*, *William Brewer* *Robert de Whirefield*, and *Robert Fitz Reinfield*. Bromp. p. 1162.

he would never apply to the Pope for his Confirmation. Moreover, he enjoined him, on Pain of his Diſpleaſure, to remain in *Normandy* till the Expedition to the *Holy Land* was over. After the King was gone, *Geoffrey*, contrary to his Promiſe, demanded and obtained the Pope's *Bull*, which confirmed his Election; and without vouchſafing to give the Regent notice of it, he deſigned to repair into *England* and take poſſeſſion of his Dignity. *Longchamp* having received Intelligence of what was doing, had ſent Orders to *Dover* to apprehend him. Accordingly, upon his Arrival the Biſhop had but juſt Time to get into a Church *, where he thought himſelf ſafe from all Inſults. But this Precaution not being able to prevent the Execution of the *Regent*'s Orders, *Geoffrey* was drawn from the Altar and impriſoned in *Dover-Caſtle*. Prince *John* made this Outrage a Handle to act openly againſt *Longchamp*. As he found himſelf ſupported by all the Lords, he ſent him poſitive Word to releaſe the Archbiſhop. *Longchamp* not being diſpoſed to receive ſuch abſolute Orders from a Prince who had no right to command him, refuſed to comply. This was directly what *John* wanted. A few Days after, the *Regent* was ſummoned to appear before an Aſſembly of Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, conveened at *London* in St. *Paul*'s Church. The Combination was ſo ſtrong, that *Longchamp* ſaw himſelf on a ſudden deſerted by all the World, and conſtrained to appear before the Aſſembly, which was bent upon his Ruin. He was charged with having exceeded his Commiſſion in divers Particulars, chiefly with having uſurped the ſole Power, which ought to have been ſhared between him, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and the ſix *Counſellors*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* * and Earl of *Pembroke* complained alſo,

1191.

He is cited, accuſed and condemned.

* He changed his Clothes, and mounting a ſwift Horſe got to the Monaſtery of St *Martins*, and taking Sanctuary in the Church, he was dragged from the Altar in his Epiſcopal *Veſtments* through the dirty Street, and delivered to *Matthew le Clerk* Conſtable of *Dover-Caſtle*.

* *Canterbury* is here put by miſtake for *Roan*; for it was the Archbiſhop of *Roan* and not of *Canterbury* that was joined in Commiſſion

1191. also, that having received a *Patent* from the King, dated at *Messina*, whereby they were made joint Commissioners with *Longchamp* in the Government, that Prelate would never consent they should have any Hand in the Administration. Some Historians however affirm, that these two Lords durst not show their Patent to the *Regent*, for fear he should serve them as he had done the Bishop of *Durham*. Be this as it will, upon these Accusations *Longchamp* was turned out of the *Regency*, which was lodged in the Hands of the Archbishop of *Roan*, till the King's Pleasure should be known *. They took from him likewise the Custody of the *Tower of London* and of *Windsor-Castle*, which the said Archbishop was invested with. Not content with these rigorous Proceedings, his Enemies compelled him by Threats to lay down his *Legate's Cross* in the Church of *Canterbury*; after which he was thrown into Prison. Some Days after he found the Means to escape; but he was seized again on the Sea-side, disguised in a Woman's Habit, with a Bundle of Linnen under his Arm. In this Garb he was carried to *Dover-Castle*, with a great Mob at his Heels *1. However, Prince *John* dreading the Pope's Resentment, if he detained his *Legate* in Prison, ordered him to

Hoved.

He is outed of all his Posts;

and imprisoned.

He escapes, and is taken again;

mission with the Earl of *Pembroke*. *Baldwin*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, went with the King and died during the Siege of *Acon*.

* *Diceto* says, that the King ordained in his *Letters Patents*, that in case *Longchamp* did not faithfully manage the Affairs of the Kingdom according to the Advice of his *Counsellors*, they might act without him; particularly he enjoined that nothing should be transacted without the Archbishop of *Roan*, whom, as he said, he had sent over for the better Defence of the Kingdom; which if true, vindicates the Proceedings of that *Assembly*, *Diceto*. *p.* 659.

*1 As he was sitting on a Rock, waiting for a Boat with an Ell in his Hand, and a parcel of Linnen, as if he had been a *Pedlar*; a Seaman came by, and taking him for a Woman, went to kiss him; and then offering at farther Indecencies, discovered him to be a Man, but however marched off without saying any thing. A little after some Women coming by began to cheapen his Linnen, but being a *Frenchman*, and understanding little *English*, he could make them no Answer. Finding he would not speak, they pulled up the Hood which was over his Face, and then presently saw his black Beard; upon which crying out, the People came running in, and used him in the manner above. *Hoved*. p. 400.

to be ſet at Liberty, and gave him leave to retire into *Normandy*. As ſoon as he found himſelf ſafe, he wrote to the Pope and the King, ſetting forth the ill Treatment he had met with. It was a good while before his Letter came to the King's Hands: But the Pope, who was much ſooner informed of the Affront done his *Legate*, was extremely incens'd at their having thus diſgraced the *Legantine Character*: Without ſtaying to hear what Prince *John* could alledge to juſtify his Conduct, he ſent expreſs Orders to the Biſhops to excommunicate him. *John*, terrified at the Pope's Menaces, would have reſtored *Longchamp*, if the Biſhops themſelves, who dreaded to be again in the Power of that imperious Prelate, had not declared againſt it. Thus the Pope's Orders lay unexecuted, and *Longchamp* durſt not return into *England*. 1191.

The Pope orders the Biſhops to excommunicate Prince John, *which they refuſed to do.*

The depoſing of the *Regent* having procured the Prince an Opportunity of having a greater Share in the Adminiſtration of the Government than the King his Brother deſired, he made uſe of it to pave his Way to the Crown. If he had not then Thoughts of taking the Advantage of the King's Abſence to mount the Throne in his Lifetime, it is certain at leaſt that his Aim was to make ſure of it in Caſe the King ſhould die during his Expedition. He was very ſenſible there was another Prince that had a better Title than himſelf, which was *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign* his Nephew, Son to *Geoffrey* his elder Brother. This put him upon taking beforehand ſuch Meaſures as ſhould free him from the Competition of that Rival. He made it his only Buſineſs to become Popular in order to gain the Affection of the *Engliſh*, particularly the *Londoners*, whoſe *Rights* and *Privileges* he got confirmed by an Aſſembly General. This won him the Hearts of the *Citizens* to ſuch a degree, that when they ſwore *Fealty* to the King, they voluntarily made a ſolemn Promiſe to receive *John* for their Sovereign Lord, in caſe the King died without Iſſue. In this manner did the Prince gain Ground by degrees, and endeavoured by ſecret Practices, to ſecure a Party capable of ſupporting him againſt his Nephew, and whom he would even have made inſtrumental in much

John *interpoſes in the Adminiſtration.*

Forms Projects to ſecure the Crown. Hoved.

1191. blacker Designs against the King his Brother. In the mean time, *Richard* by his valiant Atchievements, which attracted the Admiration of the whole World, was rendering his Name immortal, and inspiring the *Saracens* with a dread that the Downfall of their Empire was at Hand. But before I relate that Prince's Actions in *Palestine*, it will be proper briefly to lay down the State the *Holy Land* was then in, and what had been transacted there ever since the Recovery of it by the *Christians*.

The Affairs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

All the Conquests the *Christians* had made in the *East*, had been erected into a Kingdom, of which *Godfrey* of *Bulloign* was the first King. This Kingdom consisted of *Palestine* and Part of *Syria*, which had been taken from the *Saracens*. *Godfrey* reigned but one Year *. *Baldwin* his Brother succeeded him, and governed eighteen Years, leaving the Crown by his Death to *Baldwin* II, his Cousin, who held it three Years. *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, having married his Daughter, became King of *Jerusalem* after his Father-in-law's Decease, and reigned eleven Years. He had had by his first Wife, *Geoffrey*, who was Earl of *Anjou*, and Father of *Henry* II, King of *England*. By his second Wife, *Fulk* had Issue two Sons, of whom *Baldwin* the eldest sat on the Throne of *Jerusalem* 24 Years, and was succeeded by *Almerick* his Brother, who reigned 12 Years. *Baldwin* IV, his Son and Successor, finding himself Childless, and without hopes of having any, made *Baldwin* his Nephew, Son to his eldest Sister *Sybil*, by *William* of *Montferrat*, his Heir. He died after a Reign of 12 Years, leaving the Guardianship of young *Baldwin* V, and the *Regency* of the Kingdom, to *Raymund* Earl of *Tripoli*. In the mean time *Sybil*, Mother of the King, married *Guy* of *Lusignan*, who in right of the Princess his Wife, claimed the Guardianship of the King and the Government of the State. The Earl of *Tripoli* in vain opposed his Pretensions by urging the late King's *Will*. *Guy*, supported by his Wife, seized upon the *Regency*, and quickly after became King himself by *Baldwin*'s Decease,

* He was crowned with a *Crown of Thorns* in the Year 1099.

Deceaſe, not without Suſpicion of having haſtened his Death by Poiſon, in order to mount the Throne. This *Revolution* ſoon proved the Occaſion of a more fatal one. The Earl of *Tripoli* preparing to try to dethrone *Guy*, whom he looked upon as an Uſurper, and as the Murderer of the late King, unfortunately for the *Chriſtians* of that Country, *Guy* bethought himſelf of applying to *Saladine* Sultan of *Egypt* for Aid. The *Infidel* Prince gladly embraced ſo favourable an Opportunity of recovering a Country from whence his Predeceſſors had been expelled 90 Years before. Under Colour of aſſiſting the King of *Jeruſalem*, he entered *Paleſtine* at the Head of a formidable Army, and forthwith took *Acres* or *Ptolemais*, *Aſotus*, *Berytus*, and ſome other Places. At firſt he pretended that he conquered only for the King; but at length he thought he might ſafely pull off the Mask, and openly ſhow, that his Deſign was to drive the Chriſtians out of *Paleſtine*. In vain did *Guy*, who was not ſenſible of his Errour till it was too late, ſhut himſelf up in his Capital. As the City was but ill provided with Stores, it was not poſſible for him to hold out above a Month, or to eſcape falling into the Hands of his Enemy; upon which he was fain to deliver up *Aſcalon* to the Sultan, to procure his Liberty. Thus *Saladine* found the Means to deſtroy at once both the Competitors, whoſe Quarrel had furniſhed him with an Opportunity to carry his Arms into *Paleſtine*.

1191. *The Cauſe of the Loſs of* Jeruſalem.

Saladine *becomes Maſter of* Paleſtine, *and of* Jeruſalem.

For the Recovery of this loſt Kingdom it was that the Kings of *France* and *England* had undertaken the preſent Expedition, with numerous Armies made up of all the Nations in *Europe*, but chiefly of the *French* and *Engliſh*. Before *Philip*'s Arrival in *Paleſtine*, *Guy* of *Luſignan*, *Conrade* Marqueſs of *Montferrat*, *James* of *Avernes*, and ſeveral other Princes and Lords, with ſome *German*, *Flemiſh*, and *Italian* Troops had begun the Siege of *Acres*, which had already laſted a whole Year. As ſoon as *Philip*, who had ſailed firſt from *Meſſina*, had landed his Men, he encamped round the City, and continued the Siege, tho' with little Succeſs. *Richard* arriving afterwards with freſh

The Chriſtians beſiege Acres.

Philip *arrives, and then* Richard.

1191. *The City surrenders.* freſh Troops, vigorouſly carried it on; and at length, after *Saladine* had made divers fruitleſs Attemps to raiſe the Siege, the City ſurrendered upon Terms *.

Richard *affronts the Duke of* Auſtria. Among the Occurrences of this famous Siege, I muſt not omit one, which, though of no great Importance in it ſelf, was attended with Conſequences very remarkable, and at the ſame Time very fatal to the King of *England*. In an Aſſault made by the Chriſtians, *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria*, having carried one of the Towers, forthwith ordered his Banner to be erected there. *Richard* taking this Action as an Injury done to the two Kings, who commanded in chief, ſent ſome of his Men to pull it down and tread it under Foot. *Leopold* reſented this Affront very heinouſly; but as it was not then in his Power to be revenged, he ſtifled his Reſentments, till he ſhould meet with a proper Seaſon to ſhow them. Unluckily for *Richard*, an Opportunity offered when he leaſt expected it, and you will find in the Sequel, that the Duke of *Auſtria* was amply revenged.

Diſſention between the two Kings. The taking of *Acres* ſeemed to encourage the two Kings to form freſh Projects: But juſt as the *Chriſtian* Army expected to march towards *Jeruſalem*, the Diſſention which aroſe between the two Leaders, fruſtrated their Expectations. Since they were joined, *Richard* had acquired a certain Superiority, which extremely mortified the King of *France*. The Number and good Condition of his Forces, his Perſonal Valour, which he had given ſeveral Proofs of at the Siege of *Acres*, and the very taking of that City, of which he had all the Honour, gained him a particular Eſteem and Regard from the whole Army. *Philip* could

* The Siege is ſaid to laſt above two Years and the Author of *Richard*'s Travels to *Jeruſalem* affirms, that 300,000 Pilgrims periſhed in this Siege. Among whom were many Princes and noble Perſons, viz. *Conrade* Duke of *Servia*, and ſeveral foreign Earls; *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ralph de Glanville* Chief Juſtice of *England*, and ſome whoſe Poſterity ſtill flouriſh, as *Ingelram de Fiennes* Anceſtor of the Lord *Say* and *Seal*, the Lord *Dacres*, *Theophilus Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln*, whoſe Arms retain the Badge of the *Holy War*, *Stars*, *Creſſants* and *Croſſes*; as alſo St. *John*, *Minſhul*, *Tilney*, &c.

could not bear to ſee a Diſtinction ſo much to the Advantage of the King of *England*. His Jealouſy was viſible on all Occaſions; but as he durſt not openly complain that his Rival was more reſpected than himſelf, he ſought ſome other Pretences to colour his Reſentment. The firſt he made uſe of was to demand of *Richard* half the Iſle of *Cyprus*, pretending that their Agreement was equally to ſhare all their Conqueſts. *Richard* made Anſwer, that the Articles of their Convention related only to what ſhould be won from the *Infidels*: And added, that it was plain *Philip* underſtood them in that Senſe, ſince he had taken to himſelf what belonged to the Earl of *Flanders*, who died at the Siege of *Acres*, without ever having the leaſt thought of giving him a Share. To this was added another Occaſion of quarrelling. The Crown of *Jeruſalem* was in diſpute between *Guy of Luſignan*, and *Conrade* Marqueſs of *Montferrat*. *Richard* took *Guy*'s part, and *Philip* openly declared for the Marqueſs. The Grounds and Reaſons of their reſpective Pretenſions were briefly theſe. 1191.

The State of the Caſe between Guy *of* Luſignan, *and the Marqueſs of* Montferrat.

Almerick King of *Jeruſalem*, had by his firſt Wife, who was of the Houſe of *Courtenay*, *Baldwin* IV, his Succeſſor, and a Daughter called *Sybilla*. By his ſecond Wife, Niece to *Emanuel* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, he had a Daughter named *Iſabella*. *Sybilla* was married firſt to *William* of *Montferrat*, by whom ſhe had *Baldwin* V, who was Heir to *Baldwin* IV, his Uncle. *Sybilla*'s ſecond Husband was *Guy of Luſignan*, by whom ſhe had ſeveral Children, who all died before their Mother. *Iſabella*, Siſter of *Sybilla*, but by a ſecond Venter, had alſo two Husbands. The firſt was *Humphrey de Toron*, who refuſed the Crown offered him by the Barons of *Jeruſalem*, after the Death of *Baldwin* V. Her ſecond Husband was *Conrade* Marqueſs of *Montferrat*, who claimed the Title of *King of Jeruſalem* in Right of his Wife, whoſe eldeſt Siſter was lately dead without Iſſue. The Buſineſs therefore was to know, whether *Guy of Luſignan* ought to keep on the Title of *King of Jeruſalem*, after the Deceaſe of *Sybilla* his Wife; or whether he ought to reſign it to

1191. the Marqueſs of *Montferrat*, whoſe Wife was then ſole Heireſs to the Kingdom. It is true indeed, they were diſputing about an empty Title, ſince *Saladine* was Maſter of the Capital City, and almoſt all the Country. But however the Title was of ſome Conſequence, at a Juncture wherein it was expected that the Kingdom would be reſtored by the Arms of the *Croiſes*. *Philip* had eſpouſed the Cauſe of the Marqueſs of *Montferrat*; and it was perhaps for that very Reaſon that *Richard* ſtood by *Guy of Luſignan*; ſo jealous were theſe Monarchs grown one of another: Scarce a Day paſſed, but that ſomething or other happened which ſerved to inflame their mutual Animoſity. *Philip* was jealous of *Richard*'s Glory, who in his Turn complained that *Philip*, out of Spite and Envy, obſtructed the Progreſs of the Arms of the Chriſtians. In the midſt of theſe Heats and Conteſts, they were both ſeized with the ſame Diſtemper, which had like to have carried them off: But they got over it with the loſs of their Hair.

Philip *returns Home.*

After their Recovery, *Richard* appeared more eager than ever to puſh on his Conqueſts over the *Infidels*. But *Philip* reſolved upon returning to *France*, his Weakneſs cauſed by his late Illneſs, ſcarce permitting him any more to enter upon Action. But he had another Reaſon, which ſwayed no leſs with him: That was, his extreme Impatience to go and take Poſſeſſion of *Artois*, fallen to him by the Death of the Earl of *Flanders*. He imparted his Reſolution to *Richard*, who ſeemed very much ſurprized at it, being apprehenſive that *Philip* in returning to *Europe*, had ſome Deſign on his Dominions in *France*. One of the Articles of their Agreement was, that neither of them ſhould deſert the Cauſe without the other's Conſent. *Richard* inſiſted upon that *Article*, and refuſed to agree to *Philip*'s Departure, till ſuch Time as they were Maſters of *Jeruſalem*. However, as he could not conſtrain him to ſtay, he left him to do as he pleaſed. But before he did ſo, *Philip* was as it were forced to take a ſolemn Oath, in the Preſence of the Biſhops and Principal Officers of both Armies, not to attack any Place belonging to *Richard*, either in *France* or in *England*, till forty Days after the Re-

Philip's *Oath to* Richard.

turn

turn of that Prince into his own Territories. Upon quitting *Paleſtine*, he left 10,000 of his Men under the Command of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and publickly ordered him to pay the ſame Obedience to the King of *England* as to himſelf. But in all appearance, he gave him other Inſtructions in private. This is what *Mezerai* does as good as own, when he ſays that *Richard* would have become Maſter of *Jeruſalem*, had not the Jealouſy of the Duke of *Burgundy* laid Obſtacles in his Way. 1192.

A little after the Departure of the King of *France*, *Richard* and *Saladine* exhibited a Spectacle of Horrour to their Armies, by commanding the Priſoners each had in his Power, to be put to Death. It is difficult to determine which of the two Princes was the firſt Author of this Barbarity. Some Hiſtorians lay the blame on *Saladine*, others accuſe the King of *England*. Theſe laſt ſeemed to me to have the beſt Ground for what they ſay. The *Saracen* Monarch refuſed to perform the *Articles* of the Surrender of *Acres* *; whereas no other Reaſon is alledged that might induce the *Infidel* to this Piece of Cruelty but his natural Fierceneſs, though he appears upon other Occaſions to have been of a very generous Temper. Thus much is certain, that the Duke of *Burgundy*, following *Richard*'s Example, ordered alſo what Captives were in his Hands to be beheaded. I don't take upon me to ſet out the Bounds of the Power which the *Laws of War* give over Priſoners whoſe Sovereign refuſes to perform the *Articles* of a Surrender, or how far the *Law of Retaliation* may extend. But methinks one can hardly be miſtaken in ſaying, that whoever goes to the Extent of his Power, on ſuch Occaſions, runs the Risk of committing a very great Injuſtice. Be

Richard *and* Saladine *kill their Priſoners.* Hoved. Vinſanf.

* It was articled that 3000 *Chriſtian* Captives ſhould be delivered, and that the *Turks* ſhould redeem their Heads by paying a certain Sum of Money, and remain in Cuſtody till payment was made. And that in Caſe theſe Articles were not made good within 40 Days, they ſhould be at the King's Mercy for their Lives. *Saladine* pretending theſe Conditions were not with his Approbation, would not perform them. Upon which it is likely *Richard* began with beheading the *Turkiſh* Captives. *Hoveden* ſays, to the number of 5000, but *Vinſanf* reckons but 2700.

1192. this as it will, Instances of the like Barbarity are very rarely to be met with in *History*.

The Siege of Ascalon *resolved upon.*

After the Departure of the *French*, *Richard* had held a great *Council of War*, wherein the Siege of *Ascalon* was resolved upon. To execute this Project, he marched along the Sea-Side, whilst his Fleet, fraighted with all manner of Stores, rowed in Sight of the Troops, and furnished them with Necessaries. *Saladine* having had Intelligence of the *Croises* Designs, posted himself in an advantagious Manner in the Way they were to pass, with an Army of three hundred thousand Men. How great Disproportion soever there might be between their Forces, *Richard* resolved to attack him thus posted. He was very sensible, that if he could defeat that Army, not only the taking of *Ascalon* would be the Fruits of his Victory, but even the Siege of *Jerusalem* would become a much less difficult Task: but on the contrary, if he declined the Fight, such a numerous Army of *Infidels* would continually obstruct the Executions of his Designs. Pursuant to this Resolution, he approached the Enemy, and having drawn up his Army in order of Battle, he marched up to them with an undaunted Countenance. *James* of *Avesnes* commanded the Right Wing; the Duke of *Burgundy* led up the Left, and the King headed the main Body of the Army. *Saladine* had concealed Part of his Troops on his Right Hand, behind some Hills which prevented the *Christians* from seeing them. As he expected mighty Matters from this Ambuscade, he was resolved not to lose the Advantage which the Ground gave him. Accordingly, without stirring from his Post, he waited the coming of the Enemy to attack him.

Richard *obtains a great Victory over* Saladine.

Description of the Battle.

The Right-Wing of the Christians having begun the Fight, the *Saracens* received *James of Avesnes* with a Resolution, which backed by the Superiority of their Numbers, put that Body in such a Disorder that they could not recover themselves for a considerable while. *James* of *Avesnes* was slain whilst he was endeavouring to animate his frighted Troops and bring them to charge again. At the same Time, the Duke of *Burgundy* furiously attacked the Right Wing of the *Saracens*, which pursuant to the General's

General's Orders, having retreated as they fought, cauſed the Duke to advance, with more Courage than Conduct, a good way from the Body of the Army. *Saladine*, finding that Matters went very well with his Left Wing, and that the Duke of *Burgundy* with his Wing was detached from the reſt of the Army, ordered the Body that lay concealed to move forward. Theſe Troops deſcending down the Hills in great Multitudes, ſurrounded on all Sides the Wing commanded by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. 1192.

It depended then on *Richard* to ſave the Honour of the *Chriſtians*, and to repair their Loſs. He had fought on his Side with better Succeſs; and though he had met with a ſtout Reſiſtance in the Body that oppoſed him, yet he had compelled them to retreat in Diſorder. He was ſtill engaged in the Purſuit of his Enemies, when he was informed of the ill State of his Right-Wing, and the Danger his Left was in. Upon which he gave over purſuing the flying Enemy, and marching to the Relief of the Duke of *Burgundy*, he poured upon the victorious Troops of *Saladine*, in order to ſnatch from them a Victory, they thought themſelves ſure of. On this famous Occaſion it was, that he was ſeen to perform ſuch aſtoniſhing Acts of Valour, that thoſe who envied him moſt, could not forbear having him in Admiration. Some tell us, he was perſonally engaged with *Saladine*, and having diſmounted him would have taken him Priſoner, had not the *Saracens* uſed their utmoſt Efforts to reſcue him out of his Hands. Be this as it will, thus much is certain, that *Richard*'s Valour made ſuch an Alteration in the Face of the Battle, that *Saladine* ſaw himſelf obliged to reinforce his Right-Wing with Part of the victorious Troops of the Left. As this Detachment could not but Occaſion ſome Diſorder, it gave the Right-Wing of the Chriſtians Time to come to themſelves. Finding they were not ſo hard preſſed as before, they quickly rallied, and falling furiouſly on the *Saracen* Troops that oppoſed them, they forced them at length to take to Flight.

In

1192. In the mean Time, *Richard* maintained the Fight on the Left, with a Conſtancy and Courage which ſeemed ſomewhat more than *Natural*, maugre the Superiority of his Enemies, who had drawn all their Forces againſt him. It was however to be feared, that he would have been overpowered by Numbers, had not his Right-Wing, which met with no longer Reſiſtance, come into his Aid. Then the *Saracens*, finding they were attacked on the *Flank* by theſe freſh Troops, began to break their Ranks with ſuch Confuſion, that it was out of *Saladine*'s Power to rally them. The *Chriſtians* taking the Advantage of their Diſorder, preſſed them ſo briskly, that they put at length that prodigious Army entirely to rout. Thus *Richard* by his Valour and Conduct, obtained a compleat Victory over the Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Name, of whom forty thouſand lay dead in the Field of Battle. *James* of *Aveſnes* was the only Officer of Diſtinction that fell that Day on the Side of the *Chriſtians*.

Richard *repairs the Cities* Saladine *had diſmantled.*

After this important Victory, *Richard* continued his March towards the maritime Cities of *Aſcalon*, *Joppa*, and *Caſarea*, which *Saladine* had thought fit to abandon, after having demoliſhed their Walls. It was of the utmoſt Conſequence to the *Chriſtians* ro repair theſe Cities, that they might erect there Magazines for the Army, when they ſhould advance further into the Enemy's Country. This in all Probability was the ſole Reaſon which obliged the victorious Prince to ſtay ſome Time at *Joppa*. Some however have taxed him with not having known how to make the beſt of his Victory, by marching directly to *Jeruſalem*. But I can't tell whether he is to be blamed upon their Authority. There are ſo few capable of judging rightly in theſe Matters, eſpecially when the Circumſtances are but very imperfectly known, that I don't think it the Part of a prudent Man, to paſs his Verdict about them.

A great Deliverance of Richard. Itin. Hier.

During *Richard*'s Stay at *Joppa*, an Adventure befel him, which had like to have been very fatal to him, and from which he was not delivered but by a kind of Miracle. One day, after having very much tired himſelf with Hunting,

ing, as he was lain down under a Tree to ſleep, with only ſix Perſons about him, he was rouzed by the ſudden Approach of ſome *Saracen* Horſemen, who were near the Place where he ſlept. As they were but few in Number, he had no manner of dread upon him, but immediately mounting his Horſe he rode after them, which they perceiving, feigned to fly before him, and by that Means drew him into an Ambuſcade, where he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded on a ſudden by a Party of the Enemy. He defended himſelf a long Time with a wonderful Bravery, without any Thoughts of retreating, notwithſtanding the Odds againſt him. At length, Four of his Attendants being fallen, he was upon the Point of being ſlain or taken, when *William Deſpreaux*, one of his Company, cried out in the *Saracen* Language, *I am King of England.* At which Words, thoſe that were upon *Richard* left him to have their Share in the taking of *Deſpreaux*, whom they imagined to be the King. This Device gave *Richard* Time to ride off full ſpeed, whilſt the *Saracens*, content with their Succeſs, conducted their Priſoner to *Saladine*. *Deſpreaux* had the Prudence not to diſcover himſelf till he came before the Sultan, to whom he ingenuouſly confeſſed what he had done to ſave his Maſter. *Saladine* commended his Fidelity, and did him a great deal of Honour. But as he was very ſenſible *Richard* would never ſuffer One that had done him ſo ſignal a Service to remain long a Captive, he ſet ſo high a Value on his Head, that he procured ten *Emirs* or *Saracen* Princes in Exchange for that faithful Servant. 1192.

He takes the great Babylon-Caravan. Itin. Hier.

As ſoon as the maritime Places were ſufficiently repaired, *Richard* marched towards *Jeruſalem*, which he had reſolved to beſiege. In his way he had the good Fortune to meet the *Babylon-Caravan*, which was carrying to *Jeruſalem* a prodigious Quantity of rich Merchandizes and Proviſions of all Kinds. The *Caravan* was guarded by ten thouſand *Horſe*, who finding themſelves near the *Chriſtian* Army, would immediately have retreated. But *Richard* taking with him five Thouſand choſen Horſemen, fell upon them with great Fury, and having put them to Flight, became Maſter of the *Caravan*. He took on this Occaſion

1192. *He comes within view of* Jerusalem, *and puts off the Siege till the Spring.*

3000 loaded Camels, and 4000 Horses or Mules, with an inestimable Booty, which he ordered to be distributed all among his Soldiers. After this lucky Rencounter, having continued on his March towards *Jerusalem*, he came to a Hill, from whence he had the Pleasure to survey that famous City, the taking of which was the chief End of his Expedition. In the mean Time, as the Country round about was destitute of Forage, he saw himself under the fatal Necessity of putting off the Siege till the Spring. This Delay furnished his Enemies and Those that envied him with a Pretence to desert him. The Duke of *Austria* led the Way, and the Duke of *Burgundy* quickly followed him, not being able to bear the Thoughts of contributing any longer to the Glory of a Prince whom he looked upon as the King of *France*'s Rival. His Death, which happened at *Acres* just as he was going to embark, prevented not the *French* Troops from sailing for *Europe*. The going off of the *Germans* and *French*; the Marquess of *Montferrat*'s refusing to assist with the *Italian* Troops in a Conquest, which he laid claim to, but was designed for another; the News *Richard* received of what was doing in *England*; the Apprehensions he was in that *Philip* would take the Advantage of his Absence and declare War against him; the diminishing of his Troops, as well by Sickness as Battle; all these Things together were but too capable of making him think of returning Home, and are Reasons sufficient to justify the Truce he made with *Saladine*, notwithstanding the vain Declamations of Those who have had the Confidence to blame him for deserting the *Cause*, when within View of *Jerusalem**. It is easy to see, that with the few Troops which were left him, it was not possible for him to go through with an Enterprize of so difficult a Nature as was then the Siege of that City. During the whole Winter they had found Time to lay in all manner of warlike Stores, and the Garrison was scarce inferiour in Number to the *Christian* Army. *Saladine* having

The Dukes of Austria *and* Burgundy *desert.*

The Italian *Troops refuse to serve any longer.*

Vindication of Richard.

* The *French* Historians have cast many false and rude Aspersions upon King *Richard*, as if it had been his Fault that *Jerusalem* was not taken.

having Notice of *Richard*'s Deſign to return home, thought it his Intereſt to haſten the Departure of ſo formidable an Enemy, by offering him a three Year's Truce. All the Principal Officers of the *Chriſtian* Army joyfully embraced his Offer. Every one was very glad, after ſo many Hardſhips, to go and enjoy ſome Tranquillity in his own Country. *Richard* therefore accepted of the Truce which was propoſed upon theſe Conditions: That the City of *Aſcalon* ſhould be diſmantled, and not fortified again by either Party during the Truce; That *Joppa* or *Jaffa*, and *Acres* or *Ptolemais*, ſhould remain in the Hands of the *Chriſtians*, with the reſt of the Cities they were poſſeſſed of in *Paleſtine*; That the *Chriſtians* ſhould have Liberty to go in Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem* without paying any Thing for it, and free Commerce throughout all *Saladine*'s Dominions. The Treaty being concluded, *Richard* ſent *Saladine* Word, that he might depend upon ſeeing him again, to try once more to wreſt the *Holy Land* out of his Hands. The *Sultan*, with a Politeneſs which had nothing of the *Barbarian* in it, returned in Anſwer, That *if it muſt be his Fate to loſe that Part of his Dominions, he had rather it ſhould be to the King of* England, *than to any other Monarch in the World.* Thus ended the famous *Cruſado*, which had drained *France* and *England* both of *Men* and *Money*. It proved of very little Benefit to the *Eaſtern Chriſtians*, whilſt it ruined thoſe of *Europe*, by the prodigious Sums therein expended. But that was not all; it became the Occaſion of deſtructive Wars between *France* and *England*, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

1192. Richard *makes a Truce with* Saladine.

Articles of the Truce. Itin. Hier.

Richard, fearing that in his Abſence *Saladine* would break the Truce, conveened the Principal Officers of the Army, in order to elect a General capable of commanding the Troops that were deſigned to be left behind in *Paleſtine*. The Choice fell upon the Marqueſs of *Montferrat*, to *Richard*'s great Surprize, who had openly declared againſt him. However he gave his Conſent to the Election, and ſacrificed his private Reſentments to the publick Good of the *Chriſtians*. Shortly after the Marqueſs was ſtabbed by two Villains, ſent for that Purpoſe by *the old Man of the Mountains*:

The Marqueſs of Montferrat *elected General of the Chriſtians in* Paleſtine.

He is aſſaſſinated.

1191. *Mountains:* That was the Title they gave the Head or chief Master of a sort of People inhabiting about *Antioch*, called *Chassins*, or by some such Name. The *Old Man of the Mountains* always kept in his Service a Sett of People devoted to his Will, whom he dispatched into all Parts of the World upon the like Occasions. Hence the *French* called him the Prince of the *Assassins*, or perhaps the Word *Assassin* is derived from the Name of these People *. As it was not known at first who was the Author of this Murder, *Richard*, as being no Friend to the Marquess, was by some suspected of it. But the Marquess himself was so far from having any such Thought, that just as he died, he ordered his Troops to deliver into the Hands of the King of *England* the City of *Tyre*, which he was in possession of.

Henry *Earl of* Champaign *chosen in his Place.* Giblet. Hist. de Re Lusig. *l.* 1.

After the Death of the Marquess of *Montferrat*, *Richard* managed it so that in his Place was elected *Henry* Earl of *Champaign*, who was Nephew to him as well as to the King of *France*. Then he caused him to marry *Isabella* the Deceased's Widow, who brought him for her Dowry the *Titular* Kingdom of *Jerusalem*. As for *Guy* of *Lusignan*, the King made up his Loss of an *empty* Title with the *real* Donation of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, though he had sold it before to the *Templars*. Upon the repeated Complaints of the *Cypriots*, to whom the Tyranny of their new Masters was become insupportable, *Richard* thought he had a Right to revoke the *Sale* he had made. Whether this was consistent with Justice, is needless now to enquire. It is sufficient to observe, that *Guy* was put in Possession of his Kingdom, which remained in his Family near two whole *Centuries*.

The

* These *Assassins* were a precise Sect of *Mahometans* dwelling in six Cities near *Antaradus* in *Syria*, being about 40000 in Number. They were ready to stab any Prince whom *the Old Man of the Mountain* should appoint them, or to go upon any other dangerous Attempt. *Conrade* Marquess of *Montferrat* was murdered in the Streets of *Tyre* by two of them, whom he entertained in his Service, they having pretended to turn Christians. *M. Paris.*

The Affairs of the *Eaſt* being ſettled in this Manner, *Richard*, impatient to return to *England*, went and embarked at *Ptolemais*, from whence he ſailed to *Corfu*, an Iſland ſituated at the Entrance of the *Adriatick Gulph*. In all Appearance, his Deſign was to land ſomewhere in the Bottom of the *Gulph*, in order to continue his Journey by Land through *Germany*. However ſome tell us, that he was driven againſt his Will by Streſs of Weather into thoſe Parts. Whatever his Deſign might be, he was expoſed to a violent Storm, which forced him on the Coaſt of *Iſtria*, and from thence between *Aquileia* and *Venice*, where the Galliot he was on Board ſplit upon a Rock. It was not without great Difficulty that he eſcaped that Danger, in order to run forthwith into another. Whether for want of knowing the Country better, or for ſome other unknown Reaſon, he entered the Territories of the Duke of *Auſtria*, and took the Road to *Vienna*. If this was not done through Ignorance, it will be a difficult Matter to dive into what he could poſſibly deſign by it. Beſides that this was by no Means his way to *England*, it was a great Piece of Imprudence to hazard his Perſon in the Dominions of a Prince, whom he had ſo mortally offended at the Siege of *Acres*. Be this as it will, he kept on his Journey diſguiſed like a Pilgrim, well knowing he had every Thing to fear from this Duke's Reſentment, ſhould he happen to be diſcovered. His laviſh Expences, and the Indiſcretion of ſome of his Attendants were the Occaſion of a Rumour's being quickly ſpread that the King of *England* was in thoſe Parts. The Duke of *Auſtria* having Notice of it, cauſed the *pretended* Pilgrim to be watched ſo narrowly, that he was ſeized at a ſmall Village near *Vienna* *. The News having reached the Emperour *Henry* VI, he ſent and demanded the Priſoner of the Duke of *Auſtria*, who delivered

1193. Richard *embarks for* Europe, Paris. Hoved.

againſt his Will.

Is Shipwrecked near Aquileia.

Goes into the Dominions of the Duke of Auſtria.

Is diſcovered, taken, and given up to the Emperour.

* Having travelled ſome Time with his Attendants like ſo many Pilgrims with their Hair and Beards grown to a great length, he diſmiſſed them all, and taking Horſe with one Servant came to the Village, where ſending out his Servant to buy Proviſions, he was known by one belonging to the Duke of *Auſtria*, and being ſeized was forced to tell where the King was, who was taken as he lay aſleep.

1193. vered him up, upon his being assured he should have a good Share in his Ransom. Thus *Richard*, whose Fame filled the whole Earth, and whose noble Actions had given him the Pre-eminence above all the Princes of his Time, lost his Liberty, and saw himself in the Power of the most sordid and ungenerous of Princes.

The Effects of the King's Imprisonment in England. Hoved. Gervas. Paris.

The News of *Richard*'s Imprisonment quickly flew over all *Europe*, and particularly into *England*, where it caused a great Consternation. Queen *Eleanor* his Mother immediately took all possible Precaution to prevent this Accident from occasioning some fatal Revolution. She represented to the principal Barons, that they could not give the King any Effectual Proofs of their Fidelity, but by opposing, to the utmost of their Power, the Attempts of Prince *John*, whose ill Designs were not to them unknown. That it was chiefly with that they must begin, in order to preserve the Peace of the Realm; and that afterwards the other Affairs might be taken Care of. The Exhortations of the Queen, the unfortunate Condition the King was in, and the Fame he had acquired in the *East*, concurred to keep up in the *English* Barons the Fidelity which was due to their Sovereign. As they did not question but *John* would lay hold on this Juncture to disturb the State, they entered into an *Association* to exclude him from the Government, at the very Time he was taking Measures to seize it. The Opportunity appearing to him very favourable, he had formed a Design to take the Administration of Affairs into his Hands, that he might with the greater Ease wrest the Crown from the King his Brother; but he was prevented by the Diligence of the Queen his Mother, and the Barons. He had the Mortification to see other *Regents* appointed during the King's Imprisonment. However, he forbore not to use his Endeavours to break an *Association* so prejudicial to him. He affirmed that his sole Aim was to secure himself from the Pretensions of the Duke of *Bretaign* his Nephew, in Case *Richard* should die in Prison: But all his Proceedings plainly showed, that his Design was rather to obstruct the King's Return, supposing he should be so fortunate as to obtain his Liberty,

John tries to lay hold on his Brother's Misfortune to mount the Throne.

berty. Accordingly he left no Stone unturned to become Maſter of the Strong-holds, or to gain the Governours to his Intereſts. It is no wonder if at ſuch a Juncture he prevailed with ſome of them; but in general he met with ſo great Oppoſition, that he found at length there was no Poſſibility of compaſſing his Ends without the Aſſiſtance of the King of *France*. As ſoon as he was determined to apply to *Philip*, he departed in order to go and confer with him. As he went through *Normandy* he ſtaid ſome Days at *Roan*, where he tried all ſorts of ways to corrupt the Loyalty of the *Normans*; but not ſucceeding he ſet forward for *Paris*, where he made a Treaty with *Philip*, who wanted nothing more than to embroil *Richard*'s Affairs.

1193. *He meets with Obſtacles.*

Makes a League with Philip. Hoved.

If we may credit certain Hiſtorians, *John* obliged himſelf to marry the Princeſs *Alice*, whom *Richard* had refuſed, and to do Homage to the Crown of *France* for the Kingdom of *England*. I do not know whether theſe Authors had good Authority to aſſert theſe two Particulars. It is certain that the Treaty it ſelf, which is in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſays nothing like it: Neither is it probable that *John*, who was already married, ſhould promiſe to eſpouſe another Wife. It ſeems more likely therefore, that *Philip*, as the Treaty imports, was ſatisfied with admitting *John* to do Homage for all the Provinces in *France* belonging to the Crown of *England*, which as Sovereign Lord he pretended to have a Right to diſpoſe of.

Hoved. p. 412.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 85.

As ſoon as *John* had finiſhed his Matters in *France*, he embarked for *England* with Deſign to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to gain the King of *Scotland* to his Side; but *William*, remembering the generous Uſage he had met with from *Richard*, would give no Ear to his Sollicitations, what Means ſoever *John* employed to make him believe that the impriſoned King would never recover his Liberty. All his Endeavours, as well with regard to the *Normans* as the King of *Scotland*, proving of no effect, he bethought himſelf of another Expedient. He cauſed a Rumour to be ſpread that *Richard* was dead in Priſon, and upon

He tries in vain to gain the King of Scotland.

Pretends the King is dead, and demands the Crown, but is refuſed.

1139. Hoved. upon that Foundation demanded the Crown. But as there was no Advice of the King's Death from any other Hands, the *English* were not inclined to comply too haſtily with his Demand, without further Confirmation. In the mean time, their Refuſal furniſhed him with a Pretence to ſeize ſome Places of Strength, as willing to take by Force what he could not obtain by fair Means. But his Party was ſo inconſiderable, that it was not poſſible for him to make any great Progreſs.

Philip *attacks* Normandy. Hoved. Nubrig. Whilſt theſe Things were tranſacting in *England*, *Philip* was not idle in *France*. Perſuaded as he was, that the *Engliſh* taken up at Home with *John*'s Pretenſions, would not be able to ſend any Succours beyond Sea, he reſolved to ſeize the Provinces which *Richard* held in *France*. Purſuant to this Reſolution, unmindful of the Oath he had taken upon quitting *Paleſtine*, he had made himſelf Maſter of *Giſors*, *Evreux*, and the Country of *Vexin*; after which he laid Siege to *Roan*. He was in hopes to ſurprize that City, the taking of which would have drawn after it all the reſt of *Normandy*; but he had the Mortification to miſs his Aim. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, who had got into the City ſome Days before, made ſo brave a Defence, that after an Aſſault, wherein the *French* were repulſed with great Loſs, *Philip* was conſtrained to break up the Siege.

He beſieges Roan.

Is repulſed.

Eleanor *applies in vain to the Pope.* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 72, 74, 76. In the mean Time Queen *Eleanor*, not content with having raiſed a ſtrong Barrier againſt the Ambition of her younger Son, laboured with all her Might to get the King releaſed. As the Emperour had no plauſible Colour to detain him in Priſon; ſhe imagined that a powerful Mediation, ſuch as the Pope's, might have a good Effect. In this Belief ſhe had frequently writ to his *Holineſs*, to entreat him to take in Hand the Cauſe of the King her Son. All her Sollicitations not having been able to prevail with him, ſhe ſent him at length a very expoſtulatory Letter, which plainly ſhowed how highly ſhe was provoked at his Indifference. She complained, *that* he was unwilling to ſtir the leaſt Step in behalf of the impriſoned King: *That* he had refuſed to ſend a *Nuntio* to the Emperour, though

Her Letter to the Pope.

he had often ſent *Legates* to all the *Chriſtian* States, in Matters of much leſs Moment: *That* this Behaviour was ſo much the more ſtrange, as that it would be no Diſparagement at all to his Dignity, were he to go in Perſon and ſollicite the Releaſe of ſo great a King, who had juſt been expoſing his Life in the Service of the *Church*. In fine, ſhe repreſented to him, *That* the many good Offices which the *Holy See* ſtood indebted to the Kings of *England* for, well deſerved ſome Return; and *that* the Services done the Popes during the *Schiſms*, could not be forgotten without Ingratitude: But all theſe Inſtances were to no Purpoſe. The Pope did not think fit to concern himſelf about an unfortunate Prince, for fear of diſpleaſing the King of *France*, who preſſed him on the other Hand not to interpoſe in that Affair. 1193.

Whilſt the Queen laboured in vain to move the Pope, the Emperour, who was deſirous to have ſome Cloak for his Injuſtice, ordered *Richard* to be conducted to *Hagueneaw*, where the *Diet* of the Empire was aſſembled. The Deputies, ſent by the Queen and Council to the King to acquaint him with what was doing in *England*, met on the Road their unfortunate Prince conducted in an ignominious Manner like a Criminal. This melancholy Sight drew Tears from their Eyes, which the King ſeeing could not forbear weeping in his Turn. After they had, by many affectionate Expreſſions, let him ſee how much they were concerned at his Misfortune, and aſſured him of the Loyalty of his Subjects in general, they informed him of the Attempts of the Prince his Brother, and of his ſtrict Alliance with the King of *France*. Theſe Informations made him ſenſible, that in the preſent Poſture of Affairs, he ſhould be very much in the wrong to ſtand diſputing with the Emperour about the Terms of his Freedom. In this Mind he was brought before the Aſſembly of the *German* Princes, where the Emperour charged him with ſix *Articles*, whereof there was but one which he himſelf ought to have concerned himſelf about, and none at all relating to the *German* Nation in particular. I. He accuſed *Richard* for making a League with *Tancred* to ſupport

Richard *is carried before the Diet of the Empire;*

and accuſed by the Emperour of ſix Particulars.

1193. port that Uſurper in the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Sicily*. II. He alledged, that by his Conteſts with the King of *France* he had obſtructed the taking of *Jeruſalem*. III. He charged him with having unjuſtly taken by Force the Kingdom of *Cyprus*; and employed the Arms of the *Croiſes* in depoſing a *Chriſtian* Prince. IV. He taxed him with the Affront done the Duke of *Auſtria* at the Siege of *Ptolemais*. V. He charged him with having a Hand in the Murder of the Marqueſs of *Montferrat*. VI. And *Laſtly*, He laid to his Charge as a great Crime the Truce he had concluded with *Saladine*; and accuſed him of having held Intelligence with that *Infidel* Prince, to the great Detriment of *Chriſtendom* in general.

He vindicates himſelf.

Though neither the Emperour nor the Princes of *Germany* had any manner of Right to ſit as Judges over the King of *England*, *Richard* did not think proper to diſpute their Authority. He was too much afraid of giving any Handle for Delays, which could not but be very prejudicial to him: In all appearance that was the only Aim the Emperor propoſed to himſelf. He was contented therefore with briefly ſaying, that although he looked upon himſelf as accountable to none for his Actions, he was wiling however to vindicate himſelf before that Illuſtrious Aſſembly; not that he conſidered the Perſons there preſent as his Judges; but becauſe it was of great Conſequence to his Honour to let the World ſee his Innocence. Then he made his Defence againſt the Emperour's *Allegations*. To the Firſt he replied, That his Treaty with *Tancred* in no wiſe related to the Emperour: That he did not make *Tancred* King of *Sicily*, but found him ſo; and treated with him as with a King in actual Poſſeſſion of the Crown. To the Second he anſwered, That the King of *France*'s Jealouſy was the ſole Cauſe of the ſmall Progreſs that was made in the Conqueſt of the *Holy Land*; and that the whole Blame ought to be laid on that Prince, ſince he firſt deſerted the Cauſe. To the Third, which related to the Conqueſt of *Cyprus*, he made anſwer, That he took not that Kingdom from a lawful Prince, but from an Uſurper and Tyrant; who, by his

Barbarity

Barbarity had juſtly drawn down his Vengeance on his Head. That he had made appear plainly he had not acted in that Affair from a Principle of Ambition, or Avarice, ſince he had voluntarily reſigned the Iſland to *Guy* of *Luſignan*, to make him amends for the Loſs of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*. As to the fourth Article, he contented himſelf with ſaying, that the Duke of *Auſtria* was ſufficiently revenged of an Affront which he might have demanded Satisfaction for in a more honourable Manner. As for the Murder of the Marqueſs of *Montferrat*, he ſaid, with ſome Emotion, that all his paſt Actions were ſo many Evidences of his being incapable of uſing ſuch baſe Means to be revenged on his Enemies: And added, that the Marqueſs himſelf had cleared him before he expired, by commanding the Princeſs his Wife to put into his Hands the City of *Tyre*, which he would never have done, without doubt, had he ſuſpected him to have been the Author of his Death (*a*). He ſpoke more largely to the Charge of his holding Intelligence with *Saladine*. He repreſented, though in a very modeſt Manner, the great Hand he had in the Victory obtained over the *Infidel* Prince. He accuſed the Duke of *Burgundy* of having deſerted him purely out of Jealouſy, when he was juſt upon the Point of laying Siege to *Jeruſalem*. In fine, he added, it was eaſy to ſee that in making a Truce with the *Saracens*, he had no ſordid Intereſt in view, ſince of all the Booty which he had got by taking the *Babylon-Caravan*, he had reſerved nothing to himſelf but only the Ring which he wore on his Finger. 1193.

This Defence, which very much confounded the Emperour, raiſed the Compaſſion of the *German* Princes for *Richard*. They were ſo well ſatisfied of the great Injury done to that illuſtrious Prince, that with one Conſent they *The* German *Princes intercede for* Richard.

(*a*) In the *Collection of the Publick Acts* (T. I. p. 71.) there is a Letter from the *Old Man of the Mountains* to the Duke of *Auſtria*, wherein he owns himſelf the Author of the Marqueſs's Murder. But the Authority of this Letter is doubtful upon ſeveral Accounts, particularly for being dated in the Year of the Pontificate of the Pope.

1193. beſought the Emperour to deal more generouſly by him. But their Intreaties could not induce that covetous and ſelfiſh Prince to releaſe his Priſoner, before he had exacted from him an exorbitant Ranſom. He was the more extravagant in his Demands, becauſe the King of *France* had ſent the Biſhop of *Beauvais* to proffer him a large Sum to keep *Richard* in perpetual Impriſonment. The Captive King therefore was forced, in order to obtain his Liberty, to bind himſelf to pay a Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Marks of pure Silver, of which the Duke of *Auſtria* was to have a Third for his Share. The Emperour required further, that this Sum ſhould be brought into *Germany* at the Hazard and Charge of *Richard*. To theſe hard Terms he added, that *Richard* ſhould cauſe the Emperour of *Cyprus* and his Daughter to be ſet at Liberty; and that he ſhould give *Eleanor* of *Bretaign* his Niece in Marriage to the Duke of *Auſtria*'s eldeſt Son. Some ſay moreover, that the Emperour, not content with theſe advantagious Conditions, obliged *Richard* to make an abſolute Reſignation to him of the Kingdom of *England*, which however he preſently re-inveſted him with, to hold it of him by the annual Tribute of five thouſand Pounds Sterling. Indeed, one cannot ſay that this Fact is altogether improbable, conſidering the wretched State *Richard* was then in. Nevertheleſs, one can hardly believe, that, as much a Priſoner as he was, he could ever bring himſelf to ſtoop to ſo mean an Action. Beſides, we do not find that the Emperour ever laid any Claim to *England* by Virtue of this pretended Reſignation. Accordingly, the ſame Hiſtorians which aſſert this Particular, add, that *Henry* before his Death renounced all Right to *England*. To make the Matter the more probable, it is pretended that the Emperour's Donation of the Kingdom of *Arles* to *Richard* was to make him ſome amends for the Sovereignty of *England* which he had juſt given up: But this very thing makes it preſumed, that they have confounded the Homage which *Richard* in reality did the Emperour for the Kingdom of *Arles*, of which that Monarch had made him a Grant, with the Homage for *England*. And indeed,

Philip *and* John *make the Emperour large Offers to detain him.*

He requires hard terms of Richard.

Hoved. p. 414.

The Emperour makes him Titular King of Arles.

indeed, it appears from the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Henry* conferred the Title of *King of Arles* on *Richard*, who no doubt did him Homage for that *imaginary* Kingdom, which the Emperours had not been in poſſeſſion of for many Years. 1192. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 81, 83.

As ſoon as the Treaty was ſigned, *Richard* ſent word of it to the Queen his Mother, deſiring her to uſe all poſſible Means to raiſe the Money for his Ranſom forthwith. This was no inconſiderable Sum at that Time in *England*. *Richard* himſelf when he went to the *Holy Land*, had almoſt quite drained the Kingdom of all the Coin. Beſides, the *Croiſes* had likewiſe carried off large Sums. For this Reaſon, it was no eaſy Matter to ſupply the preſent Exigency. However, the Zeal of the Lords *Juſticiaries* cauſed them to find the Means to raiſe a hundred thouſand Marks, what by Taxes *, and what by borrowing one Year's Wool of the Abbeys of the *Ciſtercians* and *Religious Houſes* of the *Order* of *Sempringham* *1. To this was added ſome *Plate*, which the *Churches* furniſhed upon the Queen's Promiſe to make it good again, after the King's Return. *Money for the King's Ranſom is raiſed in* England.

Whilſt they were taken up in *England* with levying the Money for the King's Ranſom, *Philip* and *John* left no Stone unturned to break the Agreement he had made with the Emperour. As ſoon as *Philip* had notice of it, he ſent *John* word, *to look to himſelf, ſince the Devil was like to get looſe*. This News threw the Prince into a great Conſternation. He ſaw all his Hopes vaniſh, and himſelf upon the Point of falling into the Hands of a very juſtly incenſed Brother, without knowing how to ward off the terrible Blow. In this Perplexity he had no 1194. Philip *and* John *endeavour to get* Richard *detained in Priſon*. Nubrig. Hoved.

* *Hovedon* ſays, every *Knights-Fee* was taxed 20 Shillings, *p* 413.

*1 This *Order* was firſt eſtabliſhed at *Sempringham* in *Lincolnſhire*, (now a Seat of the *Clintons* Earls of *Lincoln*) in the Year 1148, by one *Gilbert*, then Lord of the Manor, from whom they were called *Gilbertines*. They were a promiſcuous Order of Men and Women together, who encreaſed ſo faſt, that the Founder himſelf lived to ſee 700 *Gilbertine Fryars*, 1100 *Siſters*. But their Modeſty was not to be bragged of, ſince it is ſaid that three Parts in four of theſe Siſters were pregnant at one Time.

1194. other Course to take, but to enter into a more strict Alliance with *Philip*, and endeavour with his Assistance to break the Measures *Richard* had taken for his Deliverance. As these two Princes were joined in one common Interest, they agreed to act in Concert, in order to engage the Emperour by advantagious Offers, to detain *Richard* in Prison.

They make Offers to the Emperour. The Bishop of *Beauvais* was again commissioned to make *Henry* the following Proposals: *That* provided he would promise to detain *Richard* till *Michaelmas* following, *Philip* would pay him down fifty thousand, and *John* thirty thousand Marks: *That* after that Term, they would return him monthly one thousand Pounds *Sterling* all the time *Richard* should remain in Durance: *That* in case he would deliver him into their Hands, they would pay the whole Ransom of a hundred and fifty thousand Marks. In fine, if he refused to comply with this Offer, the Ambassador had Orders to tender him the same Sum, provided he would keep him Prisoner one Year more. These Offers wrought so on the Self-interested Emperour, that he put off the King's Deliverance till the next *Diet*, which was to meet at *Spires* in a few Months, though *Eleanor* was come to *Worms* with a hundred thousand Marks, and Hostages for the Payment of the Remainder. It is easy to guess at *Richard*'s Consternation, when he heard this unwelcome News. He was not ignorant of his Brother's Designs to seize his Crown, and was satisfied that *Philip* would assist him with all his Forces. On the other Hand, he was but too well acquainted with the Emperour's Temper, to hope to be able to soften a Heart which was an entire Stranger to all generous Sentiments. In this wretched State, looking upon himself as entirely ruined, the Time he passed till the Diet was the most melancholy and irksome of his whole Life. It was not without Reason that he was alarmed, since the Emperour had actually determined to comply with the King of *France*, and sacrifice his Honour to sordid Interest. The *Diet* being met at *Spires* in the Month of *September*, the Emperour addressed himself to the *German* Princes in Terms which plainly imported, that he made no Account of his Agree-

Henry *put off the King's Deliverance.*

He endeavours to elude the Treaty, but in vain.

ment

ment with the King of *England*. Surpriſed at this Procedure, they could not forbear telling him their Thoughts of the Matter. They repreſented to him in a forcible Manner, that as they themſelves were *Guarantees* of the Treaty, they could not ſtand by and ſee it violated without great Detriment to their Honour. They even gave him to underſtand he ſhould not break it with Impunity. Whether *Henry* ſtood in fear of their Threats, or whether Shame made ſome Impreſſion on his Mind, he was prevailed with to ſet his Priſoner free, upon receiving the hundred thouſand Marks, and Hoſtages for the fifty thouſand that were left unpaid. *Richard* no ſooner ſaw himſelf at Liberty, but he ſet forward with all ſpeed for the *Low-Countries*, without ſtopping on the Road any more than needs muſt. This Speed was no more than what was neceſſary, ſince *Henry*, who had repented of his having releaſed him, ſent after him to ſeize him; but it was too late. As ſoon as he came to *Antwerp*, he embarked for *England*, and ſafely arrived at *Sandwich* on the 20th of *March*, 1194, after a four Year's Abſence, fifteen Months whereof he had paſſed in Priſon.

1194.

Richard *is ſet at Liberty.*

Brompt. *He arrives in* England.

Before I finiſh what relates to *Richard*'s Impriſonment, not to return hereafter to the Payment of the Reſidue of his Ranſom, I ſhall ſubjoin in this Place all that happened on that Score, as well with reſpect to the Emperour as the Duke of *Auſtria*. The Laſt, after having often importuned *Richard* for the Payment of the Money, ſent *Baldwin* of *Betune*, one of the Hoſtages, to let him know, that he would come upon thoſe he had in his Power, if the Treaty of *Haguenaw* was not ſpeedily executed. *Richard*, who knew by Experience the cruel Temper of that Prince, forthwith ſent back the ſame *Baldwin* with the Princeſs *Eleanor*, that he might cauſe the ſtipulated Marriage to be conſummated, whilſt the Money for the reſt of the Ranſom ſhould be getting ready. In all appearance, the Emperour had taken for himſelf the hundred thouſand Marks, and turned over the Debt to the Duke of *Auſtria*. Be this as it will, *Eleanor* and *Baldwin* found upon their Arrival at *Vienna*, that the Duke was dead of a fall from his

Proceedings of the Emperour and Duke of Auſtria, *relating to the reſt of the Ranſom.*

1194. his Horse. Before he resigned his last Breath, he had made his *Will*, wherein he had ordered that the King of *England*'s Hostages should be released, confessing that he had unjustly detained him, and that he could not in Conscience demand a Ransom. Notwithstanding this express Injunction, the Prince his Son, who succeeded him, would have detained the Hostages, had not the Bishops opposed it. They plainly declared they would not permit the Body of his Father to be buried till his last *Will* was performed. To compleat the Matter, the Pope sent him a Letter, wherein he told him, that he had ordered the Archbishop of *Saltzburg* to excommunicate him, if he deferred any longer the Execution of his Father's *Will*. Prevailed upon by these Menaces, he released the Hostages; and finding he had no great Inclination for the Princess of *Bretaign*, sent her back likewise to *England*. As for the Emperour, his Difference with the Pope, and the War he was meditating against *France*, making him sensible that he might stand in need of the King of *England*, he wished to be reconciled to him. To that purpose he sent a Bishop to beg his pardon, aud to assure him that he intended to restore what he had extorted from him. But he died shortly after at *Messina*, before he had performed his Promise.

Richard *reduces his Brother's Party.* Paris. Hoved. Nubrig.

Richard was received by his Subjects with Demonstrations of Joy and Affection, which made him forget all the Disgraces he had suffered during his Confinement. His first Care was to discharge the Vow he had made to offer to God the Rich *Standard* of *Cyprus* in St. *Edmund*'s Church: Which done, he marched against some Castles still in the Hands of *John*'s Adherents, of which *Nottingham Castle* was the only one that held out a Siege of some Days. In the mean Time, he had ordered the Prince his Brother, who was retired to *France*, to be summoned to appear within forty Days, to answer to the Accusations which should be exhibited against him. *John* not appearing within the Time limited, the King caused a *Sentence* to be passed against him, whereby his Estates were

John *cited and condemned.*

all

all confiſcated, and he himſelf excluded from the Succeſſion to the Crown. 1194.

This Affair being over, *Richard* was crowned a-new, for fear his Impriſonment might have raiſed any Scruples in the Minds of his Subjects. *William* King of *Scotland* had a Mind to aſſiſt at the Solemnity, and carry the *Sword of State* on the Coronation-day *. This Piece of Deference, and his conſtant Attachment to *Richard* whilſt in Priſon, entirely gained him the Affections of that Prince, who omitted nothing to ſhow him Marks of his Friendſhip. It is true indeed, he did not think fit to give him up *Northumberland*, which he demanded with a great deal of Importunity to be put in Poſſeſſion of, on the Score of a very dubious Title, which even his Predeceſſor had thrown up. However, to ſoften in ſome meaſure this Refuſal, he granted him a *Charter*, whereby the Kings of *Scotland* were to enjoy certain *Honours* and *Privileges* whenever they came into *England* *1.

Richard *is crowned again.*

Hoved. p. 240.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 87.

Richard was too much bent upon being revenged of the King of *France*, to deny himſelf any longer that Satisfaction. The *Forgiveneſs of Injuries* is a Virtue too *rare* among Men, to be met with in a Prince who was none of the moſt ſcrupulous in Matters of Religion. To bring about his Deſigns, he ſtood in need of a powerful Army, which could be neither raiſed nor maintained without an extraordinary Charge. His Kingdom already drained, was hardly in a Condition to ſupply his preſent Occaſions. However, Money muſt be had any Rate; and to that Purpoſe divers Ways and Means were uſed which were not very honourable. In the firſt Place, he demanded again all the *Crown Lands* which he had alienated upon his going to the *Holy Land*. His pretence for ſo doing, was,

1195. Richard *prepares for a War with* France.

His Means to raiſe Money. Nubrig.

* He did this as Earl of *Huntington*. Hoved. p. 420.

*1 They were to be conducted by the *Sheriffs* of every County from *Berwick* to the Court, and allowed 100 Shillings a Day during the Journey, and 30 whilſt they ſtaid; and alſo 12 Loaves of fine Bread, 12 of the King's *Simnels*, with 4 Gallons of the Beſt, and 8 of the Ordinary Wine, &c. See Pub. Act. Vol. 1. p. 78.

1195. was, that the Purchasers had over and above received the Money they had disbursed, out of the Profits of the Estates, though they had enjoyed them but a very few Years. He put in practice another, and no less unlawful Means, to fill his empty Coffers. The *Great Seal*, which he had carried with him, having been lost during his Voyage, he ordered a new one to be made; and obliged all those that had any *Patents* or *Commissions* under the old Seal, to have them renewed, and sealed with the new one. His sole Aim in this, was to extort Money from private Persons for the renewing their *Charters*. These two Methods not appearing to him sufficient, he invented two more. The first was to prohibit *Tournaments*, and then to grant the *Nobility* a License to hold, or be present at them, upon payment of a certain Sum of Money, in proportion to their Rank and Quality *. The second was to restore to his good Graces *Geoffrey* his natural Brother, and permit him to enjoy the Archbishoprick of *York*. The Bishop of *Coventry*, a zealous Friend of Prince *John*, who had been sentenced the same Time with him, received likewise the same Favour: But it cost the former two Thousand Marks, and the Latter purchased his Pardon by a Present of five Thousand.

Philip gets the start of him, and besieges Verneuil. Walsing. Paris. Hoved.

All the Forces *Richard* designed against *France* being ready, News was brought him, as he was sitting at Table, that *Philip* had laid Siege to *Verneuil*. His Indignation at the King of *France*'s having got the Start of him, transported him so, that he swore he would not turn his Face, till he came where the Enemy was. To keep his Oath, he caused part of the Wall of the Room where he was at Dinner to be pulled down, and going directly out, went and embarked immediately with his Troops which were waiting for him on the Sea-Side, and safely arrived in *Normandy*. Upon his Approach, *Philip* raised the Siege, just as he was upon the Point of becoming Master of the City. Some say, he was constrained to it by his Army, which

Richard makes him raise the Siege.

* An Earl twenty Marks, a Baron ten, and a Knight four, if without Land, two.

which being ſeized by a Pannick Fear, betook itſelf to Flight, leaving the Tents and Baggage in the Camp. 1195.

He pardons his Brother.

Some Time after, *Richard* being at *Roan*, the Queen his Mother introduced Prince *John*, who throwing himſelf at his Feet, begged Pardon for his Crime. The King received him civilly, as he had promiſed the Queen, but however gave him to underſtand, that he was not ſatisfied of the Sincerity of his Repentance. *I forgive you*, (ſays he, raiſing him up) *and wiſh I could as eaſily loſe the Remembrance of the Injuries you have done me, as you will forget my Pardon of them.* Brompt. p. 1261.

Continuation of the War.

I ſhall not undertake to give an exact Account of the War which was carried on by the two contending Monarchs. The Particulars of it are of too little Moment to deſerve inſiſting upon. I ſhall content my ſelf with obſerving that it laſted five Years, and was often interrupted by Truces, conſtantly broken by both Parties, without any Poſſibility of knowing on which Side to lay the Blame. The Hiſtorians of the two Nations have to that Degree made it their Buſineſs to vindicate their reſpective Kings, that it is eaſy to ſee that both of them have been too much ſwayed by their Inclinations or Prejudices. Be this as it will, the two Princes met with frequent Occaſions in this War to ſignalize their Conduct and Courage. But as the various Succeſs of their Arms, Fortune ſometimes favouring one Side and ſometimes the other, occaſioned the Continuation of the War, one may ſay that they both loſt more than they gained by it. *Philip* among others, ſuffered an irreparable Damage in the Loſs of all the *antient Records* of the Crown, which were taken with all his Baggage in an Action near *Blois*. It was cuſtomary then for the King to carry along with him where-ever he went, the *Archives* of the Kingdom. *Mezerai* laments the Loſs *France* ſuſtained on this Occaſion, and deplores the great Damage done to the Hiſtory of that Kingdom with reſpect to the Events before this Engagement. Hoved. 1195 9.

Philip *loſes the Records of the Crown.*

A Truce between the two Kings.

The Advantages the two Kings obtained over one another not being very conſiderable, they agreed at length upon a Truce, that they might find, in the Interim, the

1195-9. Means to conclude a Peace. Some say * that *Philip* proposed to *Richard* to decide their Quarrel by five Combatants on each Side, and that *Richard* consented to it, provided the two Kings were to be in the Number. If this be true, which however is a great Question, it is scarce probable that the Proposal was made seriously and in good Earnest. Thus much is certain, that several Attempts were made to bring the two Monarchs to a Peace, to which it was believed an Interview might conduce. But after several Conferences, they parted without coming to any Conclusion.

* Diceto. p. 676.

Princess Alice *restored to her Brother.* Hoved.

At one of these Conferences, the Princess *Alice* was restored to the King her Brother, who gave her in Marriage to the Earl of *Ponthieu*. Upon going to the *Holy Land*, *Richard* had committed her to the Custody of the *Seneschal* of *Normandy*, who had refused to deliver her up without an express Order from his Master, though *Philip* had often demanded her.

The Queen of Sicily *marries the Earl of* Tholouse.

At the same Time *Joanna* *[1], Sister to *Richard*, and Widow to the King of *Sicily*, married the Earl of *Tholouse*. She obtained from the King her Brother an entire Resignation of all Right and Title, as Heir of the House of *Poictiers*, to the Earldom of *Tholouse*.

Bishop of Beauvais *taken Prisoner.* Hoved. Nubrig

It happened, during this War, that *Philip de Dreux*, Bishop of *Beauvais*, a near Relation to the King of *France*, being in a Battle, was taken Prisoner by the *English*. His Quality, Character, but chiefly some injurious Expressions he had made use of to *Richard*, occasioned his Ransom to be set at so high a Rate, that he applied to the Pope for his Protection. *His Holiness* strongly interceeded for his dearly beloved Son, as he called him, in a Letter which he sent the King on his Behalf. *Richard* in Answer sent the Bishop's *Coat of Armour*, all bloody as it was, and asked him, *whether he knew his Son's Coat?* This clear Evidence of

*[1] She and Queen *Berenguella* leaving the *Holy Land* a little before the King, arrived at last in *Italy*, where having staid six Months for fear of the Emperour, they went to *Genoa*, and embarked for *Marseilles*, from whence they came to *Poictiers*. It does not appear that *Berenguella*, *Richard*'s Queen, ever came into *England*.

of the warlike Temper of the Biſhop, cauſed the Pope to deſiſt from his Sollicitations, and to ſay, ſince he had quitted the *Warfare* of *Chriſt* for *That* of the *World*, it was but juſt that he ſhould ſuffer the Conſequences of ſo ill a Choice. Upon this Anſwer, the Biſhop deſpairing of any Aſſiſtance from *Rome*, compounded for his Ranſom, which was ſet at two Thouſand Marks *. 1195-9.

In the Account Hiſtorians give of this War, the *French* talk of nothing but the Advantages gained by *Philip*, and ſlightly paſs over his Loſſes. The *Engliſh* on the contrary, taking no notice of ſeveral Engagements wherein the Others pretend that *Richard* was worſted, mightily extol his great Succeſs. Among other Advantages, they cry up a Victory which he obtained over the Enemy between *Courcelles* and *Giſors*, which the *French* mention only curſorily, as an Event of little Importance. They ſay, that *Philip* having advanced with 500 *Horſe* to view the Enemy, was like to have been ſurrounded, and forced to retreat to *Giſors* with ſome Precipitation. They add, the Bridge of that City fell down under him, and he was in danger of loſing his Life by that Accident. Notwithſtanding it is certain that *Richard* ſent to *England* a Letter concerning that Action, now to be ſeen in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, wherein he boaſts of having gained that Day a glorious Victory. It is hardly probable that he would have expreſſed himſelf in that Manner, had he only put to Flight 500 Horſe-Men. Some *Engliſh* Hiſtorians even affirm, that on Occaſion of this Victory, *Richard* added to the *Arms* of *England* the Motto, *Dieu & mon Droit*. But I can ſcarce believe this *Motto* to be of ſo old a Date, or that it owes its Original to that Event.

Hoved. Paris. Gervaſ. *A Victory of Richard's.* Diceto. p. 704. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 96.

The Forces of the two Kings were too much upon an Equality for either of them to hope to make any great Progreſs in the War. After they had ſufficiently tired one another out, finding that all their Advantages amount- *A five Years Truce.* Hoved. Paris.

* *Nubrigienſis* ſays, he was uſed thus by the King, for having incenſed the Emperour againſt him whilſt in Durance, who cauſed him to be loaded with as many Irons as an Aſs could bear; as he ſaid himſelf to thoſe that interceeded for the Biſhop.

1195-9. ed to no more than the taking some paltry Towns, which very often were retaken immediately, they gladly embraced an Opportunity which offered to put an honourable Conclusion to the War: And that was by complying with the Pope's Exhortations, who sent his *Legate* into *France* to try to make Peace between them. The Pope's Aim was to engage them to undertake a fresh *Crusade* for the Recovery of *Jerusalem*. But they were both too much discouraged by the First, to have any Thoughts of a Second Expedition. The *Legate*'s Arrival however had a good Effect, as it procured between the two Monarchs a Truce for five Years, which put some stop to the Calamities their Subjects laboured under. This Truce was concluded at a *Conference* they had together, wherein it was agreed that each Party should remain in Possession of what was in his Hands.

Philip *tries to set* Richard *at Variance with Prince* John, *who justifies himself.* Hoved.

At this Conference, *Philip* feigning to espouse the Interests of *Richard*, showed him some Papers, whereby it appeared that Prince *John* his Brother had ill Designs against him. *Richard* giving Credit to him too lightly, dispossessed his Brother once more of all his Territories, which he had restored to him. But *John* openly vindicated his Innocence, by sending to the Court of *France* two *Knights* who offered to maintain by Arms, that the Prince had been falsely accused. *Philip* not thinking fit to accept of the Challenge, *Richard* perceived that his Brother was innocent, and put him in Possession of his Estate again.

A Sedition at London. Hoved. Diceto.

Whilst *Richard* was employed in *France*, the City of *London* was on a sudden in great Danger, by Reason of a Sedition raised by one *William Fitz-osbern*, commonly called *William Long-Beard*, from the great Length of his Beard. This Man, daring and seditious, by affecting continually to be an Advocate for the Poor and Meanest of the People, had gained him the Hearts of the Populace, who held him in extreme Veneration. He made use of his great Credit with the People to stir up a Sedition in the City, on account of a Tax, the Burden of which he alledged would wholly fall on the *Poor*. *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*,

bury, who was then the chief *Juſticiary*, could not appeaſe the Tumult, but by cauſing the principal Citizens to take to their Arms. *Long-Beard* finding himſelf hard put to it, fled to the Church of St. *Mary le Bow*, where he was ſeized, and afterwards hanged in Chains with nine of his Accomplices *. 1199.

The Truce *Richard* had juſt made with *France*, gave him an Opportunity of going to *England*, and enjoying ſome Tranquillity, after all the Fatigues he had endured ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown. His Preſence was moreover neceſſary in *England*, in order to reform divers Abuſes which had crept in during his Abſence. Accordingly this was what he had reſolved to do; but an unexpected Accident obſtructed his Deſign. A *Limoſin* Gentleman having found in his Eſtate a Treaſure which had been hid there for many Ages, the King pretended, that as it was found in a Country of which he had the Sovereignty (*a*), it belonged to him. The Gentleman was willing to compound the Matter by giving him Part. But finding he was bent upon having the Whole, he applied to *Vidomar* Viſcount of *Limoges* for Protection, who ſheltered him in his Caſtle of *Chaluz*. *Richard*, who had nor been wont to meet with Oppoſition from his Inferiors, marched directly into *Limoſin*, in order to lay Siege to the Caſtle which the Gentleman had retired to. When he came nigh the Place, he had a mind to take a Turn round it, in order to

The Occaſion of Richard's *Death.*

* His Body being ſtolen away and buried, his Followers pretended that Miracles were wrought at his Grave; but *Guards* being ſet at the Place, and thoſe that came thither to pray, ſoundly beaten for their Pains, the Cheat was ſeen through, and People quickly left off their Devotions to the *pretended Saint*. Ralph de Diceto.

About this Time lived alſo the famous *Robin Hood*, with his Companion *Little John*, who are ſaid to infeſt *Yorkſhire* with their Robberies. Some will have him to have been of a great Family, and reduced to that Courſe of Life by his riotous Living. He never hurted either Man or Woman, ſpared the Poor, and robbed only the Rich. Proclamation being iſſued out againſt him, he fell ſick at the Nunnery of *Birkley*, and deſiring to be let Blood, was betrayed and bled to Death.

(*a*) The County of *Limoſin* was held of the Dutchy of *Guienne*.

1199. Richard *besieges* Chaluz, *and is wounded.* to view it. But as he approached too near, one *Bertrand* an Archer, who was upon the Walls, let fly an Arrow at him, which shot him in the Shoulder, close to his Neck. The Wound was not in itself Mortal; but the Surgeon who dressed it made it so by his Unskilfulness. It is said, the King himself by his Intemperance did not a little contribute to inflame it. Be this as it will, the Wound gangreened, and he died of it the eleventh Day, after having gone through a deal of Misery. The Castle being taken whilst he was yet alive, and the Person that wounded him brought into his Presence, he asked him the Reason why he sought his Life. *Bertrand* replied with an astonishing Boldness, that it was to avenge his Father and Brother, whom the King had slain with his own Hand; and added, that he gave God Thanks for his having so well succeeded, and was ready to undergo with Pleasure the most grievous Torments, since he had been so fortunate as to rid the World of such a Tyrant. Though one would think this Answer should have exasperated the King against him, yet the dying Prince forgave him, and ordered him to be set at Liberty, with a Present of a hundred Shillings. But immediately after the King's Death, *Marchad*, General of the *Flemings*, caused the miserable Wretch to be flead alive.

He dies of his Wound.

He makes John *his Heir.* Before he died *Richard* made his *Will*, wherein he left his Kingdom with all his other Dominions, and three Parts in four of his Money to *John* his Brother, reserving the rest for the *Poor* and his *Domesticks*. He had formerly at *Messina* settled Matters otherwise, and made his Nephew, *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, his Heir. This appears by his Letter from thence to the Pope, now to be seen in *the Collection of Publick Acts*. But in all Appearance the Fear of raising Commotions in his Dominions, made him alter his Mind. Indeed there could be no other Reason to induce him to favour Prince *John* his Brother, whom he had no Cause to love, to the Prejudice of his Nephew, whose Right was full as just as *John's*. In his *last Will* he ordered his Body to be interred at *Fonteverard*, at the Feet of the King his Father, to testify his Sorrow for the many Uneasinesses he had created him during his Life. His Heart

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 68.

was

was to be carried to *Roan*, as a Teſtimony of his Affection for the *Normans*. But his Bowels he ordered to be ſent into *Poictou*, deſigning to ſhow by that the little Eſteem he had for the *Poictevins*, with whom he was diſatisfied. He left behind him only a natural Son called *Philip*, to whom he bequeathed the Lordſhip of *Cognac* in the Dutchy of *Guienne*. 1199.

Such was the Life and Death of this valiant Prince, who for the Greatneſs of his Courage was ſirnamed *Cœur de Lion*. After having commended his Valour, which favoured ſomewhat of a brutiſh Fierceneſs, in vain do we ſeek in him for ſome other Virtue that might afford Matter for Panegyrick. Thoſe that praiſe him for his Bounty and Magnificence, do not conſider, that if he was liberal and ſplendid, it was at the Expence of his Subjects, from whom he extorted ſeveral large Sums by unjuſtifiable Means. But on the other Hand, we find in him Abundance of Vices, and ſome of the moſt enormous. His Rebellion againſt his own Father is a Blemiſh one may juſtly caſt on his Memory. It is even apparent, that God was pleaſed to puniſh him for it, by a continual Scene of Troubles during his ten Years Reign, and particularly by a fifteen Months Captivity. We find likewiſe in this Prince an inſatiable Love of Money, which proved the Cauſe of his Death: A *Pride*, which made him look upon his Equals with Contempt, and his Inferiours as his Slaves. In fine, if Credit is to be given to what certain Hiſtorians ſay of him, an *unbridled Luſt* hurried him on, not only to neglect the Queen his Wife in order to abandon himſelf to an infamous Debauchery, but even to commit Sins againſt Nature. It is affirmed, that a poor *Hermit* took the Freedom to upbraid him with that deteſtable Crime before his whole Court, and to conjure him, in the Name of God, to reflect on the Deſtruction of *Sodom*. Be this as it will, all thoſe that have wrote his Life agree, that *Pride*, *Avarice* and *Luſt* were his three reigning Vices. It is ſaid that being one Day admoniſhed by *Fulk* Curate of *Neuilly*, a Man famous for his Zeal, to throw off thoſe wicked Habits, which were commonly called his *Three Daughters*, he replied Richard's *Character.*

1199. plied jestingly, that it was his Design; and to that Purpose, he had resolved to give the First to the *Templars*, the Second to the *Monks*, and the Third to the *Bishops*.

Richard was very tall and well-made. His Eyes were Blew, and sparkling with Fire, and his Hair of a bright Yellow, inclining to Red. It may be said that *England*, where he never was above eight Months during the whole Course of his Reign, which lasted near ten Years, was very unhappy under his Government. He loaded his Subjects with freqent Impositions and excessive Taxes. And yet no other Benefit accrued to the People for these prodigious Sums, but a little Glory for their King, which however they were satisfied with as redounding to the Honour of the Nation.

Remarks on the use of the Cross-Bow.

'Tis remarked as a Thing deserving particular Notice, that this Prince, who had restored the Use of the *Cross-Bow*, received his Death's Wound from that Instrument, as if *Heaven* had intended to punish him for reviving that *Diabolical* Invention. But I question whether this Remark is built on a good Foundation. We have observed that the *English* made use of the *Cross-Bow* in the Conquest of *Ireland*, in the Reign of *Henry* II, and it was very unlikely they should have disused it in the few Years that had since passed over.

Arms of England.

Richard was the first King of *England*, who carried in his Shield *Three Lions Passant*, wherein he was imitated by his Successors.

Companies *established at* London.

During this Reign, the City of *London* began to put on a new Face of Things with respect to its Government, and was divided into several *Companies* or Societies, or as they are called at present *Corporations*.

The End of BOOK VII.

THE



THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK VIII.

The Reigns of King JOHN, *and* HENRY III. *Containing the Space of* 73 *Years; with the State of the Church from* 1154 *to* 1272.

SECT. I.

7. *JOHN*, Sirnam'd *LACK-LAND.*

ALTHOUGH *Richard* had made the Prince his Brother *Heir* to all his Dominions, *John*'s Right was not by that Settlement rendered inconteſtable. How abſolute ſoever a Prince may have been in his Life-Time, as ſoon as his Eyes are cloſed, his *laſt Will* is no further regarded than as it is conformable with the Laws, unleſs it be ſupported by Force. In the Affair of the noble Inheritance *Richard* had left by his Deceaſe, two *Queries* offered, which were not eaſy to be decided. The firſt was, Whether,

1199. *Reflections on* John's *Right to* Richard's *Inheritance.*

1199. ther, according to Law, *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, as representing *Geoffrey* his Father, elder Brother to *John*, had as *good* or *better* Title than *John* his Uncle, who was one Degree nearer. In the second *Query*, the Business was to know, Whether in Case the Laws favoured the Nephew, *Richard* had Power to dispose of his Dominions by a *Will* contrary to the Laws and Customs.

Two Things rendered the Decision of these Points exceeding difficult. First, the Difference between the Laws of the several States *Richard*'s Dominions consisted of. In the second Place, in the Kingdom of *England*, the largest and most considerable Part, there was no settled Law which regulated the Succession to the Crown, or that allowed or took from the Kings the Power of disposing of it as they pleased. And if, for want of such a Law, they had been willing to look into the *English* History for Instances whereon to found a *Precedent*, that Method would have been no less perplexing. From the *Conquest* to the Time I am speaking of, there had been no occasion to establish or exclude the Right of *Representation* with regard to the Crown. It is very true, that in running over the Times of the *Saxon* Empire, they would have met with several Instances; but as there are others directly opposite, it was no easy Thing to decide the Matter from thence. Besides, the *Saxon* Laws and Customs had not been in Force for above a hundred Years, the *Normans* having introduced a new System of Laws into the Kingdom. The most that could be alledged in *John*'s Behalf was, that as there was no Law established concerning this Matter, his Title was as good as *Arthur*'s; and moreover, he had for him King *Richard's Will*. But on the other Hand, in most of the Provinces which the *English* were possessed of in *France*, the Right of *Representation* in the *direct Line* was generally received. This Affair therefore would have been liable to great Debates, had it been to be determined in a *Court of Justice*, or in the *General Assembly* of the *States*, by an *impartial* Judgement. But *John* not thinking proper to stand to the Decision of any Tribunal, took a Course, which to him

John *takes Measures to secure the Crown.*

him appeared not ſo uncertain. He looked upon his Right as out of all Diſpute, or perhaps his Ambition would not permit him to be more ſcrupulous with reſpect to his Nephew, than he had been with regard to the King his Brother. Be this as it will, he judged that Expedition was a more effectual Means to gain his Point than a Deciſion, which might be to his Diſadvantage. He had with him beyond Sea, two Men, who ſeemed to him proper Inſtruments for his Deſigns, by reaſon of their great Intereſt in *England*. The firſt was *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the other *William Marſhal*, who was afterwards Earl of *Pembroke*. Theſe two Lords being wholly devoted to his Service, either becauſe they believed his *Title* good, or for ſome other private Reaſons, promiſed to uſe all their Credit in his Behalf. Not to loſe Time, which to him was ſo precious, he diſpatched them forthwith into *England*, enjoining them to act in Concert with the Queen his Mother, and the *Chief Juſticiary*, who had been for ſome Time in his Intereſts. As for Queen *Eleanor*, though one would think ſhe ſhould have been in ſuſpenſe between her Son and Grandſon, there was a private Reaſon which biaſſed her in Favour of her Son: And that was, her fear that in Caſe *Arthur* aſcended the Throne, *Conſtantia* his Mother would have had the Adminiſtration of Affairs in her Hands during her Son's *Minority*, who was then but 13 Years of Age. Her high Spirit would have made her extremely uneaſy, if ſhe had been obliged to live under her Daughter-in-law. 1199.

His Friends ſerve him zealouſly and politickly.

The four Perſons on whom *John* had relied, ſerved him with Zeal and Succeſs. The *Juſticiary* had great Power during the *Interregnum*. The Archbiſhop was at the Head of the *Clergy*. *Eleanor* was exceedingly beloved and reſpected in the Kingdom; and *William Marſhal* was a Lord of diſtinguiſhed Worth, tho' he was not yet conſiderable for his Poſts. After they had concerted the propereſt Methods to ſerve the Prince effectually, they laboured to bring over the Magiſtrates of the Cities to their Side. Their Aim was to gain the *People* through their Means, that they might afterwards meet with leſs Op-

1199. position from the *Nobles*. Their Endeavours having been crowned with all the Success they had promised themselves, they thought they were strong enough to venture upon summoning the *lesser* Nobility to take the Oath of Allegiance to *John*. There were but few that refused to comply, as well because they imagined they acted in conformity to the general Bent of the People, as because they were unacquainted with the young Duke of *Bretaign*, who had never been in *England*. These two Steps being made, the Bishops and *Lay* Barons were summoned to take the same Oath: But these were not so easily dealt with. Besides that several of them questioned whether *John*'s Pretensions were well grounded, they looked upon themselves as the Judges of that Affair, so far were they from believing they were bound to submit to the Decisions of others. However, as the Body of the *People* had already declared for *John*, they did not think themselves in a Condition absolutely to refuse taking the Oath required of them. Accordingly, on pretence of examining into the Laws of the Realm, they demanded a further Time. In the Interim, believing that a Civil War was unavoidable, they began to fortify their Castles, and make Preparations to support the justest Cause, or at least that which appeared to them to make most for their own Interest. These Proceedings startled the Prince's Friends. As they were very sensible he was not beloved, they were apprehensive that the Barons might be determined to oppose him. To prevent this it was that they called at *Northampton* an *Assembly General*, where they exerted their utmost Endeavours to gain such as were most opposite to them. Among other Things, they promised in *John*'s Name, that he would fully restore all the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the *Nobles* and *People*. This Promise, joined to others made in private to the most Obstinate, produced the Effect they expected. All the Lords unanimously engaged themselves to swear Allegiance to *John*, and by that means the whole Kingdom was disposed in his Favour before his Arrival. An Embassy which was sent at this Time from the King of *Scotland*, to demand *Northumberland*,

The King of Scotland's Demand eluded.

berland, gave ſome Uneaſineſs to thoſe that were at the Helm of Affairs. They were afraid he had a Deſign to take Advantage of ſo favourable a Juncture to become Maſter of that County, as indeed it would have been a very ealy Matter for him, *England* being then in no Condition to enter into a War. However, they found the Means to content the Ambaſſadors by fair Promiſes, aſſuring them that as ſoon as *John* was arrived, he would give their Maſter entire Satisfaction. 1199. Hoved.

John *becomes Maſter of the late King's Treaſure.*

Whilſt *John*'s Adherents were labouring for him in *England*, he himſelf was not idle in *France*, where two important Affairs detained him. The firſt was a Negotiation he had begun with *Robert* of *Turnham*, who had the Cuſtody of *Richard*'s Treaſure in the Caſtle of *Chinon*, of which he was willing to ſee the Iſſue before he went over-Sea. He was at length ſo fortunate as to gain that Officer, who put into his Hands the Money he had in his keeping; and ſurrendered to him the two important Cities of *Saumur* and *Chinon*, of which he was Governour. The other Affair which kept *John* beyond Sea, was to get himſelf owned for Sovereign by the Provinces which the *Engliſh* held in *France*: Though in *England* every thing went according to his Wiſh, it was not ſo in *France*, where young *Arthur* his Nephew created him a great deal of Uneaſineſs. Beſides his natural Right to theſe Provinces, it was to be feared that the King of *France* would aſſiſt him with all his Forces to get the Poſſeſſion of them: And indeed, nothing could be more advantagious for that Prince than to ſee them rent from the *Engliſh Monarchy*. Moreover, every one ſeemed inclined to favour *Arthur*. The Governour of *Angers* had already delivered up that Place to him, and all the Lords of *Poictou*, *Tourain*, *Main* and *Anjou*, had taken the Reſolution of owning him for Sovereign: So that *John* ſaw himſelf as it were excluded from a great Part of his Brother's Inheritance. As their Example might prove of dangerous Conſequence with regard to *Normandy*, and even have ſome Influence in *England*, *John* was in great Perplexity. However, as he had *Richard*'s Treaſure in his Hands, he managed it ſo

as

1199. John *takes* Mans, *and razes the Walls*, Knighton. Hoved.

as to ſecure the principal Lords of *Normandy*. By the Help of the ſame Money, he levied an Army, and laid Siege to *Mans*, which had ſided with the Duke of *Bretaign*. This Place having made no long Reſiſtance, he believed it neceſſary to ſtrike a Terrour into the *Normans*, by an Inſtance of Severity which might make them dread declaring againſt him. With this view it was that he ordered the Walls of *Mans* to be razed, and the chief *Burghers* made Priſoners. Theſe rigorous Proceedings had the deſired Effect. How much ſoever the *Normans* were inclined to *Arthur*, they thought it their wiſeſt Courſe to ſubmit to his Uncle, in order to avoid the Evils they were threatned with. As ſoon as they had taken this Reſolution, *John* came to *Roan*, where he was crowned *Duke of Normandy* by the Archbiſhop of that City, who had been a great Inſtrument in diſpoſing the Minds of the People in his Favour.

It was by no Means proper for *John* to think of reducing the other Provinces in *France*, before he had taken Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*. Beſides that a too-long Delay might have been prejudicial to him; ſo great an Undertaking would have been impracticable without the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*. He was determined therefore to paſs over into *England*; and being arrived at *London* the 25th of *May*, on the Morrow he cauſed himſelf to be crowned in *Weſtminſter* Abbey. Before the Ceremony began, *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made the following Speech to the Lords and People aſſembled.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury's *Speech.* Paris.

" NO Perſon can have a Right to the Crown of this " Kingdom, unleſs after humbly invoking God's " Holy Spirit, he be firſt unanimouſly elected for his ex- " traordinary Virtues, and then ſolemnly anointed and con- " ſecrated. In this we imitate what was practiſed with re- " gard to *Saul* and *David*, whom God was pleaſed to ſet " over his People, though neither of them was the Son of a " King, or royally deſcended. The former was choſen " for his Valour, the latter for his Humility and Piety; it " being God's Will that ſuch as were to be cloathed with

" Sove-

" Sovereign Power, ſhould be diſtinguiſhed in an eminent 1199.
" Manner by their Virtues. If therefore any one of the
" Family of the late King out-ſhines the reſt in noble Qua-
" lities, we ought to make no Scruple to ſubmit our ſelves
" to his Authority. I ſay this in behalf of the noble
" Duke *John* here preſent, Brother to our illuſtrious King
" *Richard*, who died without Iſſue. This Prince being
" endowed with all ſorts of Vertues, and particularly with
" an undaunted Courage and conſummate Wiſdom, on
" the Score both of his Birth and Merit it is that we elect
" him for our Sovereign Lord, after having humbly in-
" voked the Holy Spirit ".

John is crowned.

After this ſhort Harangue, the Archbiſhop ſet the Crown on the Head of *John*, having firſt adminiſtred to him the cuſtomary Oath. The Biſhop of *Durham* took it in his Head to proteſt againſt the Coronation, as done in the Abſence of the Archbiſhop of *York*. But this Pretence being founded neither on Law nor Cuſtom, was not at all regarded.

Remarks on the Archbiſhop's Speech.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Speech well deſerves ſome Remarks. Several pretend to prove from thence, that it was by *Election* only that the Kings of *England* in thoſe Days aſcended the Throne. They ground their Opinion upon the Archbiſhop's declaring it on ſo ſolemn an Occaſion without any Oppoſition. They alledge likewiſe the Silence of the Prince elected, who muſt needs have been offended at ſo bold an Aſſertion, if he had not been ſatisfied that the People had a Right of Election: But I cannot ſee how one can draw this Conſequence. *Hubert* takes upon him to declare, that *John* comes not to the Crown but by *Election*, without its ever appearing that the *States* had before determined any thing in the Matter. It does not even appear that he ſo much as asked the Opinion of the Aſſembly after he had ended his Speech, but proceeded immediately to the Coronation of the King, upon the Acclamations of the People, who were got together to ſee the Ceremony. Beſides, if *John* was elected at that Time, whence is it that all *England* had already ſworn Fealty to him? Was it uſual to take the Oath of Alle-

1199. Allegiance before the *Election* was over? Do we find any ſuch thing practiſed in *Elective* Kingdoms? Moreover, if the Right of *Election* had been then eſtabliſhed in *England*, what made the Archbiſhop alledge the Examples of *Saul* and *David*? Would it not have been more to the Purpoſe to produce thoſe of the former Kings of *England*? But there he is wholly ſilent. He is content with building upon the Precedent of two Kings of *Iſrael*, much more proper to eſtabliſh a new Right than to prove the Antiquity of an old one. There are even ſome Authors that affirm, the whole Aſſembly was extremely ſurprized at the Archbiſhop's Diſcourſe. And add, that after the Ceremony was over, being asked the Reaſon of ſo extraordinary a Procedure, he made anſwer, *That he foreſaw* John *would bring the Kingdom into great Confuſion; and therefore he had judged it proper to give him to underſtand, that he mounted the Throne by* ELECTION, *and not by* HEREDITARY SUCCESSION, *to the end he might always bear it in mind, that thoſe who gave him the Crown had likewiſe the Power to take it away.* If this Particular was certain, the *Right of Election* would be overthrown by the Archbiſhop's own Words. For there is no manner of neceſſity that there ſhould be any private Reaſons for the uſe of a Right, when it is firmly eſtabliſhed. But it is not likely that *Hubert* had the Gift of foreſeeing what did not happen till ſeveral Years after.

For the better Underſtanding the Motive of this Speech, one need only conſider the Circumſtances of this pretended Election. *Hubert*, as has been obſerved, was entirely in *John*'s Intereſts. The Buſineſs was to ſecure to that Prince a Crown, to which the Duke of *Bretaign* had Pretenſions, which ſeemed not to be ill-grounded. However by Promiſes or Threats the *Engliſh* had been brought to ſwear Allegiance to *John*. It was therefore not at all proper to ſay that he aſcended the Throne by *Hereditary Right*, ſince the Diſpute between him and *Arthur* had been neither examined into nor decided. Conſequently it would have been acting contrary to *John*'s Intereſt to have ſet it on Foot. But it was very much to his Advantage,

vantage, to cauſe him to mount the Throne by a ſort of *Election*, which was ſerviceable to him upon two Accounts. Firſt, as it gave him a Title to his Coronation: *Secondly*, as it gained the People of *England* to his Side, who by that Means would be rather induced to ſtand by their Choice, than to maintain him in his pretended *Hereditary Right*, which was liable to a great many Difficulties. 1199.

John was 32 Years of Age when he came to the Crown, which he had been ſo deſirous of; but which, by the juſt Judgment of God, ſerved only to render him more unhappy. During the whole Courſe of his Reign, he met with nothing but Misfortunes, and thoſe the moſt terrible: having to deal with three irreconcileable Enemies, namely, *Philip Auguſtus* King of *France*, Pope *Innocent* III, and the Barons of his own Realm. The firſt ſtript him of almoſt all the Provinces which his Predeceſſors had held in *France*. The ſecond wreſted from him the Crown of *England*; and if he reſtored it to him afterwards, it was not but upon the Terms of a ſhameful Homage. In fine, the Barons of *England* compelled him to give up all the *Prerogatives* which his Predeceſſors had enjoyed ever ſince *William the Conquerour*. Theſe are the three principal Events of this Reign, the Particulars of which I am going to relate as ſuccinctly as the Subject will permit. *The three principal Events in the Reign of* John.

As ſoon as *John* was crowned, his firſt Care was to reward thoſe who had been inſtrumental in placing him on the Throne. *William Marſhal* was created Earl of *Pembroke*: *Geoffrey*, the Chief Juſticiary, received the Title of Earl of *Eſſex*: Archbiſhop *Hubert* looked upon as a Recompence the Office of High-Chancellor, which the King conferred upon him; though many were of Opinion, that his accepting it was a Diſparagement to his *Eccleſiaſtical* Dignity. Indeed, they had ſeen *Chancellors* made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for Inſtance, *Thomas Becket*; but this is the firſt Time that an Archbiſhop had been inveſted with the *Chancellorſhip*. *John rewards thoſe who had ſerved him.*

1199. *He shifts off the King of* Scotland's *Demands.* Hoved.

The new King having made sure of the *English*, stayed no longer in the Kingdom than was necessary to amuse the King of *Scotland*. This Prince was very pressing for the Restitution of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, and threatned to carry his Arms into those *Counties*, unless speedy Satisfaction was made him. *John* had no Design to comply with his Demands, but however did not think it proper to give him a flat Denial at such a Juncture. To extricate himself out of this Difficulty, he chose by a soft Answer to get him to be satisfied with a general Promise, till such time as his urgent Affairs in *France* should permit him to enter into a Negotiation with him. The Truth is, this was the only Course he could take, since he could not abandon his Matters in *France* without running the Hazard of losing all there.

The Dutchess of Bretaign *puts herself and Son under the Protection of* France.

Constance, Mother of *Arthur*, had perceived by *John*'s Proceedings, that he designed to seize upon all the Provinces which *Henry* II, and *Richard* had been possessed of in *France*. But as she found it not in her Power to withstand him, she had taken a Resolution to put the Duke her Son under the Protection of the King of *France*. With this View she had desired that Monarch to give her a Meeting at *Tours*, where she had delivered the Duke into his Hands. At the same time she gave him Possession of the principal Places of *Bretaign*, *Tourain*, *Poictou*, *Anjou* and *Maine*, to hold them in the Name of *Arthur*.

Philip *breaks the Truce.* Brompt.

Philip desired nothing so much as the Recovery of the Provinces which the *English* were possessed of in *France*. He had even waged several Wars in order to compass his Ends, though with little Success. It is no wonder therefore, if he did not fail to lay hold of so favourable an Opportunity. Under pretence of acting for *Arthur*, he had already broken the five Years Truce he had made with *Richard*. He had even made himself Master of *Evreux* and the Province of *Maine*, whilst the *Bretaigns* had surprized *Angiers*; from whence *Morchad*, King *John*'s General, had driven them a little before.

News

News of these Things being brought to *England*, caused *John* to hasten his Departure, in order to go and settle his Affairs beyond Sea. Upon his Arrival at *Roan*, he drew an Army together of *English* and *Normans*, which was quickly reinforced with the Troops that the Lords of his Party brought from the other Provinces. This great Armament surprized *Philip*. As he was unwilling to run any Hazard, he made as if he was desirous of putting an End to their Differences by way of Negotiation; and to that purpose demanded a Truce for fifty Days. Instead of making the best of his Advantages, *John* suffered himself to be out-witted by his Enemy, and granted him a Truce. He imagined that the Terrour of his Arms obliged the King of *France* to desist from his Projects. Before the Truce was expired, the two Monarchs had an Interview between *Butivant* and *Gaillon*, to try to accommodate Matters. *Philip* talked very big, and after such a Rate as served to show that he was far from having the least fear about him. He demanded all the *Norman-Vexin* for himself, and *Poicton*, *Anjou*, *Maine* and *Tourain* for *Arthur*; for which Provinces he had already received that Prince's Homage. A Demand so opposite to *John*'s Designs, having broken off the Conference, and caused all Hopes of Peace to vanish, Hostilities commenced on both Sides.

1199. *John goes into* Normandy.

True for 50 *Days.* Hoved. Paris.

Joanna Countess of *Tholouse* and Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, Sister of King *John*, died in the beginning of this War at *Roan*, where she was come to pay a Visit to the King her Brother. She was buried at *Fonteverard*, in a very splendid Manner, near the Kings *Henry* and *Richard* her Father and Brother.

Death of Joanna *the King's Sister.* Cattel. Hist. des Cont. de Towl.

Whilst *John* was taken up with his Sister's Funeral, *Philip* was in *Bretaign*, where he made himself Master of certain Places which had revolted against the Duke, and sided with *John*. Among these Places was the Castle of *Balun*, which *Philip* ordered to be demolished as soon as it was in his Power. This Procedure having given Offence to *William de la Roche*, Governour of the young Duke, he complained of it as a Breach of the Treaty he

Philip *disgusts* Arthur.

1199. had made with *Philip*, in the Name of his Pupil. The Truth is, they had agreed that all the Places which ſhould be taken from the Enemy, ſhould be delivered into the Hands of the Duke as ſoon as he came of Age. But inſtead of making any Excuſe, taken from the Circumſtances of the War, for what he had done, *Philip* ſcornfully replied, *That it was not to be expected that the Conſideration of the Duke of* Bretaign's *Intereſt ſhould hinder him from conſulting his own.* At the ſame Time, without giving the Governour any further Satisfaction, he marched on and laid Siege to *Lavardin*. But upon King *John*'s approaching at the Head of anumerous Army, he thought fit to retire into *Maine*. For the ſame Reaſon, he found himſelf obliged to quit that Province and ſhelter himſelf in his own Dominions.

John *raiſes the Siege of* Lavardin.

Hoved.

In the mean Time, what he had done in *Bretaign*, and his Reply upon that Occaſion, had opened the Eyes of *William de la Roche*. This prudent Governour, finding that *Philip* had no other View than to make uſe of his young Maſter as an Inſtrument to advance his own Affairs, thought it his Duty to endeavour to blaſt his Deſigns. Accordingly, he carried off *Conſtance* and *Arthur* from the Court of *Philip*, and brought them to King *John*, after he had reconciled them to him. This might have proved fatal to the King of *France*, if he had not by good Fortune, or perhaps by good Management, recovered his Loſs, which he looked upon as very neceſſary to ſerve for a Mask for his Ambition. There were ſome in the Court of King *John*, who bribed by *Philip*, or out of Affection to the young Duke, gave *Conſtance* to underſtand that her own and her Son's Life were in Danger near a Prince, who was to be ſo great a Gainer by their Death. Theſe Intimations often repeated, made ſuch an Impreſſion on the Minds of the Princeſs and young Duke, that they privately withdrew from the Court of King *John*, and went and threw themſelves into the Arms of their former Protector.

Conſtance *and* Arthur *reconciled to* John.

They return to Philip.

As *Arthur*'s Return furniſhed *Philip* with a plauſible Pretence to continue the War, it cauſed *John* to loſe all the

the Hopes he had flattered himſelf with whilſt he had the young Prince in his Cuſtody. In all Appearance, this War was like to be of a long Continuance. *John* had ſtrengthened himſelf with the Alliance of the Emperour *Otho* of *Saxony* his Nephew, who had promiſed him a powerful Aſſiſtance. He had likewiſe gained to his Side the Earl of *Flanders*, and by an unexpected Turn, all *Guienne* had juſt declared for him. All theſe Advantages were ſufficient to enable him to carry on the War without any Dread of the Enemy. The Province of *Guienne* was ſo conſiderable, that *John* immediately laid aſide all his other Deſigns to go and take Poſſeſſion. 1199. *The Good State of* John's *Affairs.*

His Affairs ſtanding thus, he had reaſon to flatter himſelf with the Hopes of Succeſs in the Continuation of the War. However he choſe rather to liſten to the Propoſals of Peace, which *Philip* got the Cardinal of *Capua* to inſinuate to him. The numerous Forces *John* had drawn together, his Alliance with the Emperour and the Earl of *Flanders*, and the Succours he might expect from the *Gaſcoins*, had made *Philip* ſenſible that at ſuch a Juncture it would not be poſſible for him to make any great Progreſs. Accordingly, finding that he was like to get nothing by the War, he turned about in order to procure by a Peace, what he could not expect to obtain by his Arms. As he conſidered not the young Duke of *Bretaign*'s Intereſts but with reſpect to his own, he made no manner of Scruple to abandon that Prince, in order to obtain the better Terms for himſelf. After a ſhort Truce, which gave them an Opportunity to enter into a Negotiation, a Peace was concluded by the Mediation of the Cardinal of *Capua*, the Pope's Legate, upon theſe Conditions: 1200. Philip *ſues for Peace.*

That *Philip* ſhould give no Aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Bretaign*, but ſhould ſuffer *John* to take Poſſeſſion of *Poictou*, *Maine*, *Tourain*, and *Anjou*, without Moleſtation. *Treaty of Peace between the two Kings.* Act Pub. T. I p. 117.

That he ſhould reſtore to *John* the Earldom of *Evreux*, *Berry*, *Auvergne*, and all in general that he had taken from the *Engliſh* ſince *Richard*'s Death.

1200. That immediately after the Reſtitution of *Berry* and *Auvergne*, *John* ſhould yield up theſe two Provinces, for a certain Time, to Prince *Lewis* Son of *Philip*, and pay him twenty Thouſand Marks of Silver for the Dowry of *Blanche* of *Caſtile* his Niece (*a*) when that Prince was to marry.

That in caſe *John* died without Iſſue, he ſhould leave theſe two Provinces to *Lewis*.

That *John* ſhould not aſſiſt, directly, or indirectly, the Emperour *Otho* his Nephew, who was at War with *France*.

This Treaty was fatal to the Duke of *Bretaign*. The young Prince finding he was too weak to ſtand againſt the King his Uncle, without the Aſſiſtance of *France*, quickly loſt all the Provinces that had declared for him. He ſaw himſelf even obliged to do Homage for *Bretaign* to King *John*, as his Predeceſſors had always done to the Dukes of *Normandy*. But notwithſtanding the King of *France* had thus deſerted him, he choſe rather to ſtay with him, than truſt himſelf with an Uncle, of whom he had entertained a Suſpicion, which could not be blotted out of his Mind.

As ſoon as the Peace was ſigned, Queen *Eleanor* ſet forward for *Spain* to fetch *Blanche* of *Caſtile* her Grand-Daughter, who was to be married to Prince *Lewis*. As the Kingdom of *France* was then under an *Interdict*, ſhe conducted the young Princeſs to *Roan*, where the Nuptials were ſolemnized. All the Articles of the Treaty being executed except the Delivery of *Berry* and *Auvergne*, which was to be done to the Prince of *France*, *John* faithfully performed his Engagement. Thus the two Courts parted, in all appearance, in perfect Unity.

Prince Lewis *marries* Blanche *of* Caſtile.

In the mean while, the Emperor offended at the Peace which was concluded without conſulting him, ſent Ambaſſadors to the King his Uncle, to upbraid him with it. At the ſame Time he demanded ſome Jewels, which *Richard* had left him in his *Will*. But as *John* ſtood no longer

Ambaſſy from the Emperour to King John.

(*a*) She was Daughter of *Alphonſus* VIII, and *Eleanor* Daughter of *Henry* II.

longer in need of his Assistance, he found Reasons or Pretences to dispense with giving him Satisfaction. 1200.

If *John* faithfully executed his Part of the Treaty, *Philip* was no less punctual to perform what he had promised. He beheld with a seeming Unconcern, the Progress of the King of *England*; who taking the Advantage of *Arthur*'s Weakness, dispossessed him of all the Provinces which had been given him. *Bretaign* alone, to which *John* could lay no manner of Claim, remained in Subjection to the Duke. John *takes possession of the Provinces that had sided with* Arthur.

But whilst *John* was making all these Conquests, he himself was vanquished by the Charms of *Isabella* of *Angoulême*, one of the greatest Beauties in her Time. She had been contracted to *Hugh* Earl of *Marche*: But being then too young, the Marriage had not been consummated. Several Obstacles had afterwards interveened, which prevented Matters from being accomplished, though the Contract still remained in Force. The violent Passion *John* had entertained for this Lady, put him upon earnestly seeking all imaginable Means to possess her. But his Ends could not be attained without very great Difficulty. He had no less than two Marriages to break through at once, namely, His own with *Avisa* of *Glouceſter*, who during the several Years they had been together, had never given him any Occasion to complain, and that of *Isabella*, with the Earl of *Marche*. However, his new Love having made him call to mind, that *Avisa* was related to him within the Degrees of *Consanguinity* forbidden by the *Canons*, and that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had protested against his Marriage, he besought the Pope to annul it. Whether the Pope was willing to do the King a Pleasure, or whether he was glad of an Opportunity to exert the Authority of the *Church*, he appointed the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* and two other Bishops, Judges in the Case. After a slender Examination, the Commissioners declared *John*'s Marriage with *Avisa* null and void; which done, the King demanded *Isabella* of the Earl of *Angoulême* her Father, who gave her to him, without making the least Conscience of breaking *He falls in Love with* Isabella *of* Angoulême.

Nov d. Paris.

He divorces Avisa *of* Glouceſt.r.

He marries Isabella.

1200. breaking his Word, in order to procure a Crown for his Daughter.

In this Manner it is that Historians, for the most Part, speak of *John*'s second Marriage. They assure us, that his Love for *Isabella* of *Angoulême*, was the real Motive of his annulling the First. There is one however, who undertakes to vindicate the King, by asserting that he divorced *Avisa* before his Passion for *Isabella*. But I question whether the Authority of a single Historian may be put in the Balance against the Testimony of all the rest.

Diceto. p. 706.

Constance *of* Bretaign *marries* Guy *of* Thouars Argentre. *She dies.*

A little after the King's Marriage, *Constance* of *Bretaign*, who had been married to *Ralph* Earl of *Chester*, having lost her second Husband; or, as some say, voluntarily quitted him, espoused for her third Husband *Guy de Thouars*. She died in 1201, having lived about a Year with her new Spouse. By this third Marriage she left a Daughter called *Alice*, who was Dutchess of *Bretaign*, after the Death of *Arthur* her Brother.

The English *have a mean Opinion of* John.

John thought himself happy in having obtained, by a moderate Sum, and the Resignation of *Berry* and *Auvergne*, the Provinces in *France*, which his Ancestors were formerly seized of. But the *English* looked upon the Treaty as so dishonourable, that they could not forbear murmuring at it. They regarded their King as a faint-hearted and cowardly Prince, who had been so mean-spirited as to purchase a Peace, at a Time when all Things seemed to promise him good Success in the War. But these Murmurings gave him but little Uneasiness. He imagined he had done enough in depriving the Duke his Nephew of the Protection of *France*, and reducing him to *Bretaign* alone, of which also he did not despair of one Day dispossessing him.

John *returns to* England. Paris.

As soon as he had settled his Affairs in *France*, and secured his new Acquisitions, he returned to *England*, where quickly after, having conveened an Assembly or Parliament, he demanded a Subsidy of three Shillings upon every *Hide* of Land, for the Payment of the Dowry of *Blanche of Castile* his Niece, according to his Agreement with *Philip*. His Demand met at first with great Opposition. People could not understand

He demands a Subsidy, which is granted.

what

what Buſineſs the *Engliſh* had to pay the Dowry of a *Spaniſh* Princeſs, in order to marry her to a *French* Prince. Nevertheleſs, as it was the firſt *Subſidy* he had demanded, they did not think proper to deny him. It was however with ſo great a Reluctancy that they were brought to a Compliance, that it was eaſy for him to ſee how difficult it would be for the future to raiſe Money upon the People, unleſs he rendered himſelf abſolute. which it is pretended he began from that very time to aſpire to. 1200. *with great Difficulty.* Hoved. Paris.

In the mean Time *Geoffrey*, his natural Brother, who was Archbiſhop of *York*, making light of the Conſent of the *States* for this Tax, forbad the Collectors to levy it within his *Dioceſs*. Nothing could be more unreaſonable than the Archbiſhop's Pretenſions. He had no manner of Right to ſtand up againſt what had been reſolved upon by the Body of the Nation. But he was a Perſon of a turbulent and ambitious Spirit, who, wanting to make himſelf popular, would have been very glad to find any that would have backed him. *John* never ſuſpected he ſhould meet with Oppoſition from that Prelate, after the ſignal Service he had done him, during *Richard*'s Abſence, in delivering him out of Priſon, and openly eſpouſing his Cauſe againſt *Longchamp*. But however, notwithſtanding the Reaſon he had to be diſpleaſed with him, yet he was willing to keep fair with him. To that End he was content with requiring him to attend him in *France*, imagining that by his Abſence this Affair would drop of itſelf. But the Archbiſhop refuſed to comply with his Orders, and by that Means furniſhed the King wieh a Pretence to ſeize his *Temporalities*. This Puniſhment was not capable of humbling his daring Spirit. He excommunicated the *Sheriff* of the County of *York*, with all his Officers employed in levying the Tax, and laid his whole Dioceſs under an *Interdict*, becauſe the People were backward to ſtand by him. He had flattered himſelf that the whole Kingdom would be ready to declare for him. But when he ſaw that no body ſtirred, and that he was left to act alone, he ſought the Means to be reconciled to the King. The preſent Juncture proved *The Archbiſhop of* York *oppoſes the levying of the Subſidy.* John *pardons him, and is crowned again.*

1200. proved favourable to his Design. *John* being upon the Point of causing himself to be crowned together with his new Queen, thought it unbecoming at such a Season to refuse a Brother the Pardon he was suing for.

Immediately after the King's Coronation, *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln* dyed at *London*, with the Reputation of Sanctity.

An Interview between the Kings of England *and* Scotland *at* Lincoln. Act. Pub. T. I. p 251. Hoved. Paris.

Since the Death of *Richard*, the King of *Scotland* was very importunate for the Restitution of the two *Counties*, to which he laid Claim. He had been often amused with general Promises, which had all ended in nothing. At length, finding they were in no haste to give him Satisfaction, he openly threatned to do himself Justice by Force of Arms. Upon which *John* could no longer put off that Affair, which began to make him uneasy. But, instead of treating by Ambassadors, he believed he should manage Matters better by talking in Person with *William*: To that Purpose he desired him to come to *Lincoln*, where he went himself to meet him. Before they entered upon the Affair, *John* required that in the first Place *William* should do him Homage. To which *William* having consented, the Ceremony was performed on a Hill * without the City, in the Presence of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who administred the Oath to the *Vassal*-King.

The King of Scotland *does Homage to* John. Knyghton Hoved. Brompt.

Remark upon it.

It is not known for what Territories *William* did this Homage. As the *Scotch* Writers have not positively determined the Matter, the *English* infer from thence that it was for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*. But this Inference is not altogether just. Besides, it is not very likely that this Prince should voluntarily return to the *Vassalage*, from which he had beeen freed by King *Richard*, before his Expedition to the *Holy Land*. And indeed it does not appear that there had been any Alteration in this Respect, since *Richard* by an authentick *Charter* had renounced his Right of Sovereignty over *Scotland*. Be this as it will, the Homage being done, the King of *Scotland* would have moved his Affair, but the King had the Address to put it off till another Time, on Pretence he could do-

John shifts off the King of Scotland's *Demands.*

nothing

* Since called *Bore Hill.*

nothing without the Consent of the *States*. He even obliged *William* to swear that he would not marry his Daughter without his Approbation. 1200.

Whilst these two Monarchs were at *Lincoln*, the Body of *Hugh*, the late Bishop of that City, being removed thither from *London*, they both went out to meet it, and for some Time bore the Coffin on their Shoulders. Diceto.

It was here likewise that the *Cistercians*, who had refused to pay the late Tax, sent to the King twelve Abbots, who falling prostrate at his Feet, humbly implored his Mercy. The King, struck with the Sight, fell on his Knees and asked their Blessing, promising them to found an Abbey for their *Order*. Some time after he performed his Promise, and built the Abbey of *Bowley*, which some call *Beaulieu* *, which he endowed with the Privilege of *Sanctuary*, and with large Revenues. *The King receives the* Cistercians *into Favour.* Hoved. * Hampshire.

The Respect *John* had shown for the Body of the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and his Condescension for the *Cistercian* Monks were not sufficient to gain him the Affections of the *Clergy*. He had fancied, that the *Ecclesiasticks* prepossessed in his Favour by the Marks he had just given of his Attachment to the *Church*, would industriously decline all Occasions of creating him Uneasiness. But it was not long before he was sensible that the Steps he had made, had not produced the Effect he expected. The *See* of *Lincoln* being vacant, the King, according to the Usage of his Ancestors, recommended a Person to the *Canons* of that Church. But although the Prince's Nomination had till then been all along greatly regarded, this was rejected in a contemptuous and insulting Manner, without their vouchsafing to soften their Refusal with the least Civility. *Innocent* III, who sat then in the *Papal Chair*, having resolved to prevent Princes from having any Hand in the Elections of Bishops and Abbots, had taken Measures beforehand to get the King's Nomination rejected. For this Reason no doubt it was, that finding themselves secure of the Pope's Protection, the *Canons* showed so little Regard for their Sovereign. *The Canons of* Lincoln *refuse to elect a Bishop nominated by the King.* Hoved.

1200. Hubert. *calls a Synod, notwithstanding the King's Prohibition.* Paris.

Some time after, *John* received a freſh Mortification. *Hubert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had been ſo zealous a Stickler for him, grew cool, when the Buſineſs in hand was the maintaining the *Rights* of the *Clergy*, and the *Privileges* of his *See*. Hitherto there had been no *Synod* held in *England* without the King's Licence. This was a Piece of Deference then thought might be paid the King without any Injury to the *Church* or *Clergy*. But it ſeems *Innocent* III, who came to the *Popedom* at thirty five Years of Age, had formed the Project of depriving Princes of every Thing that looked like Juriſdiction over the *Church*. *Hubert* informed of this Deſign, and directed by the Pope, began the firſt to diſregard the King's Commands. He not only conveened a *Synod* without asking his Leave, but even held it notwithſtanding the King's poſitive Prohibition by his *Chief Juſticiary*. In all Appearance, the little Reſentment the King expreſſed at this Boldneſs, was very prejudicial to him afterwards. It was eaſy to ſee, that terrified by the Example of the King his Father, he had reſolved to avoid all Occaſions of quarrelling with the *Clergy*. His Enemies made their Advantage of this in Matters of great Importance. *Hubert*, not content with having thus ſlighted the Orders of his Sovereign, endeavoured to equal him in ſome Meaſure, and even to ſurpaſs him in Magnificence. Whilſt the King was celebrating the *Feaſt* of *Chriſtmas* at *Guilford* with great Solemnity, the Archbiſhop affected to do the ſame Thing at *Canterbury*, with ſuch Pomp and Splendour that the King was piqued at it, and conſidered it as a Sort of Affront. To puniſh in ſome Meaſure the Vanity of the Archbiſhop, he cauſed himſelf to be crowned again at *Canterbury*, with the ſole View of putting him to a very great Expence. But this petty Revenge ſerved only to make appear how much the King dreaded to attack directly thoſe who were in Credit.

1201. Hubert. *vies with the King.* Paris.

The King is crowned a third Time. Paris.

The Engliſh *are diſcontented.* Knighton.

If the Treaty *John* had made with *France*, gave his Subjects an ill Opinion of him, his Behaviour after his Return into *England* did not mend the Matter. The greateſt Part of the Barons were not over-ſatisfied of the Good-

Goodneſs of his Title to the Crown. If they had taken their Oaths to him, it was upon Condition that he would reſtore the *Privileges* of the Nobles and People. But in vain had they expected the Performance of his Promiſe, ever ſince he had cleared his Hands of the War, wherein he was at firſt engaged. On the contrary, they ſaw him daily uſurping an arbitrary Power, which made them apprehenſive of his having formed a Deſign againſt their *Liberties*. They had already taken great Diſguſt at the *Subſidy* which he had in ſome Meaſure extorted from them: After which they had ſeen him go into the *North*, where on Pretence of ſome Damage done his Foreſts, he had by an Act of Authority contrary to the Privileges of the People, exacted large Sums from the *Northern* Counties. To all this he added freſh Occaſions of Complaint, by debauching their Wives and Daughters, without any regard to the Quality or Merit of thoſe whom he diſhonoured by theſe Actions. All theſe Things together bred in the Minds of the Barons a Prejudice againſt him, which induced them by Degrees to take Meaſures to prevent greater Evils, which they believed hung over their Heads. They began to hold private Conferences, wherein they agreed to ſtand by one another, in Caſe any one of them ſhould be oppreſſed. At thoſe Conferences it was reſolved to lay hold of the firſt Opportunity that offered, to let the King ſee that they were fully bent not to ſubmit to an abſolute Power. An Opportunity preſented ſooner than they had expected. The *Poictevins* having revolted, the King deſigned to go in Perſon and chaſtiſe them; and to that end ſummoned all the immediate Tenants of the Crown to meet him at *Portſmouth*, in order to attend him into *France*. The Barons looking upon this as a favourable Juncture, aſſembled themſelves at *Leiceſter* on ſome Pretence or other. A few Days after they ſent this Meſſage to the King, *That before they went over with him, they inſiſted upon it that he ſhould reſtore them to their Privileges, purſuant to his Promiſe before his Coronation.* *John* was of an impetuous Temper, more capable of being governed by Counſels which ſuited with his Inclinations, than of hearkning to ſober Advice. Several of his

1201.

The Reaſons of the Nobility's Diſguſt.

The Nobles reſolve to oppoſe the King.

They refuſe to attend him into France. Paris. Hoved.

1201. his *Miniſters* perſwaded him to give ſome Satisfaction to the Barons, or at leaſt to put them off with good Words till the Heat of their Reſentment was ſomewhat abated. But he was not ſo wiſe or ſo fortunate as to follow their wholeſome Advice. He was ſo provoked at the Inſolence of the Barons, that without conſidering he was going to draw on himſelf their Hatred by his violent Meaſures, he ſummoned them to appear and deliver up their Caſtles as Pledges of their Fidelity. At the ſame Time he marched at the Head of ſome Troops againſt *Beauvoir*-Caſtle, which he became Maſter of in a few Days. This Procedure having terrified the Barons, who had not as yet taken any Meaſures for their Defence, they ſaw themſelves under a Neceſſity of ſubmitting; and having put their Children into his Hands as Hoſtages, they came to *Portſmouth*. Whether *John* had only made believe that he would go and chaſtiſe the *Poictevins*, in order to have a Handle to raiſe Money upon the Nobility; or whether he was afraid to leave the Kingdom at ſuch a Juncture, he diſpenſed with the Barons Attendance, upon their paying him two Marks of Silver for every [*Knights*] *Fee*. In the mean Time, he ſent the Earl of *Pembroke* with ſome Troops into *Normandy*, whither he followed him in Perſon, as ſoon as he thought he might do it with ſafety.

He attacks the Barons,

who ſubmit.

He diſpenſes with their going for Money.

Upon his Arrival at *Roan*, *Philip* deſired to have a Parley with him, in which he gave him ſuch Marks of Eſteem and Friendſhip, that a Prince of greater Penetration than *John*, would have been deceived. At this Interview the Treaty was renewed, and ſeveral great Lords were reciprocally made Sureties, who bound themſelves to ſerve againſt the Aggreſſor, in Caſe of a Rupture between the two Kings. But theſe Engagements, though very common in thoſe Days, were generally very ill obſerved. And therefore Princes have long ſince left off giving one another mutual Securities, of which they have ſo often experienced the Uſeleſneſs. Before they parted, the two Monarchs agreed to contribute the fortieth Part of their Revenues to the *Holy War*, and exhorted the wealthieſt

They confirm their former Treaty.

theſt of their Subjects to follow their Examples. *Philip*, not content with careſſing *John* in an extraordinary manner, deſired the favour of his Company for ſome Days at *Paris*, where he lodged him in his own Palace. In fine, he omitted nothing that he thought proper to convince him that he had a real Affection for him. 1201. Philip *invites* John *to* Paris.

The Friendſhip which the two Monarchs had mutually ſworn to preſerve, ſeemed as if it would prove firm and laſting, ſince they had both voluntarily entered into it. And yet it quickly appeared, that the Demonſtrations of Kindneſs, *Philip* had ſhown his pretended Friend, were only a Snare to intrap him. At the very Time that he was giving him all theſe Marks of Affection, he was projecting how to out him of all his Dominions in *France*. *Hugh* Earl of *Marche*, was the Inſtrument he made uſe of to begin to bring Matters to the Point he deſired. This Earl could not without extreme Concern, ſee King *John* in poſſeſſion of a Lady, which had been deſigned for him. To this was added a deep Reſentment of the Injury he had received. Theſe Things gave room to preſume, that he would eagerly embrace any Opportunity of revenging himſelf. *Philip* having formed a Project upon the Diſpoſition the Earl of *Marche* was in, ſpared no Pains to ſpirit him up to a Revenge, aſſuring him of a powerful Aſſiſtance. As ſoon as the Earl found he was ſure of the Protection of *France*, he began by ſecret Cabals to corrupt the *Poictevins*. He ſucceeded ſo well, that in a ſhort Time they were all ready to revolt againſt King *John*, for whom they had no Affection. Upon which *Hugh*, applying himſelf to the young Duke of *Bretaign*, gave him to underſtand, that the Time was come, wherein he might with Eaſe wreſt out of the Hands of his Uncle the Provinces he had ſeized. *Arthur* being informed by the Earl, that the King of *France* had engaged to ſupport him, was of Opinion that he ought not to let ſlip ſo favourable an Opportunity. The *Bretaigns*, his Subjects, readily joined in the Conſpiracy, by reaſon of the good Opinion they had entertained of their Prince. They imagined that his Name

Intrigues of Philip *againſt* John.

He ſpirits up the Earl of Marche *againſt him.*

Arthur *joins* Philip *and Earl* Hugh.

was

1201. was a good Omen of his future Grandour; and for no other Reason verily believed that he would gain as great a Reputation in the World as the famous *Arthur*, whose Name he bore. Thus the Love, Jealousy, and Resentment of the Earl of *Marche*, the Ambition of *Arthur*, and
1202. the Avarice of *Philip*, concurred together to King *John*'s Ruin. In the mean while, he spent his Time in Mirth and Feasting with his new Queen, without the least suspicion of the Danger that hung over his Head. He was roused out of his supine Carelessness, by the haughty Treatment he met with from *Philip* at a second Interview between them near *Gaillon*. The *French* Monarch, whose Matters were ripe, talked very big. He demanded for *Arthur* all the Provinces that *John* held in *France*, with some reasonable Satisfaction for the Earl of *Marche*; and in Case of Refusal, he summoned him to appear before the Court of *Peers*, and to abide by their *Judgement*. *John* was extreamely surprized to hear him talk in so different a Strain from what he had done at their late Interviews. As he did not think his Affairs were in so bad a Situation as to oblige him to purchase a Peace upon such hard Terms, he refused to comply with *Philip*'s Demand, and disdained his *Citation*. His Refusal furnished the King of *France* with what he wanted, a Pretence to invade *Normandy*, where he took several Places before *John* could be in a Readiness to oppose him.

A second Interview between the two Kings. Paris.

Philip *summons* John *to appear before the Court of Peers.*

John *disdains his Citation.*

Philip *invades* Normandy.

Towards the middle of *Autumn*, *Philip* satisfied with his first Campaign, returned to *Paris*, where he celebrated the Nuptials of *Mary* his eldest Daughter with *Arthur*. His Aim in this was to authorize the Undertaking he was meditating, under Colour of maintaining the Cause of his Son-in-law. A few Days after *Arthur* departed, attended with 200 Horsemen, to go and take upon him the Command of the revolting *Poictevins*. When he came near *Poictou*, he was informed that Queen *Eleanor* his Grand Mother was in *Mirabel* with a few Attendants; upon which, resolving to surprize that Place, he marched directly thither, and soon became Master of the Town. But it was otherwise with the Castle, to which the Queen had retired.

Arthur *marries the King of* France's *Daughter.*

Goes to Poictou; *and besieges* Mirabel.

The

The Reſiſtance he met with there, having made him ſenſible that he ſhould hardly be able to compaſs his Ends with ſo ſmall a Number of Troops, he called in the Earl of *Marche* to his Aſſiſtance, who ran to the Expedition, as to certain Victory. 1202.

In the mean time, King *John*, who had received intelligence of the Danger the Queen his Mother was in, was marching Day and Night to her Relief. His Speed was ſuch, that he came near his Enemies before they had made any great Progreſs in the Siege. However, it was in their Power to retreat; but the Animoſity of the two Leaders againſt *John*, made them reſolve to go and give him Battle. The Succeſs anſwered not their Expectations. Upon the firſt Onſet, *John* put the *Poictevin* Troops to rout, and drove them back to *Mirabel*, where he made great Slaughter of them. This Victory was rendered ſtill more complete by the taking of the Duke of *Bretaign*, the Princeſs *Eleanor* his Siſter *, the Earl of *Marche*, and two hundred Knights, who fell into the Hands of the Conquerour. *John* believed he had good Reaſon to rejoice at ſo fortunate a Blow. But the ill Uſe he afterwards made of his Victory, rendered it ſo fatal to him, that it would have been better for him if he had been vanquiſhed. *Arthur* was immediately ſent to *Falaiſe*, and the Princeſs *Eleanor* his Siſter to *Briſtol Caſtle* in *England*, where ſhe was kept confined 40 Years. Some of the *French* Writers have given another Turn to this Day's Action, by ſaying only that *Arthur* was ſurprized in *Mirabel*; from whence it may be inferred that he went not out to give his Uncle Battle. But King *John*'s Letter, which he ſent to *England* after the Victory, and which is extant in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, plainly ſhows that it was ſomething more than a Surprize, and confirms what the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay of it. *Philip* was ſo confounded at the News of *Arthur* and the Earl of *Marche* being taken Priſoners, that

John *flies to its Relief.* Paris, p. 174.

vanquiſhes Arthur, *and takes him Priſoner with* Eleanor *his Siſter.*

Arthur *is ſent to* Falaiſe, *and* Eleanor *to* Briſtol. Mezerai.

Act. Pub. T. I.

* She was called *the Beauty of Bretaign*. M. *Paris* ſays moſt of the Nobility of *Poictou* and *Anjou* were made Priſoners in this Battle. p. 174.

1201. was a good Omen of his future Grandour; and for no other Reaſon verily believed that he would gain as great a Reputation in the World as the famous *Arthur*, whoſe Name he bore. Thus the Love, Jealouſy, and Reſentment of the Earl of *Marche*, the Ambition of *Arthur*, and

1202. the Avarice of *Philip*, concurred together to King *John*'s Ruin. In the mean while, he ſpent his Time in Mirth and Feaſting with his new Queen, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of the Danger that hung over his Head. He was rouſed out of his ſupine Careleſsneſs, by the haughty Treatment he met with from *Philip* at a ſecond Interview between them near *Gaillon*. The *French* Monarch, whoſe Matters were ripe, talked very big. He demanded for *Arthur* all the Provinces that *John* held in *France*, with ſome reaſonable Satisfaction for the Earl of *Marche*; and in Caſe of Refuſal, he ſummoned him to appear before the Court of *Peers*, and to abide by their *Judgement*. *John* was extreamely ſurprized to hear him talk in ſo different a Strain from what he had done at their late Interviews. As he did not think his Affairs were in ſo bad a Situation as to oblige him to purchaſe a Peace upon ſuch hard Terms, he refuſed to comply with *Philip*'s Demand, and diſdained his *Citation*. His Refuſal furniſhed the King of *France* with what he wanted, a Pretence to invade *Normandy*, where he took ſeveral Places before *John* could be in a Readineſs to oppoſe him.

A ſecond Interview between the two Kings. Paris.

Philip *ſummons* John *to appear before the Court of Peers.*

John *diſdains his Citation.*

Philip *invades* Normandy.

Towards the middle of *Autumn*, *Philip* ſatisfied with his firſt Campaign, returned to *Paris*, where he celebrated the Nuptials of *Mary* his eldeſt Daughter with *Arthur*. His Aim in this was to authorize the Undertaking he was meditating, under Colour of maintaining the Cauſe of his Son-in-law. A few Days after *Arthur* departed, attended with 200 Horſemen, to go and take upon him the Command of the revolting *Poictevins*. When he came near *Poictou*, he was informed that Queen *Eleanor* his Grand Mother was in *Mirabel* with a few Attendants; upon which, reſolving to ſurprize that Place, he marched directly thither, and ſoon became Maſter of the Town. But it was otherwiſe with the Caſtle, to which the Queen had retired.

Arthur *marries the King of* France's *Daughter.*

Goes to Poictou; *and beſieges* Mirabel.

The

The Reſiſtance he met with there, having made him ſenſible that he ſhould hardly be able to compaſs his Ends with ſo ſmall a Number of Troops, he called in the Earl of *Marche* to his Aſſiſtance, who ran to the Expedition, as to certain Victory. 1202.

In the mean time, King *John*, who had received intelligence of the Danger the Queen his Mother was in, was marching Day and Night to her Relief. His Speed was ſuch, that he came near his Enemies before they had made any great Progreſs in the Siege. However, it was in their Power to retreat; but the Animoſity of the two Leaders againſt *John*, made them reſolve to go and give him Battle. The Succeſs anſwered not their Expectations. Upon the firſt Onſet, *John* put the *Poictevin* Troops to rout, and drove them back to *Mirabel*, where he made great Slaughter of them. This Victory was rendered ſtill more complete by the taking of the Duke of *Bretaign*, the Princeſs *Eleanor* his Siſter *, the Earl of *Marche*, and two hundred Knights, who fell into the Hands of the Conquerour. *John* believed he had good Reaſon to rejoice at ſo fortunate a Blow. But the ill Uſe he afterwards made of his Victory, rendered it ſo fatal to him, that it would have been better for him if he had been vanquiſhed. *Arthur* was immediately ſent to *Falaiſe*, and the Princeſs *Eleanor* his Siſter to *Briſtol Caſtle* in *England*, where ſhe was kept confined 40 Years. Some of the *French* Writers have given another Turn to this Day's Action, by ſaying only that *Arthur* was ſurprized in *Mirabel*; from whence it may be inferred that he went not out to give his Uncle Battle. But King *John*'s Letter, which he ſent to *England* after the Victory, and which is extant in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, plainly ſhows that it was ſomething more than a Surprize, and confirms what the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay of it. *Philip* was ſo confounded at the News of *Arthur* and the Earl of *Marche* being taken Priſoners, that

John *flies to its Relief.* Paris, p. 174.

vanquiſhes Arthur, *and takes him Priſoner with* Eleanor *his Siſter.*

Arthur *is ſent to* Falaiſe, *and* Eleanor *to* Briſtol. Mezerai.

Act. Pub. T. I.

* She was called *the Beauty of Bretaign*. M. *Paris* ſays moſt of the Nobility of *Poictou* and *Anjou* were made Priſoners in this Battle. p. 174.

1202. that he raiſed the Siege of *Arches*, which he had begun ſome Days before, and returned to *Paris*.

John *goes to* Falaiſe. *John* was very impatient to ſee the Duke his Nephew, in order to try to perſwade him to renounce the Protection of *France*. He hoped by that means to deprive *Philip* of the Pretence, he perpetually made uſe of, to involve him in Wars. With this View he immediately went back to *Normandy*, not at all queſtioning but in the Condition *Arthur* was in, he would gladly embrace the Opportunity of being reconciled to him. Upon his Arrival at *Falaiſe*, he cauſed him to be brought before him, and in a very kind and obliging manner endeavoured to perſwade him to relinquiſh the King of *France*. He repreſented to him, that *Philip*, under pretence of protecting him, had nothing in view but his own Intereſt, and that, by his Conduct hitherto it was eaſy to ſee what he was to expect from ſuch a Protector. He tried to make him ſenſible that he was equally obliged, out of Duty and Intereſt, to adhere to an Uncle whoſe Advantage it was to ſtand by him, and who deſired nothing ſo much as to live in a good Underſtanding with him; and to give him Marks of his Affection. In fine, he bid him conſider that in the Condition he ſaw himſelf in, his good or ill Fortune depended entirely on the Perſon that was ſuing for his Friendſhip. The young Prince, who was not yet well inſtructed in the Maxims of *Politicks*, the chief of which is *Diſſimulation*, could not bring himſelf to conceal his Sentiments. Inſtead of accepting the King's Offers, he took the freedom to upbraid him with uſurping the Crown of *England* as well as the Provinces in *France*. Without conſidering that he lay at his Mercy, he was ſo tranſported with Paſſion as to threaten him, *that to the laſt Moment of his Life, he would never ceaſe ſeeking Occaſion to be revenged*. After ſo plain a Declaration of his Mind, *John*, being out of hopes of overcoming his Obſtinacy, ordered him to be conducted to *Roan*, and ſhut up in the new Tower, under the Care of *Robert de Vipont*. It is affirmed, that purſuant to the Advice of ſome of his Counſellors, the King's Deſign was to put out

He tries in vain to gain Arthur. Paris. P. 174.

The young Duke's haughty Anſwer.

He is ſent to Roan.

out his Eyes, and render him uncapable of having any Children, in order to free himſelf from the Uneaſineſs he was under upon his Score; but that he was diſappointed by thoſe who were deſigned to be the Agents. Be this as it will, a few Days after the young Prince was brought to *Roan*, he diſappeared on a ſudden, without its being ever known for certain what became of him. The King's Friends ſpread a Report, that *Arthur* endeavouring to make his eſcape out of Priſon, was drowned in the River *Seine*. But there were but few that gave Credit to this Report. On the contrary, it was the general Opinion that the Prince was murdered by the Orders of the King his Uncle *. There are even ſome Hiſtorians *1 who have given us the Particulars of his Death. They tell us, that *John* himſelf in a very dark Night came in a Boat to the Foot of the *Tower* where his Nephew was in Cuſtody, and cauſing him to be brought before him, ſtabbed him with his own Hand; and ordered his Body to be thrown into the *Seine*, ſome Leagues below the Town. In what manner ſoever this Prince's Death happened, it is certain *John* never cleared himſelf fully of it. There was ſo much the more Reaſon to believe him guilty, as he made no Inquiry into the Matter, which he ſhould have done with great Strictneſs, had he had no Hand in it.

1202. *He diſappears.* John *is accuſed of his Murder.*

The ſame Year the Pope demanded a fortieth Part of all the *Eccleſiaſtical* Revenues in *England*, towards the Charge of the *Holy War*. Paris. p. 275.

Immediately after the Death of *Arthur*, *John* returned into *England*, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned a fourth Time, after which he forthwith went back to *Normandy*. He found that the Report of the Duke of *Bretaign*'s Murder was every where ſpread, with ſuch Circumſtances as very much blackened his Reputation and Honour; and yet he was backward in examining into the manner of the Prince's Death: For which Reaſon all the World was con-

John *is crowned a 4th Time.* Paris. p. 175.

* *Non multò poſt* Arthurus *ſubito evanuit, modo fere omnibus ignoto; utinam non ut* Fama *refert invida.* M Paris. p. 174.

* 1 Particularly *Will. Brito de Geſt. R. Philip.* p. 166. 167.

1202. convinced that he himself was the Author of that barbarous Act. The *Bretaigns* more especially complained of the tragical Death of their Sovereign. They maintained, that if *John* did not slay him with his own Hand, it was at least evident that his Murder could not have been effected without his Consent, or even his Orders. The King of *France*, who wanted to make his Advantage of this Juncture, exasperated them as much as possible by the means of his Emissaries. He caused it to be intimated to them, that in case they applied to him as *John*'s Sovereign Lord, he would do them ample Justice. This was Encouragement enough to the *Bretaigns*, who burned with Desire to revenge the Death of their Duke. *Gui de Thouars*, Husband to the Dutchess deceased, and Guardian of *Alice* his Daughter, assembled the Nobility of *Bretaign* at *Vannes* upon this Occasion. At this Meeting, it was unanimously resolved to make Application to the King of *France* for Justice. Pursuant to this Resolution, the Bishop of *Kennes*, and another Lord were commissioned to carry their Complaints to *Philip*, who gave them a very gracious Answer. He appeared more incensed against *John* than the *Bretaigns* themselves, and openly declared that neither Honour, nor Justice, nor Conscience would suffer him to let such a Parricide go unpunished. To let them see that he was in good earnest, he himself demanded Justice of *the Court of Peers*, before whom he displayed the Barbarity of the Murder committed on the Body of the Duke of *Bretaign*, in a Place held of the Crown of *France*, of which the King of *England*, his *Vassal*, was accused. It was no hard Matter to obtain whatever he desired. The Court ordered *John* to appear before them, and answer to what was laid to his Charge. Upon the receipt of the Summons, *John* immediately dispatched Ambassadors * to *Philip*, to represent to him, that their Master could not come to *France* without a *Safe-Conduct*; to which the King answered, *He may come in Peace.* But when the Ambassadors demanded a *Safe-Conduct* for his Re-

The Bretaigns *complain of the Death of their Duke, and are stirred up by the King of* France.

They demand Justice of Philip.

Argentri. *Hist. de Bret.*

John *is summoned by the Court of Peers.*

He sends Ambassadors.

* *Eustace* Bishop of *Ely*, and *Hubert de Burgh*.

Returning, he roundly told them, *that depended on the Sentence which ſhould be paſſed upon him.* Then the Ambaſſadors remonſtrated that their Maſter was not only Duke of *Normandy*, but alſo King of *England*; and although he himſelf ſhould think fit to expoſe his Perſon to ſo manifeſt Hazard, the Barons of the Realm would never conſent to it: *What is that to me?* replyed *Philip*, *is not the Duke of* Normandy *my* Vaſſal; *If he has thought fit to acquire a higher Title, ought I upon that account to loſe my Right of Sovereignty?* The Ambaſſadors plainly perceiving that *Philip* was reſolved to puſh on the Affair, retired without making any Anſwer, and returned with all ſpeed to inform their Maſter how the Court of *France* ſtood affected. 1202.

As ſoon as the Time appointed in the Summons was expired, *Philip* cauſed *John* to be condemned for Non-appearance, and ordered that all his Dominions in *France* ſhould be re-united to the Crown. It is remarkable, that in the *Sentence* *, there is not a Word of the Satisfaction due to the *Bretaigns* for the Death of their Sovereign, though they were Parties in the Suit; and though *Philip* ſeemed to concern himſelf in the Affair purely upon their Account. This is a clear Evidence that his Aim was not ſo much to do them Juſtice, as to make uſe of that Opportunity to diſpoſſeſs the King of *England*. The *Engliſh* murmured very much at theſe Proceedings, and the more becauſe the King being actually in War with *France*, they had laid him under an abſolute Neceſſity of being guilty of Non-appearance, as well by ſummoning him before the Peace was concluded, as by refuſing him a *Safe-Conduct* for his Returning. But, without troubling himſelf about their Com-

John is ſentenced to forfeit his Dominions in France.

* *P Æmilius*, in his Life of *Philip*, has recorded the *Sentence* to this Effect: *That* John, *Duke of* Normandy, *being unmindful of his Oath to* Philip *his Lord, had murdered his elder Brother's Son, an Homager to the Crown of* France, *within the Seignory of that Kingdom; whereupon he is judged a Traitor, and as an Enemy to the Crown of* France, *to forfeit his Dominions which he held by Homage, and that Re-entry be made by Force of Arms.* Paulus Æmil. de vitâ Philippi.

1202. Complaints, *Philip* endeavoured to put the *Sentence* of the *Peers* in Execution.

1203. Philip *invades* Normandy, Whilſt the King of *France* was preparing to attack him, *John* took no Meaſures for his Defence. He inconſiderately imagined that the *Sentence* paſſed againſt him was only a Bravado of *Philip*'s, and not a fixed Reſolution to invade his Dominions. In the mean time, as ſoon as the Seaſon permitted, the King of *France* took the Field, at the Head of a powerful Army; and as he met with very little Oppoſition, he reduced the beſt Part of *Normandy* to his Obedience. The Progreſs of his Arms was uncapable of rouſing King *John*, who ſeeming inſenſible of his Loſſes, thought of nothing but his Diverſions *, as if his Affairs had been in the moſt proſperous Condition. When News was brought him that *Philip* had taken ſuch a Place, he only replyed with great Aſſurance, *I will ſoon recover it again.* However, without ſtirring from *Roan*, or making the leaſt Preparations, he gave his Enemy time to ſecure his Conqueſts, and to make new ones every Day. In fine, he carried his Inſenſibility ſo far, that the People ſaid publickly, *he was bewitched.* It is eaſy to judge what Difficulties *Philip* would have met with in his Undertaking, if he had been to deal with a leſs ſlothful Enemy, by the Reſiſtance one ſingle Place called *Caſtle-Galliard* made, which coſt him a five Months Siege *1.

and conquers great Part of the Country.

John's *ſtrange Slothfulneſs.*

Paris.

Mezerai.

The Engliſh *Barons leave the King, and return to* England.

The *Engliſh* Barons, who attended the King into *Normandy*, earneſtly beſought him to exert himſelf. But finding he was deaf to all their Remonſtrances, they returned to *England*, not being able to bear any longer the being Witneſſes of his invincible Sloth. In the mean time, *Philip*, taking the Advantage of his Indolence, daily gained ground. Not content with what he obtained by his

Philip *continues his Progreſs without Oppoſition.*

Paris.

* *M. Paris* ſays, he continued at *Caen*, feaſting magnificently with his new Queen, and lying in Bed with her every Day till Noon. p. 175

*1 It was defended by *Hugh* or *Roger de Lacy*. King *Richard* built it on the Rock of *Andeli*, on the *Seine*.

his Arms, he endeavoured, by the means of his Emiſſaries, to ſtir up in *Normandy* a general Revolt, which might give him an Opportunity of becoming at once Maſter of the whole Province. He cauſed it to be inſinuated to the *Normans*, that ſeeing they could hope for no Aſſiſtance from the King of *England*, it would be much better for them to return of their own accord to the Crown of *France*, from whence they had been wreſted, than to be conſtrained to do it by force of Arms: That by a voluntary Submiſſion, they would be ſure to preſerve their antient Privileges; whereas a Reſiſtance, which could not but prove ineffectual, would infallibly deprive them of their Liberties. How deep ſoever the Lethargy might be in which King *John* ſeemed to be buried, his Preſence kept ſeveral of the principal Cities of *Normandy* in Obedience. But the Moment they ſaw he was about to depart for *England*, they thought they might lawfully provide for their Safety. Hardly was he embarked, before they concluded a Treaty with *Philip*, whereby they obliged themſelves to own him for their Sovereign, provided they were not relieved in a Year's Time: But when they were informed that there were no Preparations making in *England*, moſt of them came in before the Year was expired. Thus of all *Normandy*, the City of *Roan* only continued in Obedience to the King of *England*. 1203.

He makes a Treaty with the Normans.

That unhappy Prince was far from having any Thoughts of giving the *Normans* the Aſſiſtance they expected from him. Upon his Arrival in *England*, inſtead of trying, by all ſorts of Ways, to gain the Affections of his People, which was ſo neceſſary at that Juncture, he charged his Barons with having deſerted him, and been the Cauſe of his loſing *Normandy*. Under this Pretence, the moſt unreaſonable that ever was, he exacted from his Barons the ſeventh Part of their *Moveables*; and though he had not the ſame Cauſe of Complaint againſt the *Clergy*, he made them liable to the ſame Impoſition. *Hubert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was himſelf his Inſtrument in oppreſſing the *Clergy*, whilſt the *Chief Juſticiary* rigorouſly exacted the Money from the *Laicks*. All *England* beheld with

John *treats his* Engliſh *Subjects ill.* Paris.

1204. *He obtains an Aid for the War.* with Aſtoniſhment the Indolence of the King. They could not conceive that a Prince, who till then had ſhowed no want of Courage, and who had appeared exceedingly attached to his Intereſt, ſhould behold the Loſs of *Normandy* with ſo much Indifference. So ſtrange a Conduct made the greateſt Part of the *Engliſh* imagine that he had ſome great Deſign in his Head, which they ſhould ſee break out at a proper Seaſon. This Notion did not a little contribute to his obtaining of the Parliament * a Subſidy of two Marks and a half of every *Knights Fee*, which was granted him in hope's that the Money would be expended in regaining what he had juſt loſt. But inſtead of making uſe of this Aid, according to the Intention of the *Parliament*, he laid it out in vain Expences, being ſatisfied with ſending Ambaſſadors to *France*, to endeavour to procure him a Peace. *Philip*, blown up with his good Succeſs, was ſo far from abating any thing of his Demands, that he further required that the Princeſs *Eleanor*, Siſter to the late Duke of *Bretaign*, ſhould be given in Marriage to his Second Son, with all the Territories the *Engliſh* enjoyed in *France*. This Demand could not but be rejected. *John* not only could never reſolve to give his Niece ſuch a Dowry, but it would have been of very dangerous Conſequence to him, to put into the Hands of *Philip*, a Princeſs, who ſince the Death of the Duke her Brother, had the ſame Claim as he to the Crown of *England*. Thus the Negotiation was broken off, without the *Engliſh* reaping the leaſt Benefit from the *Subſidy* they had granted the King.

He tries in vain to make Peace with Philip.

The King of France *ſends a Champion into* England.

Quickly after the Departure of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, *Philip* ſent one into *England* as his *Champion*, who challenged all thoſe that maintained the King his Maſter was in the wrong, for what he had acted againſt *John*. The Court of *England* did not think fit to commit to the Deciſion of a ſingle Combat, the Right it had to complain of the Proceedings of the King of *France*. However, this valourous Champion was given to underſtand, that

An Iriſh *Earl is to fight him.*

* Colloquium. *M. Paris.*

that ſince he was ſo deſirous of fighting, a Man ſhou'd be found, with whom he might try his Strength. There was at that Time, in Confinement in the Tower, an *Iriſh* Lord, *John Curvy* by Name, Earl of *Viſter*, a Perſon of a gigantick Stature, and an approv'd Intrepidity, who was judg'd very proper to quell the *French* Hector. The Priſoner being brought to Court, the King ask'd him, whether he was willing to fight in Defence of his Cauſe? *Not of thine*, anſwer'd the Earl boldly, *but of that of the Kingdom, I will fight to the laſt Drop of my Blood.* But whilſt he was recovering his Strength which had been much impair'd by a long Impriſonment, the *French* Champion having heard talk of the prodigious Force of his Adverſary's Arm, privately withdrew into *Spain*, not daring to appear any more, either in *France* or *England*. 'Tis related of this ſame Earl of *Ulſter*, that afterwards being in *France* in the *Engliſh* Army, *Philip*, at a Conference with *John*, deſir'd to ſee ſome Trial of his Strength. The Earl being come into the Preſence of the two Kings, order'd a large Stake to be fix'd in the Ground, on which he plac'd a Helmet. Then looking round him with a menacing Eye, he cut the Helmet in two Pieces with his Sword. The Blow was ſo violent, that the Sword ſtuck ſo faſt in the Stake, that none but himſelf cou'd move it thence. *Philip* having asked him, why he look'd round him ſo fiercely; he made anſwer, that in caſe he had miſs'd his Blow, he wou'd have chopp'd off the Heads of all that were preſent, that no Man living might be Witneſs of his Shame.

1204.

The prodigious Strength of the Earl.

What *Philip* cou'd not compaſs by the Means of a ſingle Champion, he brought about by the Help of many. Towards the latter End of Autumn, he went and laid Siege to *Roan*, the Citizens whereof, finding there was no Likelihood of being reliev'd, ſurrender'd upon Condition they ſhou'd enjoy their antient Privileges. But as a famous Hiſtorian judiciouſly obſerves, *This Precaution prov'd as Feeble againſt abſolute Power, as Parchment againſt Iron.* As ſoon as *Philip* was Maſter of *Roan*, he order'd the Walls to be demoliſh'd. Thus all *Normandy* was reduc'd under the Empire of *France*, and united again to that Monarchy after

Philip *takes* Roan. Chr. Norm

Mezerai.

1204. it had ſwerv'd from it for the Space of 300 Years or there-abouts *.

The other Provinces ſubmit to him.

After the Conqueſt of *Normandy*, *Philip* invaded the reſt of the *Engliſh* Provinces, which at length were fain to ſubmit to the Conqueror, after having waited in vain for Aſſiſtance from *England*. Of all that *John*'s Anceſtors had enjoy'd in *France*, nothing was left him but the Dutchy of *Guienne*, which *Philip* did not think fit to attack.

Death of Queen Eleanor.

Queen *Eleanor*, Widow of *Henry* II. and Mother of *John*, died this Year, in a very advanc'd Age. She had the Mortification before her Death to behold the Decay of the Monarchy, to which She had given ſo great a Luſtre by the Provinces She had annex'd to it.

1205. John *reſolves to carry the War into* Poictou. Paris.

So many and ſo great Loſſes, join'd to the Murmurs of the *Engliſh*, rouz'd *John* from the Lethargy he had been as it were buried in. When 'twas leaſt expected, he ſeem'd reſolv'd to exert himſelf ſtrenuouſly in order to regain both his Reputation and the Territories *Philip* had taken from him. The *Poictevins*, diſſatisfied with being under the Dominion of the King of *France*, having determin'd to revolt, ſent to *John* for Succours. As he was perſwaded that all the other Provinces were in the ſame Mind, he thought he cou'd never have a better Opportunity. In this Belief he ſummon'd all the *Vaſſals* of the Crown to meet him with their Troops at *Portſmouth*, where he had order'd his Fleet to be ready. But juſt as he was going to embark, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Earl of *Pembroke* threw themſelves at his Feet, beſeeching him to deſiſt from this Expedition, which cou'd not be attended with Succeſs. They repreſented to him, *that* neither in *Poictou*, nor in any other neigbouring Province, he was in Poſſeſſion of any one Place to repair to in Caſe of Neceſſity: *That Philip* wou'd wage War with too great an Advantage, ſince he was Maſter of all the fortified Towns: *That* it was expoſing himſelf to manifeſt

He is diſſwaded from it. Ral. de Cogſhal.

Danger

* It had been govern'd by twelve Dukes of the *Norman* Race (of which King *John* was the Laſt) for the Space of 330 Years.

Danger to truſt the *Poictevins*, who had ſo often deceiv'd him, and who perhaps pretended to invite him to their Aſſiſtance only that they might deliver him into the Hands of his Enemy. In fine, they told him, that in an Enterprize of this Nature, he ſo viſibly hazarded his own Life, with his and the Nation's Honour, that his faithful Subjects cou'd not look on with Indifference, but muſt uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to divert him from it. Theſe Remonſtrances making no Impreſſion upon his Mind, they began to ſpeak in another Tone, and threaten'd him ſo that he was conſtrain'd at laſt to hearken to their Advice. Thus, altering his Reſolution on a ſudden, he was content with ſending ſome Succours to the *Poictevins*, under the Command of the Earl of *Salisbury*, his natural Brother. After which he diſmiſs'd the Army and Fleet, who curs'd the Authors of this Advice *. He was no ſooner return'd to *London*, but he repented of having followed the Counſel of the Earl and Archbiſhop. But inſtead of quarrelling with them, he vented his Anger on the Nobility, from whom he extorted large Sums on Pretence they had refus'd to attend him. He ſuppos'd, without any Grounds, that the Earl of *Pembroke* and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had ſpoken for the whole Body. This was the ſecond time he had exacted Money from his Subjects by an Act of arbitrary Power, without the Conſent of the *States*. But he did not do it with Impunity. The Sequel will make appear, that altho' Vengeance was deferr'd, it only became by that means the more terrible, when the Barons found an Opportunity to make him feel the Effects of their Rage. 1205.

Second Part of the Reign of King John.

Hitherto we have ſeen the Firſt Part of *John*'s Misfortunes, occaſion'd as well by his own Fault, as by the Ambition of the King of *France*. But *Theſe*, how great ſoever, were ſcarce to be nam'd in Compariſon of Thoſe which follow'd, eſpecially, as he appear'd but little ſenſible of the Firſt, whereas the Others created him a world of Vexation and Trouble. 'Twas not the Ambition of a Hoſtile King, which threw him into the Gulph of Miſery,

* The *Nobles* and *Knights* having been put to vaſt Charges for this Expedition.

1205. ſery, wherein he was plung'd during the Second Part of his Reign, but the Pride of him who ſtil'd himſelf the *Common Father* of all Chriſtians: I mean Pope *Innocent* III. who, for a very ſmall Matter, treated this Prince in ſo rough a Manner, that if a Pope ſhou'd take upon him to do the Like now-a-days, there is no Queſtion but all Chriſtendom wou'd riſe up againſt them. Let us enter into the Particulars of this Affair, wherein conſiſts the principal Matter of King *John*'s Reign. But without dwelling on Reflections, which it will be eaſy for every Reader to make without our Help, let us content our ſelves with relating the bare Facts juſt as the Hiſtorians, the moſt devoted to the Court of *Rome*, have laid them down.

Death of Hubert. Knyghton Paris.

John ſcarce began to forget his Loſs of the *French* Provinces, when the Death of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* threw him into freſh Troubles. The Election of the Archbiſhops had for ſome Time been a continual Subject of Diſputes between the *Suffragan* Biſhops and the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*'s. The Former claim'd a Right to interpoſe in the Election, as they had us'd to do ſeveral Times. The Monks maintain'd, on the contrary, that this Right belong'd to them alone, according to *antient* Cuſtom, and to the utmoſt of their Power, kept Poſſeſſion of it. Immediately after the Death of *Hubert*, ſome of them, having combin'd together, whether out of fear that the Fraternity wou'd not inſiſt on their Right, or ſome other Reaſon, reſolv'd to elect by themſelves an Archbiſhop. To that Purpoſe, meeting at Midnight in the Cathedral, they choſe *Reginald* their *Sub-Prior*, in hopes to have afterwards Credit enough to obtain the Pope's Confirmation. This irregular Election was tranſacted with all poſſible Secrecy. The *Sub-Prior* had bound himſelf [by Oath] not to divulge the Matter, till he himſelf had inform'd the Pope of it: So that the reſt of the Monks had not the leaſt Suſpicion of what was done. The Electors, willing to complete what they had begun, contriv'd the Means to have him ſent to *Rome*, on ſome Errand or other, attended by ſome of their Cabal. But he had the Power to keep the Secret. The Moment he came

Some of the Monks of St. Auguſtin's *privately elect their* Sub-Prior.

came on the other Side of the Water, he took upon him the Title of Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Monks his Companions had no more Diſcretion than Himſelf. 1205.

This Piece of News being come to the King's Ears, he imagin'd that the whole Monaſtery had been concern'd in theſe underhand Doings, and accordingly was preparing to make the Monks repent of their Raſhneſs in electing an Archbiſhop without his Licence. But they clear'd themſelves, and appeas'd his Anger by their Submiſſion. The Clamours of the Monks, who had no hand in the Intrigue, having made the Electors ſenſible that after the Diſcovery of the Secret 'twou'd be too difficult a Task to go thro' with their Undertaking, choſe to deſiſt from it. Then the whole Society being united in order to proceed to a new Election, the King recommended to Them [*John de Gray*] Biſhop of *Norwich*, who was unanimouſly choſen, plac'd in the Archiepiſcopal *Chair*, and inveſted with the *Temporalities*. Shortly after, fourteen Monks were diſpatch'd to the Pope, to inform him of what had paſs'd, and to demand his Confirmation of the new Archbiſhop. At the ſame Time, the *Suffragan* Biſhops of *Canterbury* ſent a Deputation alſo to *Rome*, to complain of the Monks aſſuming the ſole Right of electing the Archbiſhop, and to inform *his Holineſs* of the Reaſons they had to alledge againſt it.

John *threatens the Monks.*

A new Election.

1206. *Some Monks ſent to* Rome *for the Pope's Confirmation.*

Whilſt the Deputies were on the Road, the King, whoſe Courage was ſomewhat rouz'd, led a conſiderable Army into *Poictou*, and reduc'd to his Obedience the greateſt Part of that Province. But he was ſo weak again, as to ſuffer himſelf to be out-witted by *Philip*, who finding himſelf unprepar'd, demanded and obtain'd a Truce for two Years (*a*) *.

John *recovers Part of* Poictou, *and makes a Truce with* Philip

In the mean while, the *Sub-Prior* of St. *Auguſtin's*, who was arriv'd at *Rome*, earneſtly ſollicited the Pope to confirm his

The Affair of the Elections brought before the Pope.

(*a*) The *French* Hiſtorians ſay, *John* ſued for a Truce. We frequently meet with the like Contradictions between the Hiſtorians of the two Nations.

* *Rigord* (Vol. III. p. 206.) ſays that both Armies being ready to engage, a Truce was concluded for two Years.

Paris. Act. Pub. T. I.

1206. his Election. But *Innocent*, having perceiv'd that this Matter had not been regularly tranſacted, took ſome Time to conſider of it. In the Interim, the other Deputies being arriv'd, gave him Information of all Particulars, and petition'd him to confirm the ſecond Election. On the other hand, the *Agents* of the Biſhops brought their Complaints likewiſe againſt the Monks, and ſhow'd him the Reaſons on which they built their Right. To decide theſe Differences, the Pope order'd the Deputies to come on a Day appointed at *Viterbo*, where he deſign'd to ſtay ſome Time. Here it was, that in the Preſence of the Pope, theſe Matters were debated with a great deal of Warmth, tho' as to the firſt Caſe, the Reaſons of either Party were but little regarded. *Innocent*, who had before-hand reſolv'd what to do, voided both the Elections, and order'd the Deputies of the Monks to proceed to a new one. At the ſame time he enjoin'd them to chuſe Cardinal *Stephen Langton*, an *Engliſhman*, who was then at his Court. The Monks, ſurpriz'd at this *unprecedented* Order, wou'd at firſt have diſpenſed with obeying it. They alleg'd in their Vindication, that they were not impower'd by their Monaſtery, and beſides the King's Conſent was neceſſary. But the Pope wou'd not hearken to theſe Reaſons. He told them that as Deputies they were the *Repreſentatives* of the whole Monaſtery, and that the Conſent of Princes was not at all neceſſary in Elections where he was preſent himſelf. Accordingly, without giving them Time to reply, he commanded them on pain of Excommunication, to elect Cardinal *Langton* for their Archbiſhop. The Monks, terrify'd at the Preſence and Threatnings of the Pope, complied, tho' with great Reluctance, with his Orders (*a*). There was but one * who had the Courage to ſtand out. This extraordiry Election was immediately confirm'd by the Pope, who wou'd with his own Hands conſecrate the Archbiſhop elect.

The Pope nulls the Election. Paris. Knyghton

And orders Langton *to be choſen.* Paris.

Acccording

(*a*) Licet inviti, & cum murmuratione, aſſenſum præbuerunt.

* His Name was *Elias de Branleſield.*

According to the Rule *Innocent* had juſt eſtabliſh'd, of impowering fourteen Monks deputed by their Monaſtery, to elect an Archbiſhop, the *Suffragan* Biſhops of *Canterbury* cou'd not but loſe their Cauſe againſt the Monks. Accordingly the Pope gave it in Favour of theſe Laſt, and forbid the Biſhops to have any thing to do, for the future, in the Election of their *Metropolitans*. 1206. *The* Suffragan *Biſhops loſe their Cauſe.*

Whilſt theſe Things were tranſacting in *Italy*, *John* extinguiſh'd all remains of Affection in the Hearts of his Subjects, by extorting from them by violent Methods, the thirteenth Part of their *Moveables*. 'Twas to no Purpoſe that the *Clergy* as far as it concern'd them oppos'd it. Notwithſtanding their Oppoſition, the *Act* paſs'd in *Parliament* *, and the Tax was levied as well upon the *Clergy* as *Laity*, tho' the Former never gave their Conſent, and the Latter had been as it were compell'd to grant it. This Violence occaſion'd Abundance of Complaints and Murmurings amongſt the *Clergy*, who till then had enjoy'd the Privilege of not being tax'd without their Conſent. However as it was not in their Power to help themſelves, they endeavour'd to be reveng'd by exclaiming againſt the King's Conduct, and rendering him odious to the People. The Archbiſhop of *York* himſelf, natural Brother of the King, a Prelate of an impatient Temper, excommunicated all Thoſe that were employ'd in gathering the Tax, and withdrew out of the Kingdom. Tho' the *Clergy*'s Complaints were not without Grounds, yet the King's Friends look'd upon Them as impertinent. They affirm'd that it was very ſtrange that the *Eccleſiaſticks* ſhou'd refuſe to aſſiſt the King in his Neceſſity; They, who a little before, had ſuffer'd without the leaſt Murmur, that a *Legate* ſhou'd exact of all the *Benefic'd Clergy* large Sums for the pretended Occaſions of the *Holy See*. If the Money, which accru'd to the King from this Tax, had been expended in the Service of the *State*, it wou'd have been ſome Satisfaction to the Nation. But They had the Vexation to ſee it vainly ſquander'd away, in the Reception of the Emperor, who was come to pay a viſit to the King his Uncle. His Deſign 1207. John *extorts a Subſidy by Violence.* M. Paris. *The Clergy oppoſe it in vain.* *The Emperor viſits the King.*

* *In communi Concilio.* Annals of *Waverly*. An. 1207.

1207. ſign was to perſwade him to break the Truce he had made with *France*. But how urgent ſoever he might be, it was impoſſible to bring *John* to a Rupture. However, to ſoften in ſome meaſure his Denial, the King made him a Preſent of five thouſand Marks, which ſerv'd to defray the Charges of his Journey.

The Pope tries to appeaſe John about the Election of Langton.

Innocent very much doubted that *John* wou'd not be pleas'd with *Langton*'s Election, extorted by manifeſt Force, and an *unprecedented* Incroachment. The Truth is, for ſome time after the Converſion of the *Engliſh*, the Popes choſe ſuch as were capable of well-governing the *Riſing Church*, and generally pitch'd upon *Italians*, becauſe there were but few *Eccleſiaſticks* in *England* qualified for that high Station. But ever ſince Archbiſhop *Theodorus*, who was the laſt ſent from *Rome*, the Popes had never pretended to meddle with electing the Archbiſhops without the Conſent of the Kings. They were ſatisfied with confirming the Elections, and obliging the Archbiſhops to come and demand the *Pallium* at *Rome*. Since *the Conqueſt*, it had never happen'd that they had ſo much as null'd the Election of an Archbiſhop: And therefore to mollify the King, and induce him to paſs over the more patiently his Incroachment, *Innocent* wrote him the following Letter, which is too remarkable not to be inſerted at length.

POPE *INNOCENT* TO JOHN *King of* ENGLAND.

Pope's Letter to the King. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 139.

AMONG the Riches that Mortals prize as the moſt valuable, and deſire with the greateſt earneſtneſs, it is our Opinion that pure Gold *and* precious Stones *hold the firſt Rank. Altho' we are perſwaded that your Royal Ex-*

Excellence has no want of ſuch Things, yet we have thought proper to ſend you, as a Mark of our Good-will, four Rings ſet with Stones. We beg the favour you won'd conſider the Myſteries *contain'd in their* Form, *their* Matter, *their* Number *and their* Colour, *rather than their Value. Their Roundneſs denotes* Eternity, *which having neither Beginning nor End, ought to induce you to tend without ceaſing from* Earthly *Things to* Heavenly, *and from Things Temporal to Things Eternal. The Number* Four, *which is a* Square, *ſignifies* Firmneſs of Mind, *which is not to be ſhaken by* Adverſity, *nor elevated by* Proſperity, *but always continues in the ſame State. This is a Perfection to which* Yours *will not fail to arrive, when it ſhall be adorn'd with the four Cardinal Virtues,* Juſtice, Fortitude, Prudence *and* Temperance. *The* Firſt *will be of Service to you in paſſing Sentence, the* Second *in Adverſity, the* Third *in dubious Caſes, the* Fourth *in Proſperity. By the* Gold *is ſignified* Wiſdom. *For juſt as Gold is the moſt precious of all Metals, Wiſdom is of all Endowments the moſt excellent, as the Prophet witneſſes in theſe Words,* The Spirit of Wiſdom ſhall reſt upon him: *And indeed, there is nothing more requiſite in a Sovereign. Accordingly* Solomon, *that pacifick King, only ask'd of God* Wiſdom, *to enable him to well-govern his People. The blue Colour of the* Emerald *denotes Faith, the Clearneſs of the* Saphir, *Hope, the Redneſs of the* Ruby, *Charity; and the Colour of the* Topaz, *Good-Works, concerning which our Saviour ſaid,* Let your Light ſhine before Men, that they may ſee your Good-Works. *In the Emerald therefore you have what you are to believe, in the Saphir what you are to hope, in the Ruby what you are to love, and in the Topaz what you are to practice, to the end you may proceed from Virtue to Virtue, till you come to the Viſion of the God of Gods in* Sion. 1207.

The Pope exhorts the King to own Langton *for Archbiſhop*

It is a difficult Matter to gueſs at the Driſt of this *Myſterious* Letter. Whether 'twas only a *witty Conceit* of the Pope's, or whether his Intereſt was to give the King to underſtand, that he wou'd have need of all the Virtues repreſented by the *Rings*, in order to withſtand

1207. the Attacks he was preparing against him. Be this as it will, for fear *John* shou'd mistake his Meaning, quickly after, he sent him a more intelligible *Brief*, wherein he exhorted him to own Cardinal *Langton* for Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He represented to him that he was a Native of *England*, Cardinal of the *Roman Church*, and learned in all the *Sciences*. Moreover, he assur'd him, that his exemplary Life and Christian Virtues wou'd be very advantagious to *England* for *Spiritual*, as his Prudence and Political Virtues would be for *Temporal* Concerns. However, as he did not intend to make *Langton*'s Election depend on the good Pleasure of the King, nor design to submit it to his Examination, by another Letter he sent his Commands to the Monks of St. *Augustin*'s and the *Suffragan* Bishops of *Canterbury*, to receive the Cardinal as their *Metropolitan*.

He enjoins the Monks to receive him.

The King drives the Monks of St. Augustin *out of their Monastery.* Paris. Knyghton.

As soon as *John* was inform'd of what had been transacted at *Rome*, he fell into an inconceivable Fury. He accus'd the Monks of St. *Augustin*'s of having deceived him, as well in the third as in the first Election, and resolv'd to be revenged of them. To that end he sent two Knights *, who entring the Monastery with drawn Swords, commanded the Monks, in the King's Name, to avoid the Place forthwith, unless they had a Mind to have their Monastery burnt about their Ears, and likewise to depart the Kingdom within three Days. So terrible a Threat frightned the Monks in such a manner, that without making the least Reply, they withdrew into *Flanders* to the Abby of St. *Bertin*, and some other neighbouring Monasteries. But this Revenge not being capable of giving him all the Satisfaction he requir'd, he thought by vigorously exerting himself, he shou'd be able to bring the Pope to revoke what he had done. In this Belief he wrote *Innocent* a very sharp Letter, " wherein he upbraid-
" ed him with the Injury he had done in nulling the
" *Canonical* Election of the Bishop of *Norwich*, with-
" out having the least Pretence for it. Moreover, he com-
" plain'd

He writes a sharp Letter to the Pope. Paris.

* *Fulk de Cantelupe* and *Henry de Cornehullen.*

" plain'd that he had caus'd to be elected by Violence, 1207.
" and contrary to all manner of Right, a Perſon educa-
" ted in *France*, and one who was altogether a Stranger
" to him, and who had always held a ſtrict Correſpon-
" dence with his open Enemies. He added, that this
" Incroachment was directly contrary to the *Prerogatives*
" of the Crown, from which he was reſolv'd never to
" recede, no more than he wou'd from the Election of
" the Biſhop of *Norwich*. After which he roundly told
" him, that if the Satisfaction he demanded was denied
" him, he wou'd break off all Intercourſe with *Rome*,
" the which was a Thing of no ſmall Conſequence, ſince
" it was certain that the *Holy See* receiv'd more Money
" from *England* than from any other Chriſtian State;
" and for that reaſon, greater Regard ought to be paid the
" King of *England* than any Prince whatever. He con-
" cluded with letting him know, that there were Prelates
" enough in the Kingdom qualified to govern the *Church*,
" without being forc'd to have Recourſe to the Popes,
" if they took upon them to abuſe, in ſo bare-fac'd a
" manner, their Authority.

The Pope's Anſwer. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 143.

Innocent had not taken this Buſineſs in Hand on purpoſe to drop it on the King's bare Expoſtulation. He return'd a very civil and mild Anſwer in appearance, tho' in the main it was more proper to irritate than appeaſe him. He begins with blaming *John* for anſwering his " *humble* and *kind* Letter in ſo rough a manner, that he " ſeem'd rather to deſign to affront him, than to require " the Reaſons of his Conduct. Then he proceeds to " extol the Merits of Cardinal *Langton*. He aſſures him, " that he was a Prelate of a very great Underſtanding, " and profound Learning, and one that had long ſtudied " at the Univerſity of *Paris*, where he had taken his De- " gree of *Doctor of Divinity*. He adds, that *John* was " in the wrong to complain, ſince the Conſent of Princes " was not requiſite at Elections made in the Preſence of " the Pope: That however, out of pure Condeſcenſion, " he had diſpatch'd two Monks to inform him of it, " who by contrary Winds had been detain'd at *Boulogne*.

1207. "In fine, after trying to prove that *Langton*'s Election "was agreeable to the *Canons*, he repreſents to him that "*Henry* II. his Father, and *Richard* his Brother, had given "up the Right of nominating Biſhops and Abbots; "and therefore, without medling with Elections, it was "his Duty to receive, without any Inquiry, the Prelates "which the *Church* ſhou'd judge capable of directing the "*Spiritual* Affairs of his Kingdom. He concludes with "this notable Threat, that Submiſſion to him wou'd be "more for his Advantage than an obſtinate Reſiſtance "againſt God and his Church, in a Cauſe for which the "*bleſſed Thomas Becket* had ſhed his Blood. Theſe laſt Words were terrible, for a Prince whoſe Father had ſuffer'd ſo greatly in much the ſame Caſe. But *John*, far from being frightened, reſolv'd on the contrary to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours, and to run all Hazards in order to free his Neck from the galling Yoke of *Rome*.

1208. *The Pope orders 3 Biſhops to interdict the Kingdom.* Paris.

The Pope's Letter was quickly follow'd by an Order to the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worceſter*, to go to the King and perſwade him to ſubmit to the Orders of the *Church*, and, if they found him contumacious, to put the Kingdom under an *Interdict*. The Biſhops thus commiſſion'd by the Pope, being oblig'd to obey him, acquainted the King with his *Holineſs*'s Orders, and entreated him to avoid by his Submiſſion, a Scandal which wou'd fall no leſs on his Subjects than on himſelf. But the King remain'd inflexible. He ſwore *, that if the Kingdom was *interdicted*, he wou'd forthwith ſend all the *Eccleſiaſticks* to ſeek their Living at *Rome*, and put out the Eyes, and cut off the Ears and Noſes of all the *Roman* Prieſts which ſhou'd be found in his Dominions. Then he commanded the three Prelates to depart his Preſence. His Paſſion, which was already but too violent, was ſtill encreas'd by the Inſolence of *Simon Langton*, Brother of the Cardinal, who importun'd him in an inſulting manner, to own his Brother for Archbiſhop. The King, tir'd with his Importunities, told him it was a very ſtrange

The King threatens the Clergy.

Inſolence of Langton's *Brother.*

* By *God's Teeth* (his uſual Oath.)

ſtrange thing, that an *Engliſhman* ſhou'd preſs him to renounce the *Prerogatives* of the Crown. To which *Langton* inſolently replied, that nothing cou'd be done on his Behalf, unleſs he wou'd wholly put himſelf upon his Brother's Mercy. 1208.

The Year before, *John* had a Son born to him by *Iſabella* of *Angouleme*, to whom he gave the Name of *Henry*. And this Year the Queen was brought to Bed of another, who was call'd *Richard*. Henry *and* Richard *born.*

In the mean time, the three Prelates, who had already addreſs'd the King, finding they cou'd obtain nothing from him, pronounc'd at length the Sentence of *Interdict* upon the whole Kingdom, and retir'd beyond Sea. Immediately *Divine Service* ceas'd in all the Churches, and the *Sacraments* were no longer adminiſtred, except to *Infants* and *dying Perſons*. *Publick Prayers*, and all *Eccleſiaſtical Rites* were laid aſide. The *Church-yards* were ſhut up, and the Bodies of the Dead thrown into Ditches like Dogs, without any Prieſt daring or being willing to aſſiſt at the Funerals. One might juſtly demand, why the People ſhou'd ſuffer for the Fault of their Sovereign; and certainly it wou'd be a hard matter to allege a Reaſon for it founded on Juſtice or Equity. But the Policy of *Rome* wou'd have it, that the Subjects ſhou'd be liable to Puniſhment, to the end that conſidering their King the ſole Cauſe of their Evils, they might be the ſooner inclin'd to conſtrain him to ſubmit to the Pope's Pleaſure. It was requiſite therefore to ſow Diſſention between the King and the People, in order to tie up his Hands from reſiſting. And indeed, it is evident, that Kings have no more Power than private Perſons, when deſerted by their Subjects. Accordingly the Popes, who have had a mind to ſtretch their Authority, have generally taken the Precaution to lay hold of the Time when the People and their Sovereigns have been at Variance. If ſometimes they had launch'd out at an unſeaſonable Juncture, they have for the moſt part experienc'd that little Regard has been had of their pretended Authority. Of this we ſhall *The Interdict publiſh'd.* Paris.

ſee

1208. ſee a remarkable Inſtance, in the Sequel of this very Reign.

The King's Severity upon the Clergy. Paris.

The Pope's rigorous Proceedings were uncapable of making the King ſtoop to him. On the contrary, *John*, finding that the Court of *Rome* had no longer any Regard for him, reſolv'd to act with the ſame Haughtineſs, and make the Pope know he was able to ſtand againſt him. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he confiſcated the Eſtates of all the *Eccleſiaſticks* who obey'd the *Interdict*, and ſent Orders to the *Sheriffs* to make Inquiry after them, and expel them the Kingdom. But the *Sheriffs* perceiving they cou'd not put the King's Orders in Execution, without uſing great Violence, durſt not puſh Matters ſo far. So that notwithſtanding the King's Intention, none went out of the Kingdom but ſuch as having too zealouſly eſpous'd the Pope's Quarrel, choſe rather to go into voluntary Baniſhment, than remain expos'd to the Indignation of the King. However, they which ſtay'd behind were in no better Circumſtances: Outrages were daily committed againſt them, for which they cou'd find no Redreſs from the Magiſtrates, who always ſent them to the Pope for Juſtice.

As in thoſe Days there was ſcarce a Prieſt but what kept a Concubine; the King, under Pretence of putting the *Canons* of the *Councils* in force, order'd all their Concubines to be ſhut up in Priſon, from whence they were not freed till after having paid large *Fines*. Among the great Number of *Eccleſiaſticks* then in the Kingdom, there were ſome, who in ſpite of the *Interdict*, adminiſtred the *Sacraments*. But as they were inceſſantly expos'd to the Inſults of the *Zealots*, the King took them under his Protection, and order'd the Magiſtrates to hang upon the Spot ſuch as ſhou'd do them any Outrage. The Pope was no ſooner inform'd of the Matter, but he excommunicated all thoſe who diſobey'd the *Interdict*, or executed the King's Orders. Such was the wretched State of the People of *England*. They that were faithful to their Sovereign fell under the Pope's *Cenſures*, and the King made

made it his Buſineſs to perſecute thoſe who ſubmitted to the Orders of *Rome*. 1208.

Whilſt the Caſe ſtood thus with the Kingdom, *Henry* Brother of *Otho* the Emperor came to King *John*, in the beginning of the Year 1209. The Deſign of his Journey was to demand, in behalf of the Emperor his Brother, an Aid of Money, which the King liberally granted him, though he was himſelf in extreme want of it. 1209. John *ſends Money to the Emperor.*

The Calamities of the *Engliſh* mov'd neither the King nor Pope. They both continued inflexible, each for his Part reſolving to run all Hazards rather than yield to his Adverſary. However, *John* was not without his Uneaſineſs. Indeed he ſtood in no great fear of the Pope's Thunderings with reſpect to *Spirituals*. But he cou'd not ſee without extreme Trouble, that the Generality of the People were inclin'd to the Court of *Rome*. The Knowledge of this making him apprehenſive that ſooner or later ſome Plot wou'd be form'd againſt him, he thought it his beſt way to prevent the Deſigns of his Enemies by raiſing an Army. For a Pretence, he complain'd that the King of *Scotland*, contrary to the Treaty of *Lincoln*, had married one of his Daughters, without asking his Conſent. 'Twas not very difficult to foreſee that a Prince, who had ſuffer'd ſo many Provinces in *France* to be taken from him, without making any Reſiſtance, did not deſign vigorouſly to carry on this War upon ſo ſlight an Occaſion. Accordingly he contented himſelf with the firſt Offers the King of *Scotland* made him, to give him fifteen thouſand Marks, and his two Daughters in Hoſtage. In his Return from the *Northern* Frontiers, whither he had led his Army, he order'd all the Hedges to be cut down, and the Ditches to be fill'd up throughout his *Foreſts*, that the Deer might have liberty to feed every where. In all likelihood, the People of thoſe Parts having too openly declar'd for the Pope, he had a mind to puniſh them for it *. Perhaps he had a further Deſign to

John *levies a great Army on Pretence to War againſt* Scotland. Knyghton. Paris.

He grants a Peace to the King of Scotland. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 155.

He chaſtiſes the Northern Counties.

* This Year alſo the King iſſued a Proclamation, forbidding the taking of all ſorts of feather'd Game throughout *England*, which

1209. *The Prince of* Wales *does him Homage.*

to let the reſt of his Subjects know, that in like Caſe he wou'd not want the Means to chaſtiſe them. When he came to *Northampton*, he was met there by the Prince of *Wales*, who fearing he had a deſign to carry the War into his Country, haſten'd to prevent him by his Submiſſion. This Prince accompanied the King as far as *Woodſtock*, where he did him Homage. *

John *cauſes all his Vaſſals to renew their Homage.*

The Continuation of the *Interdict* was a clear Evidence to the King, that the Pope had no Deſign to drop his Pretenſions, but that he wou'd, upon this Method not ſucceeding, make uſe of more violent Meaſures. In this Belief, he judg'd it requiſite to take care before-hand to ſcreen himſelf from his Attempts. Nothing ſeem'd to him ſo proper to fruſtrate the Deſigns of the Court of *Rome*, as to cauſe his *Vaſſals* to renew their Homage. He hop'd to ſecure their Allegiance by that Means, and reſtrain them from readily going over to the Side of the Pope.

The King excommunicated. Paris.

In the mean while, the Pope perceiving that the *Interdict*, which had continued above a Year, produc'd not the Effect he expected from it, reſolv'd at length to pronounce againſt *John* the Sentence of *Excommunication*, and committed the Publication of it to certain Biſhops *1. But as theſe Prelates had ſtill a great Regard for the King, they did not think fit to obey their Orders with that readineſs the Pope deſir'd. However, the News of the King's Excommunication was ſpread ſo over the Kingdom, that not a Soul was ignorant of it, tho' the *Sentence* had not

which was the firſt Edict of this kind made by any King before, as *Tyrrel* obſerves. B. vii. p. 739.

* An unlucky Accident happen'd at this Time, which was a great Prejudice to *Oxford*, and ſerves to ſhow the flouriſhing Condition of that *Univerſity* in thoſe Days. A certain Clerk having by chance killed a Woman, made his Eſcape. The Mayor coming to his Lodging, found three other Clerks that liv'd in the ſame Houſe which they had hir'd together. Theſe being ſeiz'd, were a few Days after by the King's Order hang'd up, in Contempt of the *Eccleſiaſtical Liberty*; upon which near 3000 Scholars left that *Univerſity*, ſome going to *Cambridge*, others to *Reading*. *M. Paris.*

*1 *London*, *Ely*, and *Worceſter*, who were to have it publiſh'd every *Sunday* and *Holiday* in all the Churches throughout *England*.

not been yet publiſh'd. The Archdeacon of *Norwich*, who was one of the Directors of the *Exchequer*, having Notice of it, quitted his Office without Leave, alledging that his Conſcience wou'd not ſuffer him to remain in the Service of an excommunicated Prince. This Proceeding coſt him dear. The King, incens'd at the little Regard he had ſhown for his Perſon, order'd him to be confin'd in a cloſe Priſon, where 'tis affirm'd that his Death was haſten'd by violent Means *. 1210.

He is impos'd upon by the Biſhop of Lincoln. M. Paris.

This Inſtance of Severity was not capable of preventing *Hugh de Wells*, lately elected Biſhop of *Lincoln*, from wounding the King in a more ſenſible Part. This Prelate having obtain'd leave to go and be conſecrated by the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, inſtead of going to *Normandy*, went directly to *Rome*, where he receiv'd *Conſecration* at the Hands of Cardinal *Langton*. If the King had had him in his Power, he wou'd queſtionleſs have had no more Mercy upon him than upon the Archdeacon of *Norwich*. But not being able to do any thing elſe, he was content with ſeizing his Revenues *'. The Prelate was but little concern'd at it, plainly foreſeeing that ſooner or later, the King wou'd be oblig'd to bend under the Power of the Pope; whereas by diſobeying *his Holineſs*, he ran the Risk of forfeiting his Biſhoprick.

1210. John *leads an Army into* Ireland;

The King's Excommunication made no Impreſſion on his Mind, but he ſtill remain'd unmov'd. Beſides, as the *Sentence* had not yet been publiſh'd, and as People might pretend to know nothing of it, the greateſt Part of the Nobility ſtill adher'd to their Prince, as much excommunicated as he was. He had even Hopes that the *Sentence* was only ſome penal Threatning which he might cauſe to be revok'd, upon his ſhowing ſome Steddineſs and Reſolution. However, as it wou'd have been imprudent to depend upon that, he levied a great Number of Forces, well knowing that Nothing was more capable of breaking the

* A leaden *Cope* was put upon him, with the Preſſure of which, and for want of Victuals, he died in a few Days. *M. Paris.*

*' *Hugh* was alſo Chancellor, but the King deliver'd the Seal to *Walter de Gray*, and made him his Chancellor. *M. Paris.*

1210. Pope's Measures than the having a good Army always in a readiness. Some Commotions in *Ireland* gave him an Opportunity and a Pretence to raise these Troops, the Charges of which was defray'd by the *Jews*, not voluntarily, but by the Seizure of their Goods *. *John* having embark'd with his Army, safely arriv'd at *Dublin*, where he was met by above thirty Petty Princes, who came to take the Oath of Allegiance to him. After he had receiv'd their Homage, he march'd against the King of *Connaught*, the Author of the Disturbances which had brought him into *Ireland*. This Prince having been taken Prisoner in a Battle, the War was happily ended, and the whole Island reduc'd to the King's Obedience as formerly. Before he return'd, *John* caus'd the Laws and Customs of *England* to be establish'd for the future in *Ireland*, and made the Bishop of *Norwich* his *Chief Justitiary* *. 'Twas expected in *England*, that at his Return he wou'd disband his Army. But, to have a pretence to keep it still on Foot, he pick'd a Quarrel with the Prince of *Wales*. In the mean time, as he wanted Money for the Maintainance of the Troops, he impos'd, by his own Authority, a Tax of a hundred thousand Marks upon the Estates of the *Ecclesiasticks*. After which, he march'd against the *Welsh*, and compell'd them to give him 28 Hostages.

and establishes there the Laws of England.

He taxes the Clergy.

1211. The Measures *John* took to render himself formidable, created no small Uneasiness in the Pope, who cou'd not bear to see the Inflexibility of the King. He perceiv'd it was equally dangerous for *the Holy See*, to drop the Contest,

The Pope sends two Nuntio's *into* England.

* *M. Paris* says, the *Jews* of both Sexes were seiz'd all over *England*, and cruelly treated till they wou'd ransom themselves according to the King's Pleasure. Amongst the rest a *Jew* at *Bristol*, tho' cruelly tormented, refusing to ransom himself, the King order'd that his Tormenters shou'd every Day pull out one of his Cheek Teeth, till he wou'd pay down ten thousand Marks. Accordingly they pull'd out Seven in as many Days, but on the Eighth Day, he relented, and so with the Loss of Seven Teeth parted with the 10,000, Marks to save the rest.

*1 *John de Grey*, who caus'd the Money to be coin'd of the same Weight and Fineness as in *England*; that the like Money might be common in both Kingdoms.

teſt, or to carry it any farther, being doubtful of the Iſſue. 1211.
The Truth is, it might prove of great Conſequence, even with reſpect to other States. Before he came to any Reſolution in this Matter, *Innocent* ſent two *Nuntio*'s into *England*, under Pretence of being deſirous to make Peace between the King and his *Clergy*. However, nothing was farther from his Thoughts than the bringing about a Reconciliation which cou'd not but be very prejudicial to him. His ſole Aim was to dive into *John*'s Intentions, that he might be able to take his Meaſures accordingly. The two *Nuntio's* being arriv'd, turn'd the King ſo every way, that at length he yielded ſo far as to promiſe he wou'd give the baniſh'd *Eccleſiaſticks* Leave to return to their Churches. He further agreed that Cardinal *Langton* ſhou'd be put in poſſeſſion of the *See* of *Canterbury*, and gave his word that the *Church of England* ſhou'd enjoy all the *Liberties*, *Privileges* and *Immunities* ſhe was poſſeſs'd of in the Time of *Edward the Confeſſor*. One wou'd think ſo conſiderable Advances ſhou'd have ſatisfied the *Nuntio's*. And indeed, the King gave up the main Point, in offering to receive Cardinal *Langton* as Archbiſhop. Beſides, they ought to have taken it for granted, that as an Accommodation was the Buſineſs in Hand, it was but reaſonable that the *Pope* and *Clergy* ſhou'd likewiſe have made ſome Advances on their Part. But this Rule takes not Place in Affairs wherein the *Church* is concern'd. What ſhe calls an *Accommodation*, is an entire Submiſſion to her Orders, and a perfect Compliance with all her Demands. We have ſeen a remarkable Inſtance of this in the Affair of *Thomas Becket*: And we have another here which confirms the Matter, beſides thoſe we ſhall meet with in the Courſe of this Hiſtory. Had *John* ſhown more Reſolution, or at leaſt, had he ſtay'd till the *Nuntio's* had of themſelves made theſe Propoſals, and then ſeem'd not to accept them but with reluctance, it may be 'twou'd not have been impoſſible for him to accommodate Matters upon theſe Terms. But he had to deal with Perſons of greater Cunning than Himſelf, and whoſe ſole Aim was to found him and diſcover his Sentiments, that they might

John *makes advances towards an Accomodation.* Paris.

They are rejected by the Nuntio's;

1211. make their Advantage of it againſt himſelf. When they ſaw he complied ſo far, they demanded further the Reſtitution of all that had been taken from the *Eccleſiaſticks*, and full Satisfaction for the Damages they had ſuſtain'd upon the Occaſion of this Controverſy. And becauſe he wou'd not agree to do this, which in effect was impoſſible for him, the Negotiation broke off, and the *Nuntio's* return'd, after they had publiſh'd the Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt the King, which the Biſhops had till then put off.

who excommunicate the King.

Freſh Projects of the Pope.

The Pope plainly ſaw by the Advances *John* had made, that he really wanted to get rid of this Affair at any Rate. It was evident to him, that the King had rejected the laſt Article which had been propos'd to him, purely becauſe it was not in his Power to perform it. As the Pope was a Perſon of great Abilities, and deep Deſign, he form'd the Project of reaping from the King's Inability to make Reſtitution, Advantages which he had never dreamt of before. But as the Diſcovery of his Intentions might greatly obſtruct their being put in Execution, he carefully conceal'd them, till ſuch time as he had reduc'd the diſobedient King to caſt himſelf upon his Mercy. Tho' he had Nothing leſs in View than the procuring Reſtitution to the *Clergy* of *England*, he continued always to inſiſt on that Article, that he might make it a Handle to puſh Matters to the Point he deſir'd. He knew *John* was not belov'd by the People, and ſtill leſs by the Nobility, who had great Reaſon to complain of him, there being Nothing but their Oath of Allegiance which kept them in Subjection. He believ'd therefore, that there wanted Nothing more to alienate entirely the Hearts of the *Engliſh*, but to free them from that Tie, which held them attach'd to their Sovereign. With this View, taking the Opportunity of the King's Inability to make Reparation, which he was pleas'd to ſtile *Rebellion*, and *Obſtinacy*, he publiſh'd a *Bull*, which abſolv'd *John*'s Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and enjoin'd them, upon Pain of *Excommunication*, to refuſe him all Obedience. This terrible Blow had ſo great an Effect, that moſt of the Barons, overjoy'd at having

He abſolves the Engliſh *from the Oath of Allegiance.*

having an Opportunity to be reveng'd of the King, began to combine together how to place Another on the Throne. Some Hiſtorians * aſſure us, that the Majority of them ſign'd an Addreſs to the King of *France*, inviting him over to *England*, and promiſing to own him for their Sovereign. 1211. * Paris. P. 232.

In the mean time, *John*, who had no Intelligence of their Deſigns, appear'd unconcern'd, to the Aſtoniſhment of all the World. Far from foreſeeing the impending Danger, he ſpent his Time in Feaſting and continual Diverſions, as if he had no Affairs upon his Hands, and the Pope's *Bull* had been of no Conſequence. At the ſame Time, the *Welſh*, who cou'd never long remain Quiet, having made ſome Incurſion's into the *Engliſh* Territories, *John* fell into ſo great a Paſſion, that he commanded the twenty eight Hoſtages, he had in his Power, to be hang'd up. After which, as if he had Nothing elſe to do, he reſolv'd to carry the War into their Country and utterly root them out. 1212. John *deſigns to invade* Wales Paris. Knyghton

Whilſt he was preparing for this Expedition, the King of *Scotland* ſent him Notice of a dangerous Conſpiracy forming againſt him in *England*. But *John* wou'd not believe that any one durſt ſtir, whilſt he was at the Head of his Army. So, without giving the leaſt Heed to this Information, he continued his March to *Cheſter*, with deſign to begin the War with the *Welſh*. Upon his Arrival at that City, he receiv'd freſh Intelligence about the Conſpiracy, which was confirm'd from ſo many different Places, that he cou'd no longer doubt of the Matter. Then it was that his Security giving place to his Fears, he began to conſider the Officers of his Army as ſo many ſecret Enemies whom he cou'd not truſt. Poſſeſs'd with this Notion, he diſmiſs'd his Troops and retir'd to *London*, where he imagin'd he ſhou'd be in more Safety. Some time after, his Fears being ſomewhat abated, by his receiving certain Advice, that the Barons were in no readineſs to execute their Deſigns, he demanded Hoſtages of them as Pledges of their Allegiance. There were but few that ventur'd to deny him, for fear of being ſacrific'd to his Suſpicions, *He receives Intelligence of a Plot againſt him.* Paris. *He miſtruſts and disbands his Army.*

1212. Suſpicions, before they ſhou'd be in a State of Defence. Indeed their Meaſures as yet were very uncertain. If it be true, that they had applied to the King of *France*, that Monarch had not yet given them any poſitive Anſwer. In all appearance, he had a Mind to ſtay till Matters were more embroil'd, before he openly declar'd his Intention.

Remark on the Hiſtorians of King John's *Reign.*

In this Place it is, that *Matthew Paris* the Hiſtorian takes Occaſion to diſplay the tyrannical Conduct of *John* in very black Colours. He ſays, *that* the King had no manner of Regard for the *Engliſh*; *that* he debauch'd the Wives and Daughters of the *Prime* Nobility; *that* ſome of the Barons were baniſh'd the Realm upon bare Suſpicions, whilſt others who were the leaſt ill-treated, were reduc'd to extreme Poverty by the Confiſcation of their Eſtates, and by other *illegal* Practices. But the ſame Remark is to be made here, as was made elſewhere: That is, we muſt read with a great deal of Caution the *Monkiſh Hiſtorians* when they relate any thing in which the *Court of Rome* was concern'd. 'Tis true, our Hiſtorian inveighs now and then very ſharply againſt the Perſon of *Innocent* III. But that does not hinder one from perceiving that his Aim was to vindicate the Pope in his rigorous Uſage towards King *John*. This is what he cou'd not do more artfully than by blackening the Reputation of that Prince, to the end he might diveſt his Readers of all Pity and Compaſſion for him.

The remarkable Prediction of a Hermite Paris.

Whilſt *John* was anxiouſly waiting the Iſſue of the Conſpiracy of his Enemies, he met with a Mortification which made him very uneaſy, tho' he made as if he minded it not. One *Peter de Pontfract* a Hermit, who was famous in the Kingdom for foretelling things to come, propheſied publickly that by *Aſcenſion-day* following *John* ſhou'd be depos'd, and the Crown transferr'd to Another. The King, being inform'd of this, ſent for the *Hermit*, who, in his Preſence, ſtood to what he had ſaid, upon which he was order'd to Priſon *.

In

* *Matthew Paris* ſays *John* was very inquiſite to know of the Hermit whether it was by Death or otherwiſe that he was to loſe his-

In the mean time, the Pope, who had no mind to halt in ſo fair a Way, took at *Rome* all neceſſary Meaſures to compaſs his Ends. As he was deſirous that it ſhou'd appear in the Eyes of the World, that his Zeal for *Juſtice* and *Religion* was the ſole Motive of his Actions; he took particular Care to conceal that he had any Perſonal Intereſt in his Quarrel with the King of *England*. The better to hide his Deſign, he caus'd a Petition to be preſented him by Cardinal *Langton*, and the reſt of the proſcrib'd Biſhops, wherein they humbly intreated him to apply a Remedy to the Calamities the *Church of England* had ſo long labour'd under. This *Petition* having furniſh'd him with a Pretence to call a *Conſiſtory*, he made a Speech to the *Cardinals*, wherein he aggravated, to the utmoſt of his Power, the Injuries King *John* had done, and did do daily to the *Church*. He concluded with ſaying, that the Obſtinacy of that Prince not being to be ſubdued by the *Church*'s *Cenſures*, he had call'd them together on purpoſe to conſult them about the Means how to make this ſtiff-necked Son of his return to his Duty. The Reſult of the *Council* was, that *John* being convicted of Rebellion againſt the *Holy See*, deſerv'd to be depos'd, and that the Pope ſhou'd place another King over *England*. Purſuant to this Advice, *Innocent* thunder'd out the Sentence of *Depoſition* againſt King *John*. After which, he empower'd *Philip* King of *France* to put the *Sentence* in Execution, promiſing him as a Reward, the *Remiſſion* of all his Sins, together with the Crown of *England* to him and his Heirs for ever, when once he had dethron'd the Tyrant. A few Days after, he publiſh'd a *Bull*, exhorting all *Chriſtian* Princes to help forward, as far as in them lay, this Expedition, which was intended purely to revenge the Injuries done to the *Catholick Church*. In this *Bull* he took into his *Protection* whatſ-

1212. *The Pope depoſes* John. Paris.

and employs the King of France *to execute the Sentence.*

his Crown; but all he cou'd get from him was, that he might be aſſur'd he wou'd not on that Day be King, and ſaid if he were convicted of a Lie, he might then deal with him as he pleas'd. Upon which the King had him confin'd till he ſhou'd ſee the Iſſue of his Prediction.

1212. whoſoever ſhou'd contribute either Money or any other Aſſiſtance, towards the ſubduing the Enemy of the *Church*, and granted them the ſame Privileges with thoſe who viſited the *Holy Sepulchre* *.

Geoffrey *Archbiſhop of* York *dies.*

Towards the end of this Year, *Geoffrey* Archbiſhop of *York*, natural Son of *Henry* II. departed this Life. He was a Prelate of a narrow Genius, but Proud, Pragmatical, and exceeding Paſſionate, one that wou'd have done a great deal of Miſchief, had he been as able as he was willing *1.

1213. Philip *accepts the Pope's Commiſſion*; Mezeray. *and makes great Preparations.*

The Commiſſion which *Philip* had juſt receiv'd of the Pope, ſet him at the height of his Wiſhes. Not content with having depriv'd King *John* of a large Part of his Dominions, he devour'd already in his Imagination the Kingdom of *England*. By the Preparations he was making, 'twas evident enough how extremely deſirous he was to ſucceed in his Undertaking. The Ships, of which his Fleet was to conſiſt, came from all Parts to the Mouth of the *Seine*, whilſt the Princes his *Vaſſals*, and the Great Men of his Realm led their Troops to *Roan*, where he had appointed the Rendezvous of his Army. Such vaſt Preparations cou'd not be a Secret to King *John*, who for his part us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to put himſelf in a Condition to oppoſe the Invaſion he was threatned with. He ſummon'd all the *Vaſſals* of the Crown to meet him at *Dover* with their Troops, under Pain of forfeiting their *Fiefs*, and being exemplarily puniſh'd

* The Pope wrote alſo to the Great Men, Knights and Warriers of divers Nations, to undertake this War, ſigning themſelves with the *Croſs* as if it were for that of the *Holy Land*.

*1 This Year alſo great Part of *London* was burnt down; the Fire began in *Southwark*, and having conſum'd the Church of St. *Mary Overy*, went on to the Bridge; and whilſt great Numbers of People ran ſome to behold, others to quench the Flames, the Houſes on the other end of the Bridge took Fire; ſo that the Multitude being thus inclos'd, many were forced to leap into the *Thames*, whilſt others crowding into the Boats that came to their Relief, were the Cauſe of their own Deſtruction, the Boats and People ſinking together; ſo that what with the Fire, and what with the Water, near 3000 Perſons periſh'd by this unfortunate Accident, which happen'd on the 10th of *July*. *M. Paris*. p. 233.

niſh'd in their Perſons. At the ſame time, he iſſued out Orders, that all the Ships belonging to his Subjects, ſhou'd be ready at the ſame Place; threatning to baniſh the *Maſters* which ſhou'd fail to be there on any Pretence whatſoever. His Orders were ſo urgent, and his Threats had ſo ſudden an Effect, that in a little time, he got together a greater Number of Ships and Troops than he cou'd maintain. Upon which account he was forc'd to ſend away part of his Fleet, and to keep but ſixty thouſand of the moſt warlike Men, which wou'd have been more than enough to defend him from all Inſults, if they had ſerv'd him heartily. But this Prince knew the way better how to make himſelf fear'd, than how to make himſelf belov'd *. 1213.

Pandulph *the Pope's Legate comes to* John. Paris.

Whilſt the two Monarchs were with equal Ardor making ready, the one to attack, and the other to defend; and whilſt the Sea was cover'd with Ships, and the Coaſts of each Kingdom were overſpread with Troops, who expected every Moment to enter upon Action, the Pope gave his laſt Inſtructions to *Pandulph*. He was one of the two *Nuntio*'s above-mention'd, who, upon this Occaſion, was made *Legate* for *England*. His publick Inſtructions were to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to prevail with King *John* to ſubmit to the *Church*. But his private ones were to put the finiſhing Stroke to the Project he had form'd. He paſs'd through *France*, where he beheld *Philip*'s great Preparations, and commended his Zeal and Diligence; after which he went on to the King

* The *Writs*, which were iſſued out upon this Occaſion (and which you may ſee at large in *M. Paris*) plainly make appear that that there was no ſuch thing in thoſe Days as ſtanding Armies either in *England* or *France*; but that the only Forces for the Defence of the Kingdom were the *Militia* of *England*, conſiſting of the *Earls* and *Barons*, with their *Tenants* and *Vaſſals* under them, who were oblig'd by their *Tenures* to come into the Field in caſe of an Invaſion from abroad, or a Rebellion at home. The Writs are directed to all the *Sheriffs* of the Kingdom, commanding them to ſummon all the *Earls*, *Barons*, *Knights*, *Freemen*, and *Eſquires*. The *Writs* for the *Ships* were directed to all the *Bayliffs* of *Sea-Ports*, &c. See *M. Paris*. p. 233.

1213. of *England* at *Dover*. When he came into his Preſence, he repreſented to him that his Enemy's Forces were ſo numerous, that they were able to conquer *England*, tho' the whole Nation were united for their common Defence; but that *John* was very far from being able to rely on the People's Affections. And to convince him of it beyond all Doubt, he diſcover'd to him that *Philip* had privately receiv'd Aſſurances from the chief Barons, that inſtead of oppoſing his Arms, they wou'd aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their Power. This Intelligence correſponding with what *John* had already receiv'd, he appear'd ſhock'd at it, neither cou'd he hide from the *Legate* the Fears that had ſeiz'd his Soul. This was preciſely what *Pandulph* was driving at. As ſoon as he ſaw the Terror the King was in, he took occaſion from thence, to let him know that he had but one way to ſecure himſelf from the Danger which hung over his Head. And that was to put himſelf under the Pope's Protection, who as a kind and merciful Father, was ſtill willing to receive him with open Arms. But, added he, *to deſerve this Favour, you muſt become a dutiful Son to the Church; and to that End you muſt promiſe to perform faithfully whatſoever the Pope ſhall enjoin you; who, in imitation of Him, whoſe Repreſentative he is on Earth, deſires not the Death of a Sinner, but rather that he ſhou'd turn from his evil Ways.*

He offers him the Pope's Protection.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 166, 167.

The King's irreſolution.

Never was Prince in ſuch Circumſtances as *John* was then in; ſtanding between two Precipices equally dangerous, he was under a Neceſſity of leaping down one of them, without having Time to conſider which of the two was the moſt eligible. *Pandulph* preſs'd him inceſſantly to lay hold of the indulgent Offer which the Pope had made him. On the other Hand, *Philip*, ready to embark, afforded him no Time to conſult what Courſe he ſhou'd take. But what perplex'd him the moſt was, the little Reliance he had on his Army, the Dread he was in of a Treachery, the Conſequences whereof ſtar'd him in the Face. On which Side ſoever he turn'd himſelf, he ſaw himſelf on the Point either of falling into the Hands

Hands of his moſt inveterate Enemy, or of lying at the Mercy of a Pope, whom he had for ſo long time brav'd, and who was the ſole Author of his Misfortunes. Of theſe two Evils, the laſt ſeem'd to him the leaſt inſupportable, becauſe he ſaw not through the Pope's whole Deſign. The *Legate* took Care not to impart to him at firſt, all the Conditions the Pope requir'd of him for the Grant of his Favour and Protection. He was ſatisfied, for the preſent, with obliging him to take a ſolemn Oath, *that* he wou'd obey the Pope in all things relating to the Affair for which he ſtood excommunicated; *that* he wou'd make full Satisfaction to the *Clergy* and *Laicks* for what Damages they had ſuffer'd on account of the *Interdict*; *that* he ſhou'd pay down, in part of Reſtitution, the Sum of eight thouſand Pounds *Sterling*; *that* he ſhou'd receive into Favour the proſcrib'd Biſhops, and others, particularly Cardinal *Langſton*, and the *Prior* and Monks of St. *Auguſtin*'s *; *that* he ſhou'd confirm all theſe things by his *Letters Patents*, and cauſe ſuch Biſhops and Barons as the Pope or his *Legate* ſhou'd appoint, to ſtand Sureties for him; *that* he ſhou'd ſolemnly declare, if he, or any other by his Order, ſhou'd violate this Agreement, he wou'd for ever loſe the Cuſtody of *vacant* Churches, and the Biſhops and Barons, his Sureties, ſhou'd be authoris'd to ſerve the Pope againſt him. Moreover, he oblig'd himſelf to ſend Letters of *Safe-Conduct* to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other exil'd Biſhops, that they might return in Safety to their reſpective *Churches*. Laſtly, he ſwore not to proſecute any Perſon, whether *Layman* or *Eccleſiaſtick*, for any Matter relating to the Affair in Hand *1.

1213.

He yields to the Terms propos'd by the Legate. Act. Pub. T. I p. 170. Forma Pacis, &c. *The Conditions.*

* The Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, *Bath* and *Lincoln*, are mention'd by Name, as are *Robert Fitz-Walter* and *Euſtace de Veſcie*, who had withdrawn from the King into *France*.

*1 You have theſe Articles at large in *M. Paris*, drawn up in the Form of a *Charter*, dated the 13th of *May*, being the *Monday* before *Aſcenſion-Day*, in which are recited the Names of four great Barons, *viz.* *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Reginald* Earl of *Boleign*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, and *William* Earl of *Ferrars*, who all ſwore on the King's Behalf.

1213. *Another Condition, that the King shou'd resign his Crown to the Pope.* Knyghton.

In the State to which *John* saw himself reduc'd, he wou'd have thought these Conditions tolerable, had there been no Additions made to them. But the Oath, which had been exacted from him, to obey the Pope in all things, included a *tacit* Condition, the extent whereof *Pandulph* did not think proper to tell him, before he was deeply engaged. When the Article came to be explain'd, the *Legate* told him in plain Terms, that the Offences he had committed against *God* and the *Church* were of so heinous a Nature, that they cou'd not be aton'd for but by the absolute Resignation of his Crown into the Hands of the Pope. He added, that he cou'd not give him *Absolution* but upon that Condition only. A Propo al like this cou'd not but extremely surprize the unfortunate King; but he had gone too far to draw back. What he had already done, had entirely alienated the Minds of those of his Subjects who still preserv'd some Remains of Affection for him. On the other Hand, he plainly perceiv'd, that not being able to confide in his Troops, he had no other Means left to resist the powerful Attacks *Philip* was preparing against him. He lay therefore under an indispensable Necessity to yield to this hard Condition, which he wou'd have infallibly rejected, cou'd he have known the extent of his Oath. To that Purpose, on the Morrow, he repaired to *Dover* Church, attended by the *Legate*, and a numerous Train of Great Men and Officers of the Army, to perform his Engagements. There it was that in the Presence of all the People, having taken the Crown from off his Head, he laid it, with the other Ensigns of *Royalty*, at the *Legate*'s Feet, who represented the Pope. After which he sign'd a *Charter*, whereby he resign'd to the Pope the Kingdom of *England*, and Lordship of *Ireland*. He declar'd in this *Charter*, that, not being constrain'd by Force, but of his own free Will, and with the Advice and Consent of all the Barons of the Realm, he made this Resignation, as the only Means to atone for his Offences against God and his *Church*. From thenceforward he acknowledg'd himself a *Vassal* of the *Holy See*, and as such, bound himself to pay the

He resigns his Crown, and does Homage to the Pope. Act. Pub. T. I. p 176.

the yearly Rent of a *thouſand Marks*, namely, ſeven hundred for *England*, and three hundred for *Ireland*. In fine, he agreed that if he himſelf, or any of his Succeſſors, ſhou'd refuſe to pay the Submiſſion due to the *Holy See*, he ſhou'd forfeit his Right to the Crown *. This done, he did Homage to the Pope in the Perſon of the *Legate*; who to ſhow the Grandeur of his Maſter, ſpurn'd with his Feet the Money which the King offer'd him as a Mark of his Subjection. They that were preſent at this ſhameful Ceremony, cou'd not behold ſuch abject Actions without Indignation; but not a Soul durſt open his Mouth againſt them, only the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, who proteſted againſt them, but to no Purpoſe *'. The *Legate*, having obtain'd what he wanted, kept the Crown and Scepter five whole Days; after which he reſtor'd them to *John*, letting him know, he was to look upon it as a ſingular Favour from the *Holy See*. So extraordinary a Tranſaction caus'd in the Minds of the People the Effect which was naturally to be expected. If hitherto the King had been little valued, the Step he had juſt made, render'd him contemptible in the Eyes of all. From that time, he was conſider'd as a Prince unworthy of wearing a Crown, which he had ſo ſhamefully given up to another. On the other Side, the extreme Pride of *Innocent* gave occaſion for Reflections, which redounded not much to his Advantage. Though one wou'd think that *John* ſhou'd have been very ſenſibly touch'd with what had happen'd, yet he appear'd to be the firſt that forgot it. He even ſeem'd to triumph at having kept his Crown in ſpite of the Prediction of the *Hermit* of *Pomfract*. Notwithſtanding what he had foretold was exactly come to paſs, *John* was ſo cruel as to order him to be hang'd on a Gibbet for a falſe Prophet. 1213.

The Hermit hang'd for a falſe Prophet. Paris. In Knyghton.

* *Cadet a jure Regni*, M. Paris, where the Charter is at large, and witneſſed by the King himſelf, in the Preſence of *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *John* Biſhop of *Norwich*, and divers Earls and Noblemen of the Kingdom.

*' *M. Paris* ſays only, that he was offended at the haughty Carriage of the Legate in ſpurning the Money.

1213. Pandulph *orders* Philip *to disband his Army.* Paris

In the mean time *Pandulph*, who had no further Buſineſs in *England*, was ſet out from *Dover*, without having taken off the *Interdict*, or given the King *Abſolution*. He was gone to *Philip*, who reckon'd upon the Conqueſt of *England* as a thing he cou'd not fail of. When he came into that Monarch's Preſence, he forbad him, in the Pope's Name, to go forward with the intended Expedition. He acquainted him, that the King of *England* being become a dutiful Son of the *Church*, and the Occaſion of his Arming being ceas'd, there was no further Neceſſity of executing the Pope's *Sentence*. *Philip* was extremely ſurpriz'd at this Diſcourſe. But as he had not acted in this Affair from a *religious* Motive, he poſitively refus'd to obey the *Legate*'s Orders. He told him, that it was for the ſake of obtaining the *Remiſſion of his Sins*, that he had made theſe Preparations againſt *England*, at the preſſing Inſtances of the Pope, and therefore that no contrary Orders, nor all the Threats in the World, ſhould hinder him from proſecuting his Deſign. Thus reſolv'd, he call'd a *Council* of the principal Lords of his Kingdom, and of the Princes his *Vaſſals* who were then about him. As he was extreamly incens'd againſt *Innocent*, the Terms he made uſe of in ſpeaking of him to the Aſſembly were not the moſt reſpectful, eſpecially conſidering 'twas for his Purpoſe to paint out the Pope's Procedure in the ſtrongeſt and moſt lively Colours. His Aim was to get all the Lords to ſwear, they wou'd not deſert him though the Pope ſhou'd proceed to thunder out his *Cenſures* againſt him. Accordingly his whole Diſcourſe tended to that Point.

Philip *refuſes to obey him;*

and tries to bring his Peers to ſtand by him.

The Earl of Flanders *oppoſes it.*

The Princes and Lords, who were preſent at the *Council*, ſeem'd inclin'd to comply. The Earl of *Flanders* alone oppoſed it; and that in a Manner very reproachful to *Philip*. He repreſented, that the Expedition projected againſt the King of *England*, was in it ſelf neither juſt nor honourable, that moreover it was become impracticable, ſeeing the Pope refus'd his Approbation. He added, that 'twould be much more agreeable to the Rules of Honour and Equity, to reſtore to that Prince what had been taken

taken from him in *France*, than to frame new Schemes how to take Advantage of his Misfortunes. *Philip* being nettled at this Speech which was ſpoken with ſuch Boldneſs, and bore ſo hard upon his Conduct, thought it neceſſary before all things, to humble the Earl of *Flanders*. His View was to ſtrike a Terror into the reſt of his *Vaſſals* by his Example, and at the ſame time to deprive the King of *England* of the Aſſiſtance he might receive from ſo faſt a Friend. It may be, he was very glad that the Earl furniſh'd him with an Opportunity to extricate himſelf out of the Difficulty he was in. He cou'd not, without Diſhonour, ſubmit to the Pope's Orders, neither cou'd he wage War with King *John*, without expoſing his own Perſon to *Excommunication*, and his Kingdom to an *Interdict*. Be this as it will, he order'd his Fleet to Sail towards the Coaſt of *Flanders*, whilſt he march'd with his Army to attack the Earl by Land. The Progreſs of his Arms were at firſt very conſiderable. In all likelihood, the Earl of *Flanders* wou'd have been entirely cruſh'd, if *John* had not ſent his Naval Force to his Aid. The Earl of *Salisbury*, who commanded the *Engliſh* Fleet, having ſurpriz'd that of *Philip*, entirely deſtroy'd it. 'Tis ſaid that the *Engliſh* took three hundred Ships, and ſunk one hundred, and that the *French* themſelves ſet Fire to the reſt to prevent their falling into the Enemy's Hands. This terrible Blow blaſted all *Philip*'s grand Deſigns, who found himſelf oblig'd to drop his Undertaking, and return to *Paris* extremely mortified.

1213. Philip *turns his Arms againſt him.* Rigord. *Hiſt. of* Phil. Aug.

His Fleet deſtroy'd by the Engliſh.

This Victory rouz'd on a ſudden the Courage of King *John*. As he was aſſur'd for the future of the Pope's Aſſiſtance, he reſolv'd to carry the War into *France*, and try to regain what he had loſt there. He was the more encourag'd to this Expedition as the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders* had promis'd to make a powerful Diverſion in his Favour. With this Deſign he caus'd his Army to march to *Portſmouth*, where he had order'd his Fleet to meet him. But juſt as he thought to embark, the Barons ſent him Word they cou'd

John *has a mind to carry the War into* France.

The Barons refuſe to follow before he is abſolv'd.

1213. cou'd not attend him, unleſs he was firſt abſolved from his *Excommunication* *. This Declaration made him diſpatch a *Safe-Conduct* to Cardinal *Langton*, and the reſt of the baniſh'd Biſhops, that he might receive *Abſolution* from their Hands. At the ſame time, he acquainted them that he was ready to perform all his Engagements, and particularly thoſe which related to them. Upon their Arrival the Biſhops went to the King at *Winchester*, who throwing himſelf at their Feet, beſought them to have Pity on him and the Kingdom. The Cardinal having lifted him up, led him to the *Church*, where in the Preſence of all the People, he adminiſtred to him the following Oath: *That* he wou'd protect *Holy-Church* to the utmoſt of his Power: *That* he wou'd re-eſtabliſh the good Laws of his Predeceſſors, and eſpecially thoſe of King *Edward*: *That* he wou'd cauſe Juſtice to be miniſter'd to his Subjects by his Courts, according to antient Cuſtom, and not arbitrarily: *That* he wou'd reſtore to *Corporations* and private Perſons, their Rights and Liberties: Laſtly, *That* he wou'd, before *Eaſter* next, make full Satisfaction for all the Damages he had caus'd. This done, the King renew'd his Oath of *Fealty* and *Obedience* to the Pope, according to the Tenor of the *Charter* he had given the *Legate*; after which the Cardinal gave him *Abſolution*. The King appear'd ſo well pleas'd to ſee himſelf at length deliver'd out of all his Troubles, that, to ſhow the Cardinal he bore him no Manner of Grudge in his Heart, he made him that very Day dine at the ſame Table with him.

Langſton *arrives and gives the King an Oath.*

He abſolves him. Paris. Knyghton.

This Affair being thus ended, *John* came to *Portſmouth*, where he met with freſh Obſtacles, which he had never dreamt of. When he talk'd of embarking, his Barons, who were come there upon his Summons, declar'd they cou'd not go with him. They told him, they had ſtay'd ſo long at *Portſmouth*, that they had ſpent

John *re-aſſumes his former Deſign.*

The Barons refuſe to follow him. Paris.

* *M. Paris* ſays, it had hitherto been deferr'd, under Pretence, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was to come over and perform it in Perſon on the Pope's Behalf.

ſpent all the Money deſign'd for the Expedition, and therefore were in no Condition to attend him. Altho' this Diſappointment vex'd him heartily, yet he thought it his beſt way to conceal it, and imagining he ſhou'd be able to ſpur them on upon the Point of Honour, took Shipping himſelf with only his own Family, and ſet Sail for *Jerſey*. But, after he had waited there ſome Days, finding no Body follow'd him, he return'd to *England*, with a Reſolution to chaſtiſe the Diſobedience of the Barons *. Upon his Arrival, he drew ſome Troops together, and march'd towards the Center of the Kingdom. His Deſign was to have it in his Power to prevent them from taking up Arms, or to oppreſs ſuch as ſhou'd venture to appear firſt in the Field. The Cardinal Archbiſhop, having perceiv'd his Intentions, came to him at *Northampton*, and repreſented to him that none of the Barons having been *legally* condemn'd, he cou'd not make War upon them without violating the Oath he had taken at his *Abſolution*. The King, offended at this Remonſtrance, anſwer'd with a loud Voice, that he had nothing to do to give his Advice, and ſo refuſing to hear any more of the Matter, he continued his March as far as *Nottingham*. *Langton*, not at all diſcourag'd at this Repulſe, follow'd him the next Day, and declar'd to him, that he would excommunicate all thoſe that ſhou'd take up Arms before the *Interdict* was remov'd. This Threat having made the King apprehenſive that his Troops wou'd deſert him, he was fain to deſiſt from his Enterprize. However he appointed a Day for the Barons to appear and anſwer for their Diſobedience.

1213.

He reſolves to chaſtiſe them.

Langton *oppoſes it, and threatens him.*

The King deſiſts.

The Step *Langton* had made was ſufficient to ſatisfy the King, that he was not heartily reconcil'd to him. But he had very quickly a more convincing Proof of it.

* *Ralph de Coggeſhal* lays the Miſcarriage of this Voyage chiefly upon the Barons of the *North*, who being ſummon'd, affirm'd they were not oblig'd to follow him, according to the *Tenure* of their Eſtates. This is a clear Evidence that the Barons of the Realm were not oblig'd to attend the King when he made War on his own Head, but only in Caſe of an Invaſion from Abroad, or a Rebellion at Home.

1213. Langton *gives the Barons a ſight of the Charter of* Henry I. Paris.

In an Aſſembly of the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, who were met at *London* about the Reſtitution the King had promis'd, *Langton* took Occaſion to ſpeak very warmly againſt the King. He ſaid, "that before he gave him "*Abſolution*, he had caus'd him to ſwear that he wou'd "reſtore the *Church*, the *Nobility*, and the *Commonalty*, "to their *Rights* and *Privileges*: But that it was viſible "to all, that he had not made the leaſt Step towards the "Performance of his Oath: That on the contrary, he "had intended to make War on his Barons, before they "had been *legally* tried; the which was a clear Evidence "enough of his ill Deſigns. And therefore, continued "he, it is abſolutely neceſſary, for the Good of the Pub-"lick, to preſs him to perform his Engagements. But "as Difficulties might occur in drawing up the Particu-"lars they were to demand of the King, he told them, "that they might make uſe of a *Charter* of one of their "former Kings, of which he had luckily lighted upon a "Copy, notwithſtanding the Pains that had been taken "to bury it in oblivion. The *Charter* the Cardinal ſpoke of, was that which *Henry* I. granted to his Subjects, in the beginning of his Reign. Authentick Copies had been ſent to all the principal Monaſteries, which were loſt by the Negligence of thoſe who had the Cuſtody of them, or perhaps by the Means of *Henry* I. himſelf, or his Succeſſors. This, which it may be, was the only one left, having fallen into the Hands of the Cardinal, he publickly read it before the Aſſembly. The Barons, who had only a confuſed Notion of this *Charter*, were very well pleaſed with its being found, but more ſo with the *Contents*. Accordingly, without further Conſideration, they came to a Reſolution to make it the Foundation of their Demands. After which, they enter'd into a *Confederacy*, and bound themſelves by Oath, to exert their utmoſt Endeavours to obtain the Re-eſtabliſhment of their antient Privileges, and mutually to ſtand by one another. The Cardinal promis'd, for his Part, to do all that lay in his Power towards the Accompliſhment of their Deſigns. This is the firſt *League* or *Confederacy* which

The Barons League againſt the King.

which was ever made in *England* againſt the King, in Defence of the *Liberties* of the Nation. 1213.

Altho' the Barons intended to keep their *League* private, till a fit Opportunity ſhou'd offer to diſcover their Deſigns, yet the King had quickly Intelligence of it. He foreſaw the Conſequences of it; but as it was not in his Power to break it, he believ'd the only way to ſcreen himſelf from it was, to put himſelf under the powerful Protection of the Pope. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he ſent a truſty Meſſenger to *his Holineſs*, to inform him of what had paſs'd, and to entreat him to grant him his Aſſiſtance on ſo preſſing a Neceſſity. His Requeſt was ſeconded by a very handſome Preſent, that he might the more readily obtain what he deſired (*a*). *Innocent* was overjoy'd at the News of the Diſſention which was like to break out between the King and the Barons. If any thing was capable of wreſting from the *Sovereignty* he had lately acquir'd over the Kingdom of *England*, doubtleſs a ſtrict and hearty Union between the King and the Nobles wou'd do it. The Reſignation he had extorted from *John*, was of it ſelf ſo repugnant to all Right, and ſo full of *Nullities* that it cou'd not have ſubſiſted, if the King and his Subjects cou'd have been brought to ſo neceſſary an Union. And therefore nothing being more agreeable to the Pope, than to ſee the King and the Barons in no way to ſupport one another, he reſolv'd to make their Diſcord a Means more firmly to eſtabliſh his Authority in the Kingdom. To that Purpoſe, without giving the leaſt Hint of his knowing any thing of the Confederacy of the Barons, he ſent Cardinal *Nicholas*, Biſhop of *Tivoli*, as his *Legate* into *England*, with a Power to take off the *Interdict*, and compoſe the Difference between the King and the *Clergy* concerning the Affair of Reſtitution. *John* having offer'd to pay down a hundred thouſand Marks, the Legate ſeem'd ſatisfied with the Sum: But the Biſhops boldly

John implores the Pope's Protection.

1214. *The Pope ſends a Legate into* England;

(*a*) *Noverat enim Rex quod Papa ſuper omnes Mortales ambitioſus erat & ſuperbus, pecuniâque ſititor Inſatiabilis, & ad omnia Scelera pro præmiis datis vel promiſſis, cereum & proclivum*, &c. M. Paris. *An.* 1213.

1214. rejected his Offer, chuſing to let the Kingdom labour under the intolerable Burden of an *Interdict*, rather than recede in the leaſt from their Pretenſions. The *Legate* was not diſpleas'd at their Obſtinacy, which gave him an Opportunity of acquainting the King with the Orders he had receiv'd from the Pope. He repreſented to him, that he cou'd never hope to live in Peace till he had put himſelf entirely under the Protection of the *Apoſtolick See*; That in order to do it effectually, it was neceſſary for him to make a Second Reſignation of his Crown, the Firſt being liable to ſo many Exceptions; That afterwards the Pope, finding himſelf indiſpenſably oblig'd to ſtand by him, wou'd infallibly free him from all his Troubles.

who demands a ſecond Reſignation of the Crown.

John *conſents to it.*

John's Affairs were in an ill Situation. Surrounded with Difficulties, and having almoſt as many Enemies as Lords in the Kingdom, he had nothing left to truſt to but the Pope's Protection. Accordingly, tho' this Protection cou'd not be obtain'd but by a ſecond Reſignation of his Crown, he was brought to ſtoop once more to that ſervile Compliance. A General Aſſembly of all the Lords of the Realm being conven'd at *Weſtminſter*, he ſolemnly reſign'd, in their Preſence, his Crown to the Pope a ſecond time, with all the *Formalities* the *Legate* was pleas'd to require. He ſign'd another *Charter*, wherein Care was taken to ſupply all the Defects of the former. To render it the more *Authentick*, it was ſeal'd with *Gold*, the firſt having been ſeal'd only with Wax. Then the King deliver'd it into the Hands of the *Legate*, to the uſe of the Pope his Maſter. 'Twas no hard Matter for the Barons to perceive that the Secret of their Confederacy was diſcover'd, and that *John*'s renewing his Reſignation was the Price of the Protection he had obtain'd of the Pope. As nothing was more oppoſite to their Deſign of procuring their antient Privileges to be reſtor'd, than the *Vaſſalage* to which *John* had ſubjected the Kingdom, Cardinal *Langton* ſolemnly proteſted againſt it, and laid his Proteſtation upon the Altar.

Langton *proteſts againſt it.*

Innocent

Innocent having notice of *Langton*'s Proteſtation, was extremely incens'd, that a Cardinal ſhou'd act ſo directly contrary to the Intereſts of *the Holy See*. He durſt not however fall upon him for it, for fear of putting the whole Kingdom in Commotion, and inducing the *Engliſh* to join with *Langton* in the Defence of their Liberties. Indeed, it was not at all proper to let the Nation feel ſo quickly the Weight of their new Servitude. On the contrary, it was the Buſineſs of the Church of *Rome*, to let her Rights lie dormant a while, that the *Engliſh* perceiving no Alterations, might be the leſs inclin'd to ſhake off the Yoke which was juſt laid upon them. In the mean time, the Pope however took occaſion to mortify the Archbiſhop, by giving Cardinal *Nichols*, his Legate, the Power to fill all vacant Benefices in *England*. The *Legate* abus'd his Power moſt ſhamefully. Not content with conferring the Benefices on *Italians*, on his Relations and Creatures, he even gave ſome to Perſons yet unborn. *Langton*, nettled at this Power being given to another, made the *Legate*'s ill uſe of it a Handle to appeal to the Pope againſt his Proceedings, and ſent *Simon* his Brother to *Rome* to proſecute the Appeal. He found *Innocent* little inclin'd to give ear to Complaints againſt a *Legate* who had juſt done ſuch ſignal Services. Beſides, *Pandulph*, who was ſent to *Rome* with the *Charter* ſeal'd with *Gold*, had very much blaſted the Credit of the Archbiſhop, and of all the *Engliſh* Lords. He had repreſented them as a Company of turbulent Perſons, and extoll'd the King as the moſt pious of Princes. This Account of Matters was the Reaſon that *Innocent*, without having any Regard to *Langton*'s Remonſtrances, diſpatch'd Orders to his *Legate* to take off the *Interdict*, which had laſted above ſix Years. As for the Satisfaction which the *Clergy* demanded, he order'd that the King ſhou'd make Reſtitution of no more than forty thouſand Marks.

1214.

The Pope impowers his Legate to fill vacant Benefices. Paris.

The Legate abuſes his Power.

Langton *appeals to the Pope.*

Thus ended the grand Affair, which render'd the King of *England* a *Vaſſal* and *Homager* to the Pope. An Event of this Nature, affords ample Matter for Reflections, which are left to the Reader's Conſideration. I ſhall content my

1214. my self with remarking, that, if in the first Negotiation, the Pope had been satisfied with demanding so moderate a Restitution, there is no question but that Matters wou'd have been accomodated at that time. The Truth is, that was the only Obstacle which prevented a Conclusion, since the *Nuntio*'s acquiesc'd in all the rest of the King's Propositals. But *John* had not yet resign'd his Crown to the Pope, whereas, after his Resignation, the hundred thousand Marks which he had offer'd, were shrunk to forty thousand. The *Clergy*, who were in hopes of receiving an immense Sum, found themselves very much out in their Reckoning. Nevertheless, not daring to contradict the Pope's express Orders, they were fain to take up with a very moderate Sum, in comparison of what they had expected. The Bishops however found the Means to make themselves *whole*, by not giving any Share of the forty thousand Marks to the Inferior *Clergy* and *Monasteries*. These last made their Complaints to the *Legate*: But they cou'd get no other Answer, but that having no Orders from the Pope about the Matter, it was not in his Power to give them any Redress.

John *carries the War into* France.

John finding himself rid, tho' to his eternal shame, of a Business which had created him so much Uneasiness, resolv'd to prosecute the Design which the Disobedience of the Barons had oblig'd him to lay aside. He was in hopes to meet with more Submission in his Subjects, seeing the Pope had so openly declar'd himself his Protector, than whilst he lay under the Sentence of *Excommunication*. After he had made all the Preparations necessary for so important an Enterprize, he came to *Rochel* with a numerous Army, and having enter'd *Poictou*, he subdued that Province with the same Ease it had been taken from him. Encourag'd by this Success, he march'd into *Anjou*, and rebuilt the Walls of *Angiers* which he had formerly caus'd to be demolish'd. This sudden Attack surpris'd *Philip*, who being then taken up in the *Low-Countries* in a War with the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders*, cou'd not timely enough oppose this fresh Invader. However Prince *Lewis* his Son, having rais'd an Army with all possible Expedition,

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 189.

He subdues Poictou, *and enters* Anjou.

Prince Lewis *stops his Progress.*

pedition, advanc'd towards *Anjou*, whilſt the *Engliſh* were laying Siege to the ſtrong Caſtle of *La Roche au Moine*. The Approach of the *French* Army having put *John* out of hopes of being able to carry on the Siege, he reſolv'd to raiſe it and give *Lewis* Battle. But the *Poictevins* having refus'd to follow him, he was not only forc'd to drop his Deſign, but even to retreat with ſome Precipitation. The *French* Hiſtorians ſay, he was briskly attack'd in his Retreat and receiv'd a great Loſs. The *Engliſh* on the contrary affirm that *Lewis*, ſatisfied with raiſing the Siege, retired without purſuing him. Notwithſtanding this Accident, *John* had Troops enough not to deſpair of Succeſs in the War, had it continued. But the News of the Battle of *Bovines* which *Philip* had gain'd in *Flanders*, made him think of retreating. This Victory, the moſt conſiderable that *France* had ever obtain'd *, having made *John* apprehenſive that the whole Burden of the War wou'd lie upon him, demanded a Truce for five Years, by the Mediation of the Pope's Legate. Altho' a famous Hiſtorian affirms, that *Philip* granted not this Truce but at the preſſing Inſtances of the Pope, yet it may be preſum'd that he was not very backward to conſent to it. For he cou'd not deſire any thing more for his Advantage than to ſee the *Engliſh* return home, ſeeing he cou'd gain but very Little from them, whereas he had a great Deal to Loſe.

1214. Rigord. Philip *gains the Battle of* Bovines. Act. Pub. I. 192. John *obtains a Truce.* Mezeray.

We are now come to the third Period of King *John*'s Reign, which was no leſs full of Troubles and Misfortunes than the two former. We have ſeen him, in the two firſt, ſtruggling with two Foreign Powers, who triumphed over him. In this, we ſhall behold him at Variance with his

The Third Part of John's *Reign.*

* This famous Battle was fought on the 27th of *July* between *Tournay* and *Liſle*. Tho' the Allies, *viz.* the Emperor *Otho*, *Ferdinand* Earl of *Flanders*, with the Dukes of *Lovain* and *Brabant*, had no leſs than 120,000 Men, and tho' the King of *France* had not near ſo many, and was moreover thrown off his Horſe and trod under Foot, yet at length he entirely vanquiſh'd his Enemies. *Otho* was put to flight, and died ſome time after with Grief, five Earls were taken Priſoners, one of which was *William Long-Sword*, King *John*'s baſe Brother. No Prince after that dar'd to withſtand *Philip*.

1214. his own Subjects, and constrain'd, in order to support himself in the Throne, to lay waste his own Kingdom, with an Army compos'd of divers Nations, and at length to see a Foreign Prince receive the Oath of *Allegiance* from the *English*. Let us enter into the Particulars of these Matters.

The Barons League for the Restoration of their Liberties.

One wou'd think, that after having gone thro' so many Misfortunes, *John* shou'd, tho' at the Expence of his Honour, pass the Residue of his Life in Peace. But it was not his Destiny to enjoy any Tranquillity. His past Conduct, being a Composition of Haughtiness, Caprice, Tyranny, Imprudence, Cowardice, had bred among his Subjects such a general Discontent, as cou'd not fail of producing ill Effects. In proportion as he lost the good Opinion of the Nation, the Barons became less tractable. Their hopes of succeeding in their Designs were properly built on the little Affection the People had for their Sovereign. As soon as the King was return'd from his *French* Expedition, the Barons, who had always kept their Project in View, resolv'd to demand in a Body the Re-establishment of their Privileges. Under the Pretence of a Pilgrimage, the chief Earls and Barons met at St. *Edmunds-Bury*, where they came to a Resolution to demand of the King the Confirmation of the *Charter* of *Henry* I. This *Charter*, as hath been observ'd, contain'd in substance the Liberties which the People of *England* enjoy'd during the Dominion of the *Saxon* Kings. Before they parted, it was agreed that immediately after *Christmas*, they wou'd go to the King in a Body and present him their *Petition*. In the mean time every one went to his own Home to provide himself with Men, Horses and Arms, that they might be able to compel the King, if there was Occasion, to grant what they requir'd. But before I proceed any further, it will not be amiss to examine this Matter to the Bottom, and see upon what Grounds the Barons founded their Pretensions, and for what Reasons the King refus'd to grant what they demanded with so much Earnestness.

1214. *Examination of the King's and Barons Pretensions.*

It can't be denied, but that in the Reigns of the first *Norman* Kings, and especially of *William the Conqueror*, the *English* were grievously oppress'd. They were so hardly and unjustly dealt by, that not an *Englishman* was left in possession of any considerable *Fief*. The *Normans* and other *Foreigners* were deck'd with their Spoils. At that time, the *English*, who had so great reason to complain, pleaded to no Purpose their Privileges, all Ears were deaf to their Complaints. On the contrary, the *Normans* thought it no Injustice at all for the King to use a *despotick* Power, as long as they were Gainers by it. The Laws of *Edward the Confessor* were in such Disrepute, that it was almost *Treason* to mention them. But when once these same *Normans* saw themselves firmly settled in their new Acquisitions, they began to perceive how dangerous it was to live under an *Arbitrary Power*, which might deprive them one day of what the *Conqueror* had given their Ancestors. Accordingly by Degrees they put on the *English Genius*, wholly addicted to *Liberty*, and wanted to have the *Saxon Laws* again in Force. All Distinction between the two Nations was entirely dropp'd. Every one was desirous of being *English* rather than *Norman*. In all appearance, this was the chief Reason why the *Norman* Language prevail'd not in *England*, notwithstanding the Care and Pains *William* I. was at to make it spread. Every time any favourable Opportunity offer'd, the *Normans* spoke like true *Englishmen*, and demanded with earnestness the Revival of the Laws of *Edward*. They particularly took the Advantage of the Circumstances *William Rufus*, *Henry* I. and *Stephen* were in when they mounted the Throne. As these Princes had not properly any Right to the Crown, they found themselves oblig'd to give their Subjects good Words, and promise them the Re-establishment of their antient Laws. The truth is, what the Barons demanded wou'd have been no more than what was Just and Right in the Mouth of an *Englishman*; but a *Norman*'s claim to these Demands might be very justly call'd in question. Accordingly, we have seen in the History of these three Princes, that altho' they had solemnly promis'd to revive these Laws, they

1214. never heartily set about the being as good as their Word. Nevertheless these solemn and repeated Engagements gave the Barons of *Norman* Extraction, a Right which they had not before. The Circumstances the three first *Norman* Kings were in, when they ascended the Throne, were therefore the true Cause of these false Steps which afterwards became so prejudicial to their Successors. They were very sensible that their *Norman* Subjects had no manner of Right to demand the Revival of the *Saxon* Laws: Laws! which had been evidently broke thro' in order to settle them in the Estates they were possess'd of in *England*. But Necessity compell'd these Princes to promise what they never intended to perform. The *Charter* of *Henry* I. was never executed either by himself or by any of his Successors. What care soever had been taken to send Copies into all the principal Monasteries, 'twas with great Difficulty that, a hundred Years after, they cou'd find a single one, which was that Cardinal *Langton* show'd the Assembly of the Lords. If therefore one traces the *Rights* of the Barons to their first Spring, one can't but conclude, they were built upon no solid Foundation, seeing the principal *Fiefs* were in the Hands of the Descendents of those to whom *William the Conqueror* had granted them. But on the other side, it must be confest, that so many *Solemn Promises*, which all the Kings ever since the *Conqueror* had made, to restore the *Saxon* Laws, commonly call'd *the Laws of* St. *Edward*, gave the *English-Normans* a very plausible Right to demand their Revival.

From what has been said it may be easily inferr'd, that if the Barons thought they had a Right to demand the Reestablishment of the *Privileges* of the *English* Nation, *John* believ'd he had no less to reject their *Petition*. This Contest having remain'd undecided during several Reigns, both Parties had all along kept up their Pretensions. When the King prov'd weak, or his Affairs were in so ill a Posture as to disable him from contesting with them, the Barons had always tried to get the *Liberties* of the *English* restor'd, and the Prince, not knowing what to do better, ever put them off with fair Promises, which he had no Design to perform.

But

But in the Reigns of ſuch Kings whoſe Heads were able and whoſe Affairs were proſperous, the Diſpute was dropp'd, and the Barons waited for a more favorable Opportunity to compaſs their Ends. They were of Opinion that they had now met with one, and reſolv'd not to let it ſlip. *John*'s Circumſtances were juſt as they cou'd wiſh. Hated and deſpis'd by the People, to whom he had given but too juſt Cauſe of Diſcontent, he cou'd never hope to regain their Affections. As for *Philip* of *France*, he cou'd not have the leaſt Dependence upon him, he being his moſt mortal Enemy: Much leſs ſtill cou'd he expect any Succours from the Emperor his Nephew, or the Earl of *Flanders*, who were both equally ruin'd at the Battle of *Bovines*. Neither was there any Likelihood that the King of *Scotland* ſhou'd eſpouſe the Quarrel of a Prince with whom he was extremely diſſatisfied. As for the Aſſiſtance *John* might expect from the Pope, as it was to conſiſt purely of *Spiritual* Arms, the Barons were in no great concern about it, well knowing that ſuch Weapons have no Edge but what *Fear* and the Circumſtances of *Time* and *Place* give them. But as they had room to hope that *the People* wou'd join with them in Defence of their Common Intereſts, they were in no Apprehenſions that the Pope's *Thunder-bolts* wou'd do them much hurt. *John* therefore cou'd not but neceſſarily be worſted on this Occaſion, ſince having loſt his Provinces in *France*, he had no Remedy againſt the *Engliſh*. 1214.

Full of Hopes, and holding themſelves ſure of Succeſs, the Barons came to the King at *London*, and demanded in plain and expreſs Terms, the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Laws of St. Edward*, with the other *Rights* and *Privileges* contain'd in the *Charter* of *Henry* I. They alledg'd that they requir'd nothing but what he himſelf had promis'd with a ſolemn Oath, before he receiv'd his *Abſolution*, and for that Reaſon their moſt humble *Petition* cou'd not be look'd upon as an *Innovation*, much leſs as proceeding from the Spirit of Rebellion. This *Petition*, tho' drawn up in the moſt reſpectful Terms, alarm'd the King. As he found they were reſolv'd upon War, in caſe he rejected it, he 1215. *The Barons demand the Revival of the Laws of St.* Edward. Paris.

1215. *The King puts off his Answer.*

believ'd that the best Thing he cou'd do, wou'd be to gain Time. He desir'd them therefore to stay for his Answer till *Easter*, assuring them, he wou'd *then* fully declare his Intentions. Tho' 'twas very easy to see, that the King only sought to amuse them, yet fearing they might be in the wrong to refuse him the Time he requir'd, they withdrew *.

He renews the Fealty and Homage of all his Subjects.

In the mean time, the King making the best of this Delay, caus'd the Oath of *Allegiance* to be renew'd by all his Subjects, and *Homage* done him by all his *immediate Vassals*. After which, he took upon him the *Crusado*, as if he intended to go to the *Holy Land*, to the end he might screen himself under the Protection of the *Church* *1. On the other Hand, the Pope having received Information of the Barons *Petition*, sent them a Letter, exhorting them to continue in Obedience to their Sovereign: But that did not prevent them from prosecuting their Design.

Act. Pub. I. p. 179.

The Barons press the King for his Answer. Paris.

As soon as *Easter* was come, the Great Men met at *Stamford*, to the number of above a thousand *Knights*, all well-mounted, well-arm'd, and in a Condition to make themselves dreaded. The King, who was at *Oxford* in expectation of their coming, having receiv'd Intelligence of their Number and Posture, did not think fit to trust his Person in a Conference with them. Before they had advanc'd any nearer *2, he sent the Earl of *Pembroke* to know what the *Laws* and *Liberties* were which they mention'd in their *Petition*. Upon which they sent back a long

* *Matthew Paris* says, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and *William* Earl-Marshal were Sureties for the King, that on the Day appointed he wou'd give them Satisfaction.

*1 About the same time also the King granted a *Charter* for the freedom of Elections to *Bishopricks* and *Abbies*, to chuse their Bishops and Abbots, without any Letters of *Nomination* or *Recommendation* from the King, which was contrary to the Usage of his Ancestors. So that the nominating to *Abbies*, *Deans* and *Chapters* fit Persons to be elected Bishops, was never after fully restor'd to the Crown till the 25th of *Henry* VIII.

*2 They were then at *Brackley* in *Northamptonshire*. *M. Paris.*

long *Writing*, containing the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom in the time of the *Saxon* Kings; and affirm'd, that if the King wou'd not confirm them, they were reſolv'd to compel him, by ſeizing his Caſtles. *John* had no ſooner read over the *Writing*, but he fell into a violent Paſſion. He cried out aloud, that the Barons wanted no leſs than to deprive him of the Government of his Kingdom, and ſwore a great Oath, that *he wou'd never grant his Subjects ſuch Liberty as wou'd make himſelf a Slave.* 1215. *He rejects their* Petition.

The King's Anſwer having convinc'd the Barons, that they expected in vain to obtain what they demanded, otherwiſe than by Force, they choſe the Lord [*Robert*] *Fitz-Walter* their General, ſtiling him *the Marſhal of the Army of God, and of Holy-Church.* At the ſame time they march'd to *Northampton*, and beſieg'd the Caſtle fifteen Days. That Place holding out longer than they expected, they rais'd the Siege and went to *Bedford*, of which they became Maſters *. A few Days after, they receiv'd Advice, that a Negotiation which they had privately ſet on Foot, with ſome of the Chief Burghers of *London* had ſucceeded to their Wiſh, and that one of the Gates of the City was to be put into their Hands. The Hopes of ſtrengthening themſelves with the Aſſiſtance of ſo rich and powerful a City, whoſe Name alone wou'd give a Reputation to their Party, made them uſe ſo great Expedition, that in two Marches they came to *Aldgate*, This Gate being open'd to them, they enter'd the City at break of Day, before the King, who was then at the *Tower*, had the leaſt Notice of their Approach. So great an Advntage having enabled them to undertake any thing, they reſolv'd to beſiege the King in the *Tower*. Whilſt they were employ'd in the Siege, which however they cou'd not ſet about before they had made great Preparations, they ſent *Circular Letters* to all the Lords of the King's Party, and to thoſe that ſtood Neuter. Without uſing any Preamble, they let them know that their Eſtates wou'd be *They chuſe a General*; *and begin Hoſtilities.* *They become Maſters of* London; *and beſiege the King in the* Tower.

* The Caſtle was put into their Hands by *William Beauchamp* the Owner.

1215. be plunder'd, and their Houſes demoliſh'd, if they did not come and join with them in defence of the *Common Cauſe* of the Kingdom. Theſe Threats had ſo good an Effect, that they who intended to ſtand Neuter, came and confederated with the Barons. Some, even of them on whom the King depended, deſerted him for fear of the impending Evils. This Defection having render'd the King more tractable, he ſent the Earl of *Pembroke* to the Barons, to inform them that he was ready to grant their Demands. This was properly ſurrendering himſelf to their Mercy. But as Matters then ſtood, he had no other Courſe to take. After a ſhort Negotiation, it was agreed, that the King and the Barons ſhou'd meet upon a Day prefix'd, in a Meadow call'd *Runnemede* *, in order to ſettle Matters in a Manner moſt conducive of the Publick Good.

John is conſtrain'd to yield to them.

The Barons came in great Numbers to the Place appointed, whilſt the King appear'd attended by five or ſix Lords only. Among whom was the Cardinal Archbiſhop, who affected to perform the Office of a Mediator, though he was the principal Author of theſe Troubles.

He ſigns Magna Charta, *and the Charter of Foreſts.*

* Between *Stains* and *Windſor*. Both Parties met on the 15th of *June*, and pitch'd their Tents aſunder in the Meadow. On the King's Side appear'd the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *Dublin*, with the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Bath*, *Worceſter*, *Coventry* and *Rocheſter*; *Pandulph* the Pope's Legate, and *Almeric*, Maſter of the *Knights Templars* in *England*. And of the Laity, *William Marſhal* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Warren*, and *Arundel*; with the Barons *Alan de Galoway*, *William Fitz-Gerald*, *Peter* and *Matthew Fitz-Herbert*, *Thomas* and *Alan Baſſet*, *Hugh de Nevil*, *Hubert de Burgh*, Seneſchal of *Poictou*, *Robert de Roppeley*, *John Marſhal*, and *Philip de Albiney*. As for thoſe on the Barons Side, they are ſcarce to be number'd, as you may ſee in *Matthew Paris* under the Year 1215. The Chief were, *Robert Fitz-Walter*, the General, *Richard* Earl of *Clare*, *Geoffrey* Earl of *Eſſex* and *Gloceſter*, *Roger Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, *Saher* Earl of *Wincheſter*, *Robert* Earl of *Oxford*, *Hugh* Earl of *Hereford*, *William Marſhal* the younger, *Euſtace de Veſcie*, *William de Mowbray*, *John Fitz-Robert*, *Roger de Monte Begom*, *William de Lanvaley*, *Richard de Percy*, *Robert de Roſs*, *Peter de Bruis*, *Nicholas de Stubevil*, *Roger de Creiſſy*, &c. &c. &c.

bles. It was not long debating, what Satisfaction the King ſhou'd give the Barons. As they wou'd not relax in the leaſt, it was not in the King's Power to deny them any thing. Beſides, he conſider'd that the higher they ran in their Demands, the more plauſible wou'd his Pretence be to retract when a favourable Opportunity ſhou'd offer. And therefore, without objecting againſt any of the Articles propos'd, he made as if he willingly granted what in reality was extorted by Force. He ſign'd two *Charters*, wherein the Barons had inſerted every thing they thought fit. The firſt was call'd the *Charter of Liberties*, or the *Great Charter* *; the other the *Charter of the Foreſts*. By peruſing theſe *Charters*, which the Reader will find at the end of this Reign, one may ſee what the *Oppreſſions* were which the *Engliſh* had been liable to ſince *the Conqueſt*, and what the *Privileges* which they gain'd on this Occaſion. From that time forward theſe two *Charters* have been the Baſis and Foundation of the *Engliſh Liberties*, maugre the Endeavours of *John* himſelf, and ſome of his Succeſſors, to get them annull'd, 1215.

Precautions of the Barons that the Charter might be obſerv'd. Act. Pub. I. 201.

Theſe *Charters* were ſign'd by the King and all the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal* of the Realm, ſeal'd with the *Great Seal*, and confirm'd by the King's *Solemn Oath*. But for the further ſecuring the Performance of them, there were choſen, with the King's Conſent, five and twenty Barons *, to any four of whom, all Perſons might apply, to complain of the Breach of the *Charters*. It was further agreed, that the four Barons, who ſhou'd firſt receive Information of any *Grievance*, ſhou'd acquaint the King with it; and if it was not redreſs'd within forty Days, they ſhou'd give Notice of it to all the Barons, for whom in that Caſe it ſhou'd be lawful to take up Arms and ſeize the King's Caſtles, in order to oblige him to make Reparation for the Wrong done. All Violence, however, to the King's Perſon, the Queen and their Iſſue,

* *Charta Communium Libertatum*, or *Magna Charta*. M. Paris, An. 1215.

1215. Issue, was excepted. But to remove the Scruples People might have about taking up Arms against their Sovereign, the King consented, that all Persons shou'd swear that they wou'd assist the Barons in all Cases relating to the two *Charters*. To all these Concessions, he added *Letters Patents*, directed to all his *Sheriffs*, impowering them to take the Oaths of all his Subjects, that they wou'd punctually observe the two *Charters*, and if it was necessary, wou'd do their utmost to compel the King to do the same *.

Paris. An. 1215.

John *repents the signing of the* Charters. Paris.

One may very well say here, what an Historian said upon the like Occasion, *the King intended not to bind himself with Chains of Parchment*. All the Precautions the Barons had taken to tie up their Sovereign, serv'd only to make him the more eager to find out the Means to disentangle himself from a Yoke which seem'd intolerable. Those that were about him being almost *Foreigners*, help'd to exasperate him the more, by aggravating the Pride and Insolence of the Barons. As they were very sensible that these *Charters*, which set Bounds to the Regal Power, cou'd not but be prejudicial to them, they never ceas'd laying before his Eyes the Injustice he had done himself by signing them. In fine, the Drift of their whole Discourse was to incite him to shake off the Subjection, his Concessions had made him liable to. They met with no great Difficulty to perswade him to this: But the Business was how to bring it about. This unhappy Prince, continnally plagu'd *within* by his own Thoughts, and *without* by the invenom'd Reproaches of his Courtiers, grew so very reserv'd and melancholly, as plainly enough show'd his inward Rage and Anguish.

He endeavours to annul them.

He was perpetually casting in his Mind how to revenge himself: But he knew not where to have *Men* and *Money*, of which he stood in need to compass his Ends. He plainly saw he had no other Course to take but to apply

* By another Agreement, printed in Dr. *Brady*'s *Appendix*, the City of *London* was to remain in the Hands of the Barons mention'd in the Note above, till the 15th of *August* that Year, and that the Archbishop shou'd hold the *Tower* for the same Term.

apply to the Barons themſelves, againſt whom he deſign'd to uſe them. But it was no eaſy Matter to over-reach them, jealous as they were of all his Actions. In fine, after he had turn'd himſelf on every Side, his Rage and Deſpair put him upon the Means of raiſing Troops without having wherewithal to pay them; which was, to ſend ſome of his faithful Confidents * into *France*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, with Orders to promiſe ſuch as wou'd enter into his Service, the confiſcated Eſtates of the *Rebellious* Barons, for ſo he ſtil'd them. He gave theſe Meſſengers likewiſe a Power to make Grants beforehand of the Lands of the *Engliſh* Lords, and to paſs the *Deeds* in Form. By the ſame Methods it was that *William the Conqueror* had formerly drawn together a numerous Army, which render'd him Maſter of *England*. They that had engag'd themſelves in the Service of that Prince came off with Succeſs, and had acquir'd noble Eſtates in the Kingdom; the Conſideration whereof induc'd great Numbers to try the ſame Way, in hopes *John* wou'd procure them the ſame Advantages. At all times, there are but too many People, whoſe Ambition or deſperate Fortunes makes them eager to embrace all Opportunities of inriching themſelves, without troubling themſelves about the Juſtice or Injuſtice of the Side they eſpouſe. 1215. *He raiſes a Troop of Adventurers, by foreign Countries.*

Whilſt his Agents were employ'd in levying Troops, *John* was taking care to ſecure the Court of *Rome*. He knew, by fatal Experience, how much the formidable Power of the Pope was capable of promoting or hindering the Execution of his Deſigns. And therefore he ſent the Pope a Letter (*a*), informing him of the Conſtraint put upon him, though, as he aſſur'd him, he had proteſted that being a *Vaſſal* of the *Holy See*, he cou'd do *He demands the Pope's Aſſiſtance.* Act. Pub. I. 200, 202.

* His Agents were *Walter* Biſhop of *Worceſter* his Chancellor, *John* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Richard de Mariſco*, or *Maris*, who went to the Pope, *William Gernon*, and *Hugh de Boves*.

(*a*) The King's Letter to the Pope concludes with theſe Words: *Pro certo habentes, quod poſt Deum, perſonam veſtram, & auctoritatem, Sedis Apoſtolicæ habemus unicum & ſingulare præſidium, & ſub veſtri Confidentiâ patrocinij, reſpiramus.*

1215. nothing without his Consent. Together with this Letter he sent a Copy of the *Charters* they made him sign, and desir'd the Pope to observe that all the Articles contain'd therein were so many Incroachments upon the Regal Power, and consequently upon the *Sovereign Lord*. This was flattering the Pope in the most sensible Part. For this Reason, he entreated him to absolve him from his Oath, that he might, with a safe Conscience, use his Endeavours to free himself from so heavy a Yoke. After he had taken these Measures, with all the Secrecy possible, fearing that if he shou'd appear too much in Publick his Designs might come to be known or gues's'd at, he pitch'd upon the *Isle of Wight* for his Residence. In this Retirement, he kept himself as it were conceal'd for a good while, holding no Communication with any but Fishermen and Sailors, nor using any Diversions but walking on the Sea-Shore with some of his Domesticks. As soon as it was known that the King was retir'd to the *Isle of Wight*, People were in vain inquisitive about the Cause of his Retreat. Some jok'd and said, he was become a *Fisherman* or *Merchard*, others, that he design'd to turn *Pyrate*. But altho' he was not ignorant of these Scoffs, he never troubled himself about them. During three Months, he waited patiently for the return of his Agents, and the Arrival of the Foreign Troops, which he was put in hopes of.

He retires to the Isle *of* Wight.

Innocent *threatens the Barons.*

He met with no Rubs at the Court of *Rome*, whose Interest it was to support him. *Innocent* fell into a strange Passion with the Barons for having dar'd without consulting him, to cause their King to sign *Charters* of that Nature, and to put a Constraint upon a Prince who had taken upon him the *Cross*, and was under the *Church*'s Protection. In his Rage, he swore [by St. *Peter*] that cost him what it wou'd, he wou'd never suffer their Rashness to go unpunish'd. At the same time he sent them a Letter, enjoining them to renounce what they had extorted from their Sovereign, unless they had a Mind to draw down on their Heads the Indignation of the *Holy See*. But the Barons made light of his Injunctions, and without any Dread of his Thunderings, they seiz'd upon *Rochester*, which

They make light of it, and seize Rochester. Paris.

which Cardinal *Langton* put into their Hands *(b)*. They found there a prodigious Quantity of Proviſions, which the King had laid up againſt he ſhou'd have Occaſion for them. This was apparently the Reaſon of their taking that Place. 1215.

In the mean time, the Pope having annull'd the two *Charters*, and abſolv'd the King from his Oath, *John*'s Affairs began to have a new Face, by the Advice he receiv'd, that his Agents had liſted great Numbers of Adventurers in his Service. Upon this Intelligence, *John* haſtily quitted *the Iſle of Wight*, and went to receive them at *Dover*. In a ſhort time he had the ſatisfaction to ſee vaſt Numbers arrive from *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Normandy*, *Poictou*, *Gaſcoigny*, all Soldiers of Fortune, that had Nothing to loſe, and were ready to venture their Lives to gain an Eſtate. Their Number was ſo conſiderable that one can ſcarce give Credit to the Hiſtorians which mention it. But by an unexpected Accident one of the Leaders, *Hugh de Boves*, who was coming with no leſs than, as it is ſaid, forty thouſand Men, periſh'd in the Sea with all his Troops. If theſe had ſafely arriv'd, there is no queſtion but *John* wou'd have had it in his Power to treat the *Normans* ſettled in *England*, in the ſame Manner as *William the Conqueror* had formerly treated the *Engliſh*. Nevertheleſs, how great ſoever this Loſs might be, there were Troops enough ſtill left to enable him to trample upon the Barons, who little expected ſuch a Turn of Affairs. His firſt Undertaking was the Siege of *Rocheſter*, which, after a long Reſiſtance, ſurrender'd at laſt, notwithſtanding the Endeavors of the Barons to throw in ſome Succours. He was ſo exaſperated, that he wou'd have hang'd up the whole Garriſon, if his Generals had not repreſented to him that he wou'd expoſe his own Troops to the ſame cruel Uſage *. After the taking of

The Pope annuls the Charters, *and abſolves the King from his Oath.* Act. Pub. I. 207. Knyghton.

Great Numbers of Foreign Troops arrive. Paris.

The King retakes Rocheſter,

and ravages the Kingdom.

(b) *Qui, quâ conſcientiâ neſcio, illud Regis inimicis tradidit.* M. Paris.

* *William de Albiney*, whom the Barons had ſent for and made Governor under the Archbiſhop, *William de Lancaſter* and *William de Emesford* and ſome others, were ſent cloſe Priſoners to *Corf-Caſtle*. The ordinary Soldiers, except the *Croſs-bow-Men*, were all hang'd. *M. Paris, An.* 1215.

1215. *Rocheſter*, he divided his Army into two Bodies. He gave the command of one to the Earl of *Salisbury*, to go and ravage the *Southern* Counties, whilſt with the other he march'd into the *Northern* Parts to make them feel the Effects of his Vengeance. Never was *England* in ſo deplorable a Condition. Two Foreign Armies, who had Nothing in View but Plunder, were in her very Bowels, ravaging the Country in a mercileſs Manner. We may eaſily gueſs that they ſpar'd not the Houſes and Lands of the Barons, who, perceiving they were not ſtrong enough to appear in the Field, kept themſelves ſhut up in *London*.

The Pope excommunicats the Barons. Act. Pub. I. 208. Whilſt theſe things were doing, the Pope thunder'd out an *Excommunication* againſt the Barons, and order'd *Pandulph*, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* to enjoin Cardinal *Langton* in his Name, to publiſh the *Bull*. But the Archbiſhop, pretending that the Pope had been impos'd upon, refus'd to comply, till he himſelf had inform'd *his Holineſs* of all Particulars. The true Reaſon was, becauſe he cou'd not reſolve to proceed againſt thoſe whom he himſelf had excited to take up Arms. Upon his Refuſal, the two Commiſſioners publiſh'd the Sentence of *Excommunication* themſelves, and *ſuſpended* the Archbiſhop, purſuant to the Orders they had receiv'd. The Barons not valuing the *Sentence*, on pretence that they were not particularly nam'd in the *Bull*, continued their Endeavours to defend themſelves againſt the King. As for the Cardinal Archbiſhop, he was ſent for to *Rome*, where he was like to be depos'd. But the Pope relenting at the Intreaties of the other Cardinals, was contented with confirming his *Suſpenſion*. Some time after, he took another Opportunity to mortify him, by voiding the Election of *Simon* his Brother, who had been choſen Archbiſhop of *York*, and putting *Walter de Gray* in his Room. But however 'twas not till he had exacted from the Laſt, [for his *Pall*] the Sum of ten thouſand Pound *Sterling* *, for the Occaſions of *the Holy*

Langton refuſes to publiſh the Bull.

He is ſuſpended, and the Bull. publiſh'd.

The Barons value it not.

The Pope is reveng'd of Langton. Paris.

* Hence may be gueſs'd what vaſt Sums of Money the Pope in thoſe days extorted out of *England*, and what great Riches the *Clergy*

Holy See. In fine, after ſeveral Mortifications given him at *Rome*, *Langton*'s Suſpenſion was taken off, upon Condition that he wou'd not return to *England* till the Troubles were over there. 1215.

As ſoon as *Innocent* had been inform'd of the Pretence made uſe of by the Barons, for not ſubmitting to the ſentence of *Excommunication*, he had publiſh'd another *Bull*, wherein he excommunicated them all by Name. Their Lands were put under an *Interdict*, as well as the City of *London*, which had ſided with them. As the Barons had expected this Second *Bull*, they had taken a Reſolution not to regard it, and to prevent its being publiſh'd in *London*. They alledg'd in their Vindication, that the *Bull* was obtain'd by falſe Suggeſtions, and conſequently of no value: that beſides, it was not the Pope's Buſineſs to meddle with Temporal Affairs, ſeeing St. *Peter* had receiv'd from *Chriſt* none but *Spiritual Power:* for which reaſon it was neither Juſt nor Right that *Chriſtians* ſhou'd ſuffer themſelves to be ſway'd by the *Ambition* and *Avarice* of Popes. One wou'd hardly believe that they who talk'd at this Rate, were the ſame Perſons who had refus'd to ſerve the King on account of his being excommunicated, had we not a thouſand Inſtances to convince us how apt Men are to ſquare their Opinions by their Intereſts. In the mean time, the Pope had the Mortification to ſee his Authority trampled upon, without being able to help it, ſince the *People* were againſt him, in which caſe he ever darts his Thunders to no manner of Purpoſe. Whilſt the Barons and Citizens of *London* were thus vigorouſly reſolv'd not to regard the Pope, *John* continued ravaging the Kingdom, and eſpecially the Lands of the confederate Barons. It is no hard Matter to conceive, that the Manner of the *Foreign* Troops putting his Orders in Execution was none of the mildeſt, and that numberleſs Outrages and Cruelties were

The Barons are excommunicated again. Act. Pub. I. 210.

They deſpiſe the Pope's Cenſures. Paris.

John *continues his Ravages.*

Clergy poſſeſs'd, when this Archbiſhop was to pay the Pope as much as wou'd *Now* be equal to 50,000*l.* He is ſaid to be promoted to the *See* of *York*, for not having known Woman.

1215. were committed on this Occasion, which increas'd the Animosity of the Barons against the King *.

The Barons make an Offer of the Crown to Prince Lewis *of* France. Paris. Mezeray.

In the mean time, the *confederate* Barons were in a deplorable Condition. Instead of regaining their *Privileges*, they beheld their Estates plunder'd and given to *Foreigners*, whilst the King was glutting himself with the Pleasure of Revenge. Their wretched State put them at length upon taking a desperate Course, which made them run the Risk of their own and the Kingdom's Ruin, in order to have the satisfaction of being reveng'd on the King, tho' at the Expence of the poor *People*. They sent word to the King of *France* *1, that, if he wou'd send over Prince *Lewis* his Son, they promis'd to set the Crown of *England* on his Head, provided he brought Forces enough with him to free them from the Tyranny of King *John*. *Philip* wanted not much solliciting to accept of the Offer the Barons made him. He had once before had thoughts of conquering *England*, and if the Loss of his Fleet, much more than the Threats of the Pope, had made him desist from his Enterprize, he had still for all that a longing Desire to bring it about, in case a good Opportunity shou'd offer. And as this which the Rupture between *John* and the Barons furnish'd him with, seem'd a very favorable one, he laid hold of it without a Moment's Consideration. He only desir'd that the Barons wou'd give 25 Hostages for the Performance of their Word, to which they readily consented. Upon the Arrival of the Hostages at *Paris*, Prince *Lewis*, who was then in *Languedoc* warring against the *Albigenses*, came to the King his Father in order to prepare for this important Expedition. He immediately sent over some Troops to the Barons *2, with Assurances that he wou'd

Philip *promises to assist them.*

* *Roger de Wendover*, (who was then alive) as well as *Radulph* of *Coggeshal*, has given us a particular Account of the Barbarities committed by King *John*'s *Mercenaries*, whom he calls, *The Guards of Satan and Ministers of the Devil.*

*1 By *Saher* Earl of *Winchester*, and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, who carried Letters seal'd with the *Baron*'s *Seal.*

*2 Under the Command of the *Castellan* of St. *Omars*, *Hugh Chacun*, *Eustace de Neville*, *Giles de Melun* and others, who came up

wou'd ſoon follow in Perſon with a much greater Number of Forces. 1215.

The Preparations that were making in *France*, coming to the Ears of the Pope, he diſpatch'd thither one *Gallo*, as his *Legate*, to try to put a Stop to them. The *Legate* having an Audience of the King, forbad him in the Pope's Name to carry his Arms into *England*, as being Part of St. *Peter's Patrimony*, and threatned all Perſons whatſoever with *Excommunication* that ſhou'd, directly or indirectly, give any Aſſiſtance to the *Engliſh* Barons. *Philip*, without being concern'd at theſe Menaces, replied, *that* the Claim to *England*, as the *Patrimony* of St. *Peter*, was built upon a falſe Foundation; *That* it was evident, King *John* had not the Power to ſubject his Kingdom, by a bare Act of his Will, without the Conſent of the *States*; *That* an *Act* of ſuch a Nature was beyond what any King cou'd pretend to, and *that* the Maxims which the Pope had a Mind to introduce were too pernicious to all *Civil States* to be receiv'd *. The Perſon that ſaid this, was however the ſame *Philip*, who, three Years before, by the Pope's ſole Authority, thought he might juſtly ſeize upon *England*: The which is a clear Evidence that the Exorbitant Power which the Pope claim'd, was not ſubmitted to from a *Religious* Principle, but purely from the Motive of Intereſt or Fear. 'Twas thus that the Court of *Rome* met on ſome certain Occaſions with Mortifications which ſhe was willing to diſſemble, whilſt at other times ſhe made the beſt of her Authority, with extraordinary Pride and Haughtineſs. 1216.

Great Preparations in France Paris.

The Pope forbids Philip *to waragainſt* England.

Philip's *Anſwer*. Mezeray.

The

up the *Thames* to *London* on the 27th of *February*. Some of the *Engliſh* Barons holding a Tournament with theſe *French* Noblemen, one of them mortally wounded *Geoffrey de Mandeville* Earl of *Eſſex*, to the great Grief of his Party. *M. Paris.*

* *Matthew Paris* ſays, that all the *Great-Men* of *France* unanimouſly declared, that they wou'd maintain this Point even to Death, *That no King or Prince by his ſingle Authority had power to give away, or make over his Kingdom, and thereby enſlave his Nobility.* Theſe things were tranſacted at *Lyons*, about 15 days after *Eaſter*.

1216. Lewis *arrives in* England; The Pope's Prohibition not being able to put a Stop to Proceedings, *Lewis* was quickly in a Readineſs to ſail for *England* with a Fleet of 700 Ships. In the mean time *John*, who went to *Dover* upon the firſt News of the Deſign of the *French*, not thinking himſelf in a condition to hinder their Deſcent, was retir'd to *Wincheſter*. So that *Lewis* finding no Oppoſition, landed his Troops at *Sandwich* without any Moleſtation. After which he march'd againſt *Rocheſter*, where he met with little or no Reſiſtance. The taking of that City drew after it the whole County of *Kent*, except *Dover-Caſtle*, where *John* had left a ſtrong Garriſon with a brave and faithful Governor *.

and takes Rocheſter.

The Abbot of St. Auguſtin's *excommunicates* Lewis. In the mean time, the Pope had ſent *Gallo* his *Legate* Orders to repair into *England*, and ſolemnly publiſh the *Bull* of Excommunication againſt the Barons. At the ſame time, he had commiſſion'd the Abbot of St. *Auguſtin*'s, to pronounce Prince *Lewis* excommunicated the Moment he ſhou'd ſet foot in *England*. *Lewis* endeavour'd to avert this Blow, by repreſenting to the Abbot, in a Letter *1, his Right to the Crown of *England*. Among other Reaſons, he alledges, that *John* having mounted the Throne only by virtue of the Conſent of the Barons, the ſame Authority might depoſe him and put another in his Place *2. The Abbot not being prevail'd upon by his Arguments, pronounc'd Prince *Lewis* and his Adherents excommunicated, purſuant to the Pope's expreſs Orders. But this did not prevent the Prince from proſecuting his Enterprize. As ſoon as he became Maſter of *Rocheſter*, he march'd on to *London*, where the Barons and Citizens took the Oath of *Allegiance* to him, after he had ſolemnly ſworn that he wou'd reſtore to all their loſt *Inheritances*, and to the Nation their *antient Privileges*. We don't find any where in the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians that this Prince was crown'd. It is however certain that he acted as King, and manag'd every thing

The Barons ſwear Fealty to Lewis.

* *Hubert de Burgh.*

*1 This Letter is ſtill extant in *Thorn*'s Hiſtory of that Abby.

*2 Alluding to Archbiſhop *Hubert*'s Speech at his Coronation.

thing relating to the Government as if he had been lawfully inveſted with the Royal Authority *. He made *Simon Langton* High Chancellor, who being incens'd againſt the Pope, had perſwaded the Barons and Citizens of *London* to deſpiſe the Popes *Cenſures*, and notwithſtanding the *Interdict*, to be preſent at *Divine Service*, which was celebrated as uſual. *Lewis*, for his Part, was eaſily brought to conſent to what was ſo agreeable to his Intentions. When he had reſolv'd upon this Undertaking, he plainly foreſaw he ſhou'd meet with Obſtacles from the Pope, and therefore had determin'd beforehand not to value his *Cenſures*. He did no more in this than what the King his Father and the Biſhops of *France* had done before him, who had *appeal'd* to the Pope when better inform'd, from the Sentence of *Interdict* pronounc'd upon the whole Kingdom *'. *Appeals* to a future *General Council* were not as yet much in faſhion, neither was the commodious *Diſtinction* between the Holy See and the *Perſon* of the Pope yet ſet abroach. 1216.

He makes Simon Langton *Chancellor*

The Number of *Lewis*'s Friends daily increaſing, as he continued his Progreſs, he quickly became Maſter of the *Southern* Counties. After which he march'd towards *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, both which likewiſe ſubmitted to him. He met with no Reſiſtance but from *William de Colingham*, who having got together a thouſand *Archers*, kept always cloſe by the ſide of the Prince's Army, and never ſpar'd ſuch of the *French* as went out to plunder.

Lewis *makes great Progreſs.* Paris.

* He ſummon'd on the 14th of *June* the King of *Scotland* and all the Great Men of *England* to do him Homage, or forthwith to depart the Nation. Upon this his *Proclamation* came in to him, *William* Earl *Warren*, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, the King's baſe Brother, *William Marſhal* the Younger, and many others. *M. Paris.*

*' Pope *Boniface* VIII. upon a Quarrel with *Philip*, *excommunicated* him, and abſolv'd his Subjects from their Allegiance, which ſo incens'd him, that he got the Pope condemn'd in a Synod for *Simony*, *Murder*, *Atheiſm*, *Adultery*, &c. And his *Bull*, wherein he aſſerted that he was *Supream Lord* in *Temporals*, was burnt by the *Parliament* of *Paris*, and by the *States* of *France*, who declar'd againſt the *Papal* Uſurpations.

1216. Shortly after, *Lewis*'s Party in the *North* took the City of *York*, and sent for him to come into those Parts in order to finish the Conquest of all the Country beyond the *Humber*. But whilst he was making ready for that Expedition, he receiv'd a Letter from the King his Father, reproving him for having left behind him the Castles of *Dover* and *Windsor*, which were of greater moment than the *Northern* Counties. Upon this he march'd back in order to besiege *Dover*, whilst the *English* Barons, with their own Troops, went and invested *Windsor*. At the same time, *Alexander* I. King of *Scotland*, pursuant to *Lewis*'s Summons, came and did him Homage in Person, for the Lands he held of the Crown of *England*: Which done, *Lewis* and the *English* Barons promis'd him with an Oath that they wou'd never make Peace without his Knowledge. But this Promise was afterwards but ill kept. A little after, *John* had the mortification to see himself deserted by the *Flemish* and *Poictevin* Troops, whom *Lewis* had found the Means to entice away from his Service.

He besieges Dover, *and the Barons* Windsor.

The Scotch *King does him Homage.*

Whilst these Things were transacting in *England*, the Ambassadors *Lewis* had sent to *Rome*, were trying, by all manner of Means, to vindicate their Master's Claim to the Crown of *England*. They founded his Right chiefly upon his Marriage with *Blanch* of *Castile*, pretending that *John* having been lawfully depos'd by the Barons, the Crown was devolv'd to *Blanch* his Niece. As the large Account which an Historian * has given of the Conference the Ambassadors had with *Innocent*, may be of Service in clearing up this Matter, it will not be amiss to relate some of the Particulars. The Pope objected to the Ambassadors, that supposing *John* was lawfully depos'd, his Children ought not to be involv'd in the same Misfortune. But granting that his Children, young as they were, had been Partakers of their Father's Crimes,

Lewis *defends his Claim to* England *before the Pope.*

The Objections and Replies.

Eleanor

* *Matthew Paris*, An. 1216. hath set forth at large the Reasons presented to the Pope on *Lewis*'s Behalf, with the Pope's Replies, which contain not only the clear State of this Controversy, but also many curious Points in the *Feudal* Law of that Age.

Eleanor of *Bretaign*[*2], who was ſtill alive, had the Precedence of all others. In fine, that the Emperor *Otho*, Son of *Henry* II's eldeſt Daughter, ought manifeſtly to ſucceed before *Blanch* of *Caſtile*, who was born of the youngeſt. The Ambaſſadors replied, that *Eleanor*'s Father and *Otho*'s Mother being both dead, there was no room for *Repreſentation*, but the Mother of *Blanch* being ſtill living, her Daughter might in Reaſon and Juſtice *repreſent* her. But, anſwer'd the Pope, why ſhou'd *Blanch* have the Preference of the King of *Caſtile* her Brother, and of the Queen of *Leon* her *eldeſt* Siſter? This was a home Queſtion: But however, as the Buſineſs was not on this Occaſion, ſo much to give good Reaſons, as to alledge ſome one whether good or bad, in order to afford a ſort of Satisfaction to the Pope, the Ambaſſadors were not at a loſs for an Anſwer. They affirm'd, that when there were ſeveral Heirs, and the next of Kin did not appear and put in his Claim, a more diſtant Relation might take Poſſeſſion of the Inheritance, *ſaving to the other his Right*: That this was the Foundation their Maſter went upon; and therefore if afterwards a nearer than he ſhou'd put in his Claim to *England*, he ſhou'd be always ready to give him reaſonable Satisfaction. *Innocent* was fain to reſt ſatisfied with this Reply which was made, not ſo much to prove the Juſtice of *Lewis*'s Title, as to ſhow a Deference to the Pope in debating the Matter before him. Whatever his Deciſion might be, *Lewis* had reſolv'd to go on with his pretended Right, which he built much leſs upon *Equity* than *Force*. 1216.

The *French* and *Engliſh* Troops being employ'd in the Siege of *Dover* and *Windſor*, *John*, who till then had perceiv'd that he was not ſtrong enough to venture to take the Field, found himſelf in a Condition to leave *Wincheſter* and march into *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, where he committed great Ravages. But upon Intelligence that the Barons had rais'd the Siege of *Windſor*, with deſign to come and give him Battle, he retir'd to an advantagi- John *ravages* Norfolk *and* Suffolk. Paris.

[*2] *Arthur*'s Siſter, in Confinement in *Briſtol-Caſtle*.

1216. ous Poſt near *Stamford*, where it wou'd be difficult to attack him. He took care not to hazard a Battle, apprehenſive as he was, that the Officers of his Army, the greateſt part whereof were Subjects to the King of *France*, wou'd make their Peace with *Lewis* by ſome notable piece of Treachery. He was further induc'd to avoid coming to a Battle, by the Advantages he expected from prolonging the War. He believ'd he had reaſon to hope, that the *Engliſh* wou'd quickly grow weary of the *French*, who began already to take very much upon them, and never troubled themſelves to conform to their Temper and Ways. It was not without Grounds that he flatter'd himſelf with theſe Hopes. The Barons cou'd not behold without extreme Regret, all Rewards conferr'd upon Foreigners, and their own *Inheritances* beſtow'd on the Favorites of the Prince whom they had invited over, as if the *Engliſh* had no manner of Right to the Conqueſts which were made. But all this wou'd not perhaps have been ſufficient to engage them to take other Meaſures, if what they learnt from the Mouth of the Viſcount of *Melun*, one of *Lewis*'s prime Confidents, had not as it were compell'd them to look to themſelves. If we may believe certain Hiſtorians, this Nobleman being ſeiz'd by a mortal Diſtemper at *London*, caus'd ſuch of the Barons as were poſted there for the Security of the City, to be ſent for. When they came where he was, he told them, that he cou'd not forbear diſcovering a *Secret* to them, which lay heavy upon his Conſcience, and which, if it was any longer conceal'd from the *Engliſh*, wou'd infallibly hurry them to utter Deſtruction. Then he acquainted them, that the Prince had reſolv'd to rid himſelf, either by Baniſhment or otherwiſe, of all the Barons that had taken up Arms againſt King *John*, deeming them *Traytors to their King and Country*. He added, that this Reſolution was taken at a Council of ſixteen *French* Lords, of whom he himſelf was one, and that the Prince had confirm'd it with an Oath. He declar'd, upon the Word of a dying Man, what he had told them was true, and that they had the leſs Reaſon to queſtion it, as he was juſt upon the Point

A Secret diſcover'd by the Viſcount of Melun. Knyghton. Paris.

Point of going to render an Account of his Actions before God. The *French* Hiſtorians look upon this *Secret* as all a Fiction. It muſt be confeſt indeed, that it is no eaſy Matter to conceive the Reaſon that ſhou'd induce Prince *Lewis* to make ſuch an Oath beforehand, in the preſence of ſixteen Witneſſes, ſuppoſing he had intended to inſinuate to them by it, that this wou'd be a Means amply to reward their Services. For it wou'd have been very imprudently done to reveal ſo long beforehand ſo black a Deſign. However, whether the Thing was fact, or whether it was invented to ſow Diſcord between the *French* and *Engliſh*, this pretended *Secret* being whiſper'd about, made a very deep Impreſſion on the Minds of the Barons. It had the greater Effect upon them, as it agreed with the Suſpicions the Barons had already conceiv'd againſt the *French*. From thence forward many began to repent of having call'd in the *Foreigners*, and ſeriouſly to think of returning to the Obedience of their Sovereign. Accordingly no leſs than forty privately gave the King Aſſurances of their good Intentions: But the reſt durſt not venture to truſt a Prince, whom they had offended ſo grievouſly, and with whoſe cruel and revengeful Temper they were too well acquainted. 1216.

Remark on this Secret.

Several Barons think of returning to the King.

In the mean time that unhappy Prince was in perpetual Motion, not knowing whom to truſt, being ſuſpicious of his own Friends. For which Reaſon he carefully avoided coming to a Battle, and inceſſantly march'd from Place to Place, in order to break the Meaſures of his Enemies. He look'd upon himſelf as ſafeſt in the County of *Norfolk*, where he pitch'd upon the little Town of *Lynn* as a Place of Security for his Treaſures, his Crown, Sceptre, and other Things of value. This Town had given him ſuch Proofs of Affection and Loyalty, that as a Mark of his Gratitude he granted it great *Privileges*. Among other Things, he made it a *Mayor-Town*, and preſented the firſt *Mayor* with his own Sword, which is ſtill carefully kept there. However, as he found himſelf preſs'd by the Barons, and fearing that his Treaſures were not ſafe at *Lynn*, he reſolv'd to remove them to a certain Place in *Lincoln*,

John *carries his Crown to* Lynn.

He grants that Town great Privileges.

He retires into Lincolnſhire.

1216. *Lincoln*, whither he intended to retire. He very narrowly escap'd drowning he and his whole Army in the large Morass * which parts the two Counties of *Lincoln* and *Norfolk*. Before he was got quite over, the *Tide* coming up the River *Well-stream*, which overflows the Marshland at *High Water*, put him in extream Danger. But if he escap'd himself, he cou'd not save his Baggage, which was all swallow'd up by the Waters. He arriv'd that Night at *Swines-head Alley*, where he took up his Lodging. His anguish of Mind for his Loss, which was irretrievable in the Circumstances he was in, threw him into a violent Fever, which was much heightned by his inconsiderately eating some Peaches. On the Morrow, not being able to ride on Horseback, he was carried in a Litter to *Sleford-Castle*, from whence, the next Day, he went to *Newark*. Here it was that finding his Illness encrease, he made his *Will*, wherein he appointed *Henry* his eldest Son, then but ten Years of Age, his Heir. He wholly spent, in the Care of his Soul, the remaining Time of his Sickness, which put an end to his Days on the 28th of *October* 1216, in the 51st Year of his Age, after an unhappy Reign of 17 Years, 7 Months, and 10 Days. His Body was carried to *Worcester* according to his own Order, and buried with little Funeral Pomp in the *Cathedral*, where his Tomb [with his Image upon it] is still to be seeen. Some will have it that he was poison'd by a Monk of *Swines-head-Alley*; but that is very unlikely, since none of the Cotemporary Historians say a Word of it *'.

He loses all his Baggage and falls Sick.

He makes his Will, *and dies at* Newark.

If

* The *Washes* between a Place call'd the *Cross-Keys* in *Norfolk*, and *Forsdike* in *Holland* in *Lincolnshire*.

*' *Caxton* is the first that mentions it in *English*, from whom *Speed* and *Baker* have borrow'd it. He says, that the King hearing it said how cheap Corn then was, answer'd, *He wou'd e're long make it so dear that a Penny Loaf shou'd be sold for a Shilling*. At which a Monk there present took such Indignation, that he went and put the Poyson of a *Toad* into a Cup of Wine, and came and drank to the King, which made him pledge him the more readily. But finding himself very much out of order upon it, he ask'd for the Monk, and when it was told him he was dead,

God

If in giving the Character of this Prince I ſhou'd copy after *Matthew Paris*, his chief Hiſtorian, I muſt repreſent him as one of the vileſt Wretches that ever liv'd. But, as I have elſewhere obſerv'd, the Hiſtories of Princes, who have had any Conteſts with the Court of *Rome*, muſt be read with a great deal of Caution. The beſt way therefore will be, not to regard the particular Sentiments and Expreſſions of Hiſtorians, but ſolely to examine the Actions of this Monarch, in order to come at the knowledge of his Temper and Inclinations. It is certain, one can't but have a very diſadvantagious *Idea* of him, when one conſiders his unjuſt Proceedings, with regard to *Richard* his Brother; the Death of Prince *Arthur* his Nephew, of which he never clear'd himſelf thoroughly; the perpetual Impriſonment of *Eleanor* of *Bretaign* his Niece; his divorcing *Aviſa* of *Gloceſter*; his extreme Indolence, when *Philip Auguſtus* was taking from him his Dominions in *France*; the Meanneſs he ſhow'd in reſigning his Crown to the Pope; his Breach of Faith with his Barons; and laſtly, his bringing into the Kingdom an Army of *foreign* Mercenaries, in order to be reveng'd of his Subjects. However, if one had a mind to undertake his Vindication in moſt of theſe Articles, it wou'd not perhaps be ſo difficult a Task as it ſeems to be at firſt Bluſh. But without medling with a Subject, which wou'd lead me too far, I ſhall content my ſelf with ſaying of this Prince, what I elſewhere ſaid of *William Rufus*: That finding in King *John* ſcarce any one valuable Qualification, it is not worth

1216. *The Character of King* John.

God have Mercy upon me (ſays the King) *I doubted as much.* But it is a very improbable Story for a Man to poyſon himſelf to be reveng'd of another. But *Walter Hemingford* tells it a different way; he ſays, the Abbot perſwaded the Monk to poyſon the King, becauſe he wou'd have lain with his Siſter; and that he did it by a Diſh of Pears which he poiſon'd all but three, and then preſenting them to the King, he bid him taſte them himſelf, which he did, eating only the three that he had mark'd; and ſo eſcap'd, whilſt the King was poyſon'd with the reſt. From *Hemingford*, *Higden* and *Knyghton* copied this Story, which is not mention'd by any Hiſtorian that liv'd within ſixty Years of that Time.

1216. worth the while to stay to justify some particular Actions of his, though it evidently appears, that the Writers of his Life have drawn him in blacker Colours than he deserv'd. This Prince had great Faults, which wou'd have been less visible, or less heighten'd by Historians, had he been Cotemporary with a *King* of *France* of less Abilities and Ambition, with a *Pope* of less Pride and more Conscience, and with a *Nobility* of a less turbulent Spirit. As for the Taxes, which he rais'd without the Consent of the *States*, it may be said, that was no very unusual thing ever since *William the Conqueror*, as the Reader may have observ'd in some of the former Reigns. And yet this is what several *modern* Historians bitterly exclaim against, as if in those Days *England* enjoy'd the very same Privileges it does at present. It is easy to see that Matters were *then* upon a different Foot, when one considers, there is a necessity of going back to the time of the *Saxon* Kings, in order to come at the Foundation of the *English Rights* and *Privileges*.

King *John*'s Fortune never squar'd with his Temper. He was a lover of Ease and Quiet, and his Fate was to be perpetually in Action. He was cut out neither for *Prosperity* nor *Adversity*. The former made him too Insolent, and the latter dejected him to a very strange Degree. So that a middle Fortune wou'd doubtless have been most suitable to his *Genius*.

He is accus'd of having exceeded his Father *Henry* II. in his Lust, a failing which one seldom thinks of aggravating in Princes, unless one has a settled Design to cry them down, for other Reasons. It can't be denied, but that the Monks have endeavour'd to paint King *John* in the blackest Colours, in order to make the Proceedings of the Pope against him pass the more smoothly down. This is evident from the Calumny they wou'd fain have cast on his Memory, of sending Ambassadors to the *Miramolin* of *Africa*, to make him an Offer of his Kingdom, with a Promise to embrace the *Mahometan* Religion, the which has no appearance of likelihood. However, as unlikely as this Charge is, there are modern Historians who make no scru-

Paris.

ple

ple to vent it for Truth, purely upon a Belief that *Matthew Paris* *, who wrote in the Reign of *Henry* III. Son of *John*, wou'd not have dar'd to relate it, if it had not been well grounded. But this Argument ſeems of little Force, ſeeing this Hiſtorian has ventur'd to ſpeak in very diſreſpectful Terms of *Henry* III. himſelf, without any Dread of his Reſentment, of which perhaps he was out of the reach when he wrote. Add to this, that in thoſe Days, Books were not immediately diſpers'd abroad, but remain'd many Times a long while conceal'd in the Monaſteries, before they became *Publick*. 1216.

John was always unfortunate, and if we may believe the Hiſtorians, always hated by his Subjects. One is at a loſs however to reconcile this conſtant Hatred of the *Engliſh*, with the great Eaſe wherewith he levied *Armies* when he wanted them, and even whilſt he was under the Sentence of *Excommunication*. We muſt therefore diſtinguiſh two *Periods* in this Prince's Reign. The firſt takes in the time from his Coronation, to his Reſignation of the Crown to the Pope. During this Interval, if he was in no great Eſteem, at leaſt it does not appear that he was ſo odious as his ill Conduct afterwards render'd him. The ſecond Period begins at his Reſignation, and ends with his Life. It can't be denied but that during this time, his Subjects had a mortal Hatred againſt him. And yet if one conſiders his *Government*, ſeparately from his Perſonal Qualities, one may ſay, it was none of the worſt. To him was owing chiefly the regulating of the *Civil* Government of the City of *London*, and of moſt of the o-

* He not only gives the Names of the Ambaſſadors, (*viz.*) *Thomas Hardington*, and *Ralph Fitz-Nicholas*, Knights, with *Robert* of *London*, a Prieſt, but alſo deſcribes at large the Manner of the *Audience*, and their Converſation with the *Black King*, and how he deſpis'd the King their Maſter for his Meanneſs of Spirit, and diſmiſs'd them with Contempt It is likewiſe reported of King *John*, that he ſhou'd ſay ſome time after he had made his Peace with *Innocent*, *That nothing had proſper'd with him ſince he was reconcil'd to God and the Pope.* Again, having been a hunting, at the opening of the *Buck* 'tis affirm'd he ſhou'd ſay, *See how fat that Deer is, and yet I dare ſwear he never heard Maſs.*

1216. ther Cities of the Kingdom, in the Manner it is in at present. According to *Cambden* and ſome others, *John* was the firſt that coin'd *Sterling* Money. The Ceremonies obſerv'd at the *Inſtalment* of an *Earl*, had him for their Author. In fine, he eſtabliſh'd the Laws of *England* in *Ireland*, and gave the *Cinque-Ports* the Privileges they enjoy at this Day.

His Wives and Iſſue. *John* had no Iſſue by his two firſt Wives. *Iſabella* of *Angouleme* his third Wife, brought him two Sons and three Daughters. *Henry* ſucceeded him. *Richard* was Earl of *Cornwal*, and afterwards choſen King of the *Romans*. Of his three Daughters, *Joanna* was married to *Alexander* II. King of *Scotland*, *Eleanor* eſpous'd firſt *William Marſhal* Earl of *Pembroke*, and after his Death, *Simon de Monfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*. The Emperor *Frederick* II. married the third, whoſe Name was *Iſabella*.

Remarkable Events Abroad. The moſt remarkable Events *Abroad* during this Reign, were the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the Arms of the *French* and *Venetians* in 1204, and the *Cruſade* againſt the *Albigenſes* *, which gave Birth to the *Inquiſition* *†.

* About the Year 1160. one *Waldo* a Merchant of *Lions*, applying himſelf to the Study of the *Scriptures*, and finding there were no Grounds there for ſeveral of the *Romiſh* Doctrines, particularly *Tranſubſtantiation*, publickly oppos'd them. His Followers, from him call'd *Waldenſes*, being chas'd from *Lions*, ſpread over *Dauphine* and *Provence*. Upon which *Philip Auguſtus* is ſaid in order to ſtop their Growth. to have raz'd 300 Gentlemen's Seats, and deſtroy'd ſeveral Wall-Towns. But this inſtead of decreaſing their Numbers, made them overſpread a great Part of *Europe*, and multiply ſo faſt, that in leſs than 100 Years after *Waldo*, in the ſmall Biſhoprick of *Paſſau* alone, there were above 80,000. It appears from the Articles of their Faith, which they drew up and dedicated to the King of *France*, that they agreed in moſt Points with the preſent *Proteſtants*. In 1200 thoſe People in the Province of *Albigeois* in *Languedoc*, from whence they were call'd *Albigenſes*, ſtood upon their Defence. Upon which, *Philip Auguſtus* warring againſt them, drove them into *Bohemia* and *Savoy*, and ſeveral fled into *England*. The *Cruſade* againſt them is ſaid to conſiſt of 500,000 Men, who wore their *Croſſes* on their Breaſts, in order to diſtinguiſh themſelves from thoſe that went to the *Holy Land*, who wore them on their Shoulders.

*† Pope *Gregory* IX. was the firſt that ſet on Foot this *horrid Tribunal*,

Tribunal, and eſtabliſh'd it at *Tholouſe*, where it was ſoon pull'd down for its Cruelties. *Italy* and *Spain* embrac'd it, but *Charles* V. endeavouring to ſet it up in the *Low Countries*, loſt thoſe Provinces by it. This Court is in the Hands of the *Dominicans*, and takes Cognizance of *Hereſy*, *Judaiſm*, &c. The Delinquents are impriſon'd in Dungeons, and never ſee the Light till they accuſe themſelves and their Accomplices, for they never know or are confronted with their Accuſers. The *Congregation of the Inquiſition* was eſtabliſh'd by *Paul* III. and confirm'd by *Sixtus* V. It conſiſts of twelve *Cardinals*, and abundance of *Prelates* and *Divines*. The Cardinals are *Inquiſitors General*, and depute Subſtitutes in the Provinces.

THE CHARTER *of* LIBERTIES, OR, THE GREAT CHARTER *Granted by King* JOHN *to his Subjects in the Year* 1215 *[1].

JOHN, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, Duke of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, and Earl of *Anjou*: To all *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Abbots*, *Priors*, *Earls*, *Barons*, *Sheriffs*, *Officers*, and to all *Bailiffs* and other his faithful Subjects, *Greeting*.

The GREAT CHARTER.

KNOW ye, that we, in the Preſence of God, and for the Health of our Soul, and the Souls of our Anceſtors and

*1 As 'tis to be found in *Matthew Paris*, p. 255, and divided into Chapters. As I ſhall compare it with the *Latin Original* and Dr. *Brady*'s Tranſlation, I ſhall add what *Rapin* has omitted, and accordingly have inſerted in the Preamble, the King's Titles, and the Names of the Earls and Barons as they ſtand in *M. Paris*, which our Author had left out.

and Heirs, and to the Honour of God, and the Exaltation of *Holy Church*, and Amendment of our Kingdom, by Advice of our venerable Fathers, *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Cardinal of the Holy *Roman* Church; *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *William* Biſhop of *London*, *Peter* of *Wincheſter*, *Jocelin* of *Bath* and *Glaſtonbury*, *Hugh* of *Lincoln*, *Walter* of *Worceſter*, *William* of *Coventry*, *Benedict* of *Rocheſter*, Biſhops; and Maſter *Pandulph* the Pope's Sub-Deacon and antient Servant, Brother to *Aymerick* Maſter of the *Temple* in *England*, and the Noble Perſons *William* the *Marſhal* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *Alan de Galoway*, Conſtable of *Scotland*, *Warin Fitz-Gerald*, *Peter Fitz-Herbert*, and *Hugo de Burgh*, Seneſchal of *Poictou*, *Hugo de Nevil*, *Matthew Fitz-Herbert*, *Thomas Baſſet*, *Alan Baſſet*, *Philip de Albiney*, *Robert de Roppele*, *John Marſhal*, *John Fitz-Hugh*, and others our *Liegemen*, have in the firſt Place granted to God, and by this our preſent *Charter* confirm'd for us and our Heirs for ever.

I.

That the *Church* of *England* ſhall be free, and enjoy her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable. [* And we will have them ſo to be obſerv'd, that it may appear that the Freedom of Elections, which was reckon'd moſt neceſſary for the *Church* of *England*, and which we granted and confirm'd by our *Charter*, and obtain'd the Confirmation of from Pope *Innocent* the *Third*, before the Diſcord between Us and our Barons, was of our meer free Will; which Charter we ſhall obſerve, and do will it to be faithfully obſerv'd by our Heirs for ever.]

II.

We have alſo granted to all the Freemen of our Kingdom, for Us and our Heirs for ever, all the under-written *Liberties*,

* Whatſoever is inſerted between theſe two Marks [ ] are ſuch *Clauſes* as were omitted in the *Magna Charter* of *Henry* III. and all the *Charters* that follow'd.

Liberties, to have and to hold to them and their Heirs of Us and of our Heirs.

III.

If any of our Earls *, or Barons, or others, who hold of Us in *Chief* by military Service, ſhall die, and at the time of his Death his Heir ſhall be of *full Age*, and owe a *Relief*, he ſhall have his Inheritance by the antient *Relief* *'; that is to ſay, the Heir or Heirs of an Earl, for a whole Earl's Barony, by an hundred Pounds; the Heir or Heirs of a Baron, for a whole Barony, by an hundred Marks; the Heir or Heirs of a Knight, for a whole Knight's *Fee*, by an hundred Shillings; and he that oweth leſs ſhall give leſs, according to the antient Cuſtom of *Fees*.

IV.

But if the Heir of any ſuch ſhall be *under Age*, and ſhall be in *Ward*, his Lord ſhall not have the *Wardſhip* of him, nor his Land, before he hath received his Homage; and after ſuch Heir ſhall be in *Ward*, and ſhall attain to the Age of One and Twenty Years, he ſhall have his Inheritance without *Relief* or without *Fine*: Yet ſo, that if he be made a *Knight* while he is under Age, nevertheleſs the Land ſhall remain in the Cuſtody of the Lord, until the aforeſaid Time.

V.

The Warden of the Land of ſuch Heir, who ſhall be under Age, ſhall take of the Land of ſuch Heir, only reaſonable Iſſues, reaſonable Cuſtoms, and reaſonable Services; and that without Deſtruction and Waſte of the Men or Things upon the Eſtate: And if we ſhall commit the Guardianſhip of thoſe Lands to the Sheriff, or any

* There was never a *Duke*, *Marqueſs*, or *Viſcount* then in *England*. The firſt *Duke* was *Edward* the *Black Prince*, who was created *Duke of Cornwal*, in 11 *Edw.* III. *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford* was created *Marqueſs of Dublin*, in 8 *Rich.* II. The firſt Viſcount on Record, and that ſat in Parliament by that Name, was *John* Viſcount *Beaumont*, created 18 *Henry* VI.

*' The antient *Relief* (from the *Latin* Word *Relevare*, *to eaſe by Abatement*, or *to take up again*) was the fourth Part of the yearly Value.

ny other, who is anſwerable to us for the Iſſues of the Land; and if he ſhall make Deſtruction and Waſte upon the *Ward-Lands*, we will compel him to give Satisfaction, and the Land ſhall be committed to two lawful and diſcreet *Tenants* of that *Fee*, who in like Manner ſhall be anſwerable for the Iſſues to Us or to Him whom we ſhall aſſign, as hath been ſaid.

VI.

But the *Warden*, ſo long as he ſhall have the Wardſhip of the Land, ſhall keep up and maintain the Houſes, Parks, Warrens, Ponds, Mills, and other things pertaining to the Land, out of the Iſſues of the ſame Land; and ſhall reſtore to the Heir, when he comes of full Age, his whole Land ſtock'd with Ploughs, and all other Things, at leaſt, whatever he receiv'd. And all theſe things ſhall be obſerv'd in the *Cuſtodies* of vacant Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, Abbies, Priories, Churches, and Dignities which appertain to us; except that theſe *Wardſhips* are not to be ſold.

VII.

Heirs ſhall be married without Diſparagement *; [ſo that before Matrimony ſhall be contracted, thoſe who are neareſt to the Heir in Blood ſhall be made acquainted with it.]

VIII.

A Widow, after the Death of her Husband, ſhall forthwith and without any Difficulty, have her *Marriage* *†, and her Inheritance; nor ſhall ſhe give any thing for her *Dower*, or her *Marriage*, or her Inheritance, which her Husband and ſhe held at the Day of his Death: And ſhe may remain in the *Capital Meſſuage* or *Manſion-Houſe* of her Husband, forty Days after his Death; within which Term her *Dower* ſhall be aſſign'd, if it was not aſſign'd before, or unleſs the Houſe ſhall be a Caſtle; and if ſhe departs from the Caſtle, there ſhall forthwith be provided

* That is, according to their Rank, &c.

*† *Maritagium*, that is, ſhall have Liberty to marry where ſhe will.

provided for her a compleat Houſe, in which ſhe may decently dwell, till her *Dower* be to her aſſign'd, as hath been ſaid; and ſhe ſhall in the mean time have her reaſonable *Eſtover*, (i. e. *competent Maintenance*) out of the *Common* [*Revenue*]. And there ſhall be aſſign'd to her for her *Dower*, the third Part of all her Husband's Lands, which were his in his Life-time, except ſhe were endow'd with leſs at the Church-Door.

IX.

No Widow ſhall be *deſtein'd* * to marry herſelf ſo long as ſhe has a mind to live without a Husband. But yet ſhe ſhall give Security that ſhe will not marry without our Aſſent, if ſhe *holds* of Us; or without the Conſent of the Lord of whom ſhe *holds*, if ſhe holds of another.

X.

Neither we nor our *Bailiffs* ſhall ſeize any Land or Rent for any Debt, ſo long as there ſhall be *Chattels* of the Debtor's upon the Premiſes ſufficient to pay the Debt, and that the Debtor be ready to ſatisfy it. Nor ſhall the Sureties of the Debtor be diſtrain'd, ſo long as the principal Debtor be ſufficient for the payment of the Debt.

XI.

And if the principal Debtor fail in the Payment of the Debt, not having wherewithal to diſcharge it, or will not diſcharge it when he is able, then the *Sureties* ſhall anſwer the Debt, and if they will they ſhall have the Lands and Rents of the Debtor, until they ſhall be ſatisfied for the Debt which they paid for him; unleſs the principal Debtor can ſhow himſelf acquitted thereof, againſt the ſaid Sureties.

XII.

[If any one have borrow'd any thing of the *Jews*, more or leſs, and dies before the Debt be ſatisfied, there ſhall be no Intereſt paid for that Debt, ſo long as the Heir is under Age, of whomſoever he may hold: And if the Debt falls into our Hands, we will take only the *Chattle* mention'd in the *Charter* or *Inſtrument*.]

XIII.

* Compell'd by ſeizing her Goods.

XIII.

[If any one ſhall die indebted to *Jews*, his Wife ſhall have her *Dower*, and pay Nothing of that Debt; and if the *Deceas'd* left Children under Age, they ſhall have Neceſſaries provided for them according to the *Tenement* (or *real Eſtate*) of the Deceas'd, and out of the Reſidue the Debt ſhall be paid; ſaving however the *Service* of the Lords. In like Manner the Debts due to other Perſons than *Jews* ſhall be paid.]

XIV.

I will not impoſe any *Scutage* (*a*) or *Aid* in our Kingdom, unleſs by *the Common Council* of our Kingdom, except to redeem our Perſon, and to make our Eldeſt Son a *Knight*, and once to Marry our Eldeſt Daughter; and for this there ſhall only be paid a reaſonable *Aid*.

XV.

[In like Manner it ſhall be concerning the *Aids* of the City of *London*; and] the City of *London* ſhall have all its antient Liberties and free Cuſtoms, as well by Land as by Water.

XVI.

Furthermore, we will and grant that all other Cities and Burroughs, and Towns and Barons of the *Cinque-Ports* (*b*), and all other Ports, ſhall have all their Liberties and free Cuſtoms: and ſhall have *the Common Council* of the Kingdom concerning the *Aſſeſſment* of their *Aids* *, except in the three Caſes aforeſaid.

(*a*) *Scutage* was *Military Service*, which was due to the King from the Tenants in Chief. It is to be underſtood alſo of what the *Feudataries* paid the King in lieu of that *Service*, and likewiſe of the *Tax* which was impos'd on each Vaſſal for the Service of the Publick. Since *William the Conqueror*, the Kings had frequently impos'd *Scutages*, without the Conſent of the *States*.

(*b*) The *Cinque Ports* lay in the County of *Kent*. They had great Privileges, which King *John* himſelf had augmented. The Governors of them were call'd *Barons*, as they are at this Day.

* That is, according to Dr. *Brady*'s Explanation, *they ſhall ſend their Repreſentatives or Commiſſioners to the Common Council of the Kingdom.*

XVII.

[And for the assessing of *Scutages* we shall cause to be summon'd the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and great Barons of the Realm *singly* by our *Letters.*]

XVIII.

[And furthermore, we shall cause to be summon'd *in General* by our *Sheriffs* and *Bailiffs*, all others who hold of us *in Chief* (*c*), at a certain Day, that is to say, Forty Days (*before their Meeting*) at least, to a certain Place, and in all Letters of such Summons, we will declare the Cause of the Summons.]

XIX.

[And Summons being thus made, the Business shall proceed on the Day appointed, according to the Advice of such as shall be present, altho' all that were summon'd come not.]

XX.

We will not for the future grant to any one, that he may take *Aid* of his own Free-Tenants, unless to redeem his Body, and to make his Eldest Son a *Knight*, and once to marry his Eldest Daughter; and for this there shall only be paid a reasonable *Aid.*

XXI.

No Man shall be distrein'd to perform more Service for a *Knight's-Fee* or other Free Tenement than is due from thence.

XXII.

Common Pleas shall not follow our Court, but shall be holden in some certain Place: Tryals upon the Writs of *Novel Disseisin* * and of *Mort d'Ancestor* *1 and of *Darrein Presentment* *2 shall be taken but in their proper Counties and

(*c*) It seems to follow from this Article, that none but *Tenants in Chief* had a Right to sit in *the Common Council* or *Parliament.* Otherwise it was natural to mention here the *Representatives* of the *Commons*, had they enjoy'd that Right in those days.

* To require that the Possessor of an Estate be turn'd out.

*1 *Death of the Ancestor*, a Process carried on by the Son or Descendent of a Person murdered.

*2 *Last Presentment.*

and after this Manner: We, or (if we ſhall be out of the Realm) our Chief Juſticiary, ſhall ſend our Juſticiaries through every County by turns yearly, who with the *Knights* of the Shires, ſhall hold the ſaid Aſſizes in the Counties (*a*).

XXIII.

And thoſe Matters, which at the coming of the Juſticiaries ſo ſent into the Counties to hold the ſaid Aſſizes, cannot be determin'd, ſhall not be determined in any other Place in their Circuits: And thoſe things which by reaſon of the Difficulty of the Articles, cannot be determin'd by thoſe Juſticiaries, ſhall be referr'd to our Juſticiaries of the *Bench*.

XXIV.

Aſſizes of *Darreine Preſentment* to Churches ſhall be always taken before the Juſticiaries of the *Bench*.

XXV.

A *Free-Man* (*b*) ſhall not be amerc'd for a ſmall Fault, but according to the Manner of the Fault, and for a great Crime, in Proportion to the Heinouſneſs of it, *Saving to him his Contenement* *, and after the ſame Manner a Merchant, *Saving to him his Merchandiſe*.

XXVI.

And a *Villain* of any other than our own, ſhall be amerced after the ſame Manner, ſaving to him his *Wainage* *1, if he falls under our Mercy; and none of the aforeſaid *Amerciaments* ſhall be aſſeſs'd but by the Oath of honeſt and lawful Men of the Neighbourhood of the County.

(*a*) In all appearance, ſince the *Conqueſt*, the King's had aboliſh'd or very much alter'd this way of Trying *Cauſes*, that they might have the Deciſion of Matters in their own Power.

(*b*) By *Freemen* here and in moſt Places muſt be underſtood *Free-Holders*, i. e. Thoſe that held their Lands of the King or ſome other Lord by a certain *Relief*.

* *Contenementum* is to be underſtood of the Means of a Man's *Livelihood*, as the Arms of a Soldier, the Plough and Carts of a Husbandman, *&c.*

*1 That is, *his Carts and Implements of Husbandry*.

XXVII.

Earls and *Barons* shall not be amerc'd but by their *Peers*, (*a*) and according to the Quality of the Offence.

XXVIII.

No *Ecclesiastical* Person shall be amerc'd in Proportion to his *Benefice*, but according to his *Lay-Tenement* and the Greatness of his Offence.

XXIX.

Neither a Town, nor any Person shall be distrein'd to make Bridges over Rivers, unless that *antiently* and *of Right* they are bound to do it.

XXX.

No River for the future shall be imbank'd but what was imbank'd in time of King *Henry* our Grandfather.

XXXI.

No *Sheriff*, *Constable* *, *Coroner* or other our *Bailiffs*, shall hold *Pleas* of the Crown.

XXXII.

[All *Counties*, *Hundreds*, *Wapentakes*, and *Tythings*, shall stand at the old *Farm*, without any Increase, except in our *Demesne* Lands.]

XXXIII.

If any one, that holds of us a *Lay-Fee*, dies, and the *Sheriff* or our *Bailiff* shew our *Letters Patents* of Summons concerning the Debt due to us from the Deceased, it shall be lawful for the *Sheriff* or our *Bailiff* to Attach and Register the *Chattels* of the Deceased found upon his *Lay-Fee*, to the Value of the Debt, by the View of *Lawful* Men, so as Nothing be remov'd, until our whole Debt be paid; and the Rest shall be left to the Executors to fulfill the *Will* of the

(*a*) In *England* there are two Orders or Degrees of Subjects, *Peers of the Realm*, and *Commoners*. The *Nobles* have for their *Peers*, all the *Peers* of the Realm; and the *Commoners* are all reckon'd *Peers* of one another.

* Is here taken for *Constable* of a Castle. They were Men in antient times of Account and Authority; and for *Pleas* of the Crown, &c. had the like Authority within their Precincts, as the *Sheriff* had within his *Bailwick*, before this Act; and they commonly seal'd with their Portraiture on Horseback. Regularly every *Castle* contains a *Manor*, so that every *Constable* of a Castle is Constable of a *Manor*.

the Deceas'd; and if there be Nothing due from him to Us, all the *Chattels* ſhall remain to the Deceas'd, ſaving to his Wife and Children their reaſonable Shares.

XXXIV.

[If any *Freeman* dies *Inteſtate*, his *Chattels* ſhall be diſtributed by the Hands of his neareſt Relations and Friends by View of the *Church*, ſaving to every one his Debts, which the Deceaſed ow'd.]

XXXV.

No *Conſtable* or *Bailiff* of Ours ſhall take Corn or other *Chattels* of any Man who is not of the Town where the Caſtle is, unleſs he preſently gives him Money for it, or hath reſpite of Payment from the Seller: But if he be of the ſame Town, he ſhall pay him within forty Days.

XXXVI.

No *Conſtable* ſhall diſtrein any *Knight* to give Money for *Caſtle-Guard*, if he himſelf will do it in his own Perſon, or by another able Man, in caſe he ſhall be hindred by any reaſonable Cauſe.

XXXVII.

And if We ſhall lead him, or if We ſhall ſend him into the Army, he ſhall be free from *Caſtle-Guard*, for the time he ſhall be in the Army, by our Command, for the *Fee*, for which he did *Service* in the Army.

XXXVIII.

No *Sheriff* or *Bailiff* of Ours or any other, ſhall take Horſes or Carts of any one for Carriage without paying according to the Rate *antiently* appointed; that is to ſay, for a Cart and two Horſes Ten Pence a Day; and for a Cart with three Horſes Fourteen Pence a Day.

XXXIX.

No *Demeſne* Cart of any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, or Knight, or any Lady, ſhall be taken by our Officers; neither ſhall We or our Officers or others, take any Man's Timber for our Caſtles, or other Uſes, unleſs by the Conſent of the Owner of the Timber.

XL.

We will retain the Land of Thoſe that are convicted of *Felony* but one Year and a Day, and then they ſhall be deliver'd to the Lord of the *Fee*.

XLI.

XLI.

All *Wares* for the time to come shall be demolish'd in the Rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*, and throughout all *England*, except upon the Sea-Coast.

XLII.

The *Writ*, which is called *Præcipe* (*a*), for the future shall not be granted to any one of any *Tenement*, whereby a Free-Man may lose his Cause.

XLIII.

There shall be one Measure of Wine and one of Ale through our whole Realm, and one Measure of Corn; that is to say, the *London-Quarter*; and one Breadth of dyed Cloath and *Russets* and *Haberjects* *; that is to say, Two Ells within the List; and the Weights shall be as the Measures.

XLIV.

From henceforward Nothing shall be given or taken for a *Writ* of *Inquisition*, from him that desires an *Inquisition* of Life or Limbs, but shall be granted *gratis* and not denied.

XLV.

If any one holds of us by *Fee-Farm*, or *Soccage*, or *Burgage*, and holds Lands of another by *Military-Service*, We will not have the *Wardship* of the Heir or Land, which belongs to another Man's *Fee*, by reason of what he holds of us by *Fee-Farm*, *Soccage* or *Burgage*: Nor will we have the *Wardship* of the *Fee-Farm*, *Soccage*, or *Burgage*, unless the *Fee-Farm* is bound to perform *Military Service*.

XLVI.

We will not have the *Wardship* of an Heir, nor of any Land, what he holds of another by *Military Service*, by reason of any *Petit-Serjeanty* he holds of us, as by the *Service* of giving us *Daggers*, *Arrows*, or the like.

XLVII.

* A Sort of coarse Cloath.

(*a*) The *Writs* called *Præcipe quod Reddat* from the first Words in it, has several Uses. It signifies in general an Order from the King or some Court of Justice, to put in Possession one that complains of having been unjustly outed. Apparently several Abuses had crept in upon this Article.

XLVII.

No *Bailiff* for the future ſhall put any Man to his Law*, nor to an Oath, upon his ſingle Accuſation, without credible Witneſſes produc'd to prove it.

XLVIII.

No *Freeman* ſhall be taken, or impriſon'd or diſſeis'd of his *Free-hold* or Liberties, or Free-Cuſtoms, or Outlaw'd, or Baniſh'd, or any way Deſtroy'd; nor will we paſs upon him, or commit him to Priſon, unleſs by the legal Judgment of his *Peers*, or by the Law of the Land*.

XLIX.

We will ſell to no Man, we will deny no Man, nor defer *Right* nor *Juſtice*.

L.

All Merchants, unleſs they be publickly prohibited, ſhall have ſafe and ſecure Conduct to go out of, and to come into *England*; and to ſtay there, and to paſs as well by Land as by Water, to buy and ſell by the antient and allow'd Cuſtoms, without any *evil Tolls*, except in time of War, or when they ſhall be of any Nation in War with us.

LI.

And if there ſhall be found any ſuch in our Land in the beginning of a War, they ſhall be attach'd, without damage to their Bodies or Goods, until it may be known unto us, or our Chief *Juſticiary*, how our Merchants be treated in the Nation at War with us; and if ours be ſafe there, they ſhall be ſafe in our Land.

LII.

[It ſhall be lawful for the Time to come, for any one to go out of our Kingdom, and return ſafely and ſecurely by Land or by Water, ſaving his Allegiance to us; unleſs in time of War by ſome ſhort Space for the common Benefit of the Kingdom, except Priſoners and *Out-laws*, (according to the Law of the Land) and People in War with

* *To make his Law*, is as much as to ſay, *to take his Oath*, &c.

* That is, ſays Dr. *Brady*, by *legal Proceſs*, &c.

with us, and Merchants who ſhall be in ſuch Condition as is above-mention'd.]

LIII.

If any Man holds of any *Eſcheat*, as of the *Honour* of *Wallingford*, *Bologne*, *Lancaſter*, *Nottingham*, or of other *Eſcheats* which are in our Hands, and are *Baronies*, and dies, his Heir ſhall not give any other *Relief*, or perform any other *Service* to us than he wou'd to the Baron, if the *Barony* were in Poſſeſſion of the Baron; we will hold it after the ſame manner the Baron held it; nor will we by Reaſon of ſuch *Barony* or *Eſcheat*, have any *Eſcheat* or *Wardſhip* of any of our Men, unleſs he that held the *Barony* or *Eſcheat*, held of us *in Chief* elſewhere.

LIV.

[Thoſe Men who dwell without the *Foreſt*, from henceforth ſhall not come before our Juſticiaries of the *Foreſt* upon *Summons*, but ſuch as are impleaded, or are Pledges for any that were attach'd for ſomething concerning the *Foreſt*.]

LV.

[All Woods that were taken into the *Foreſt* by King *Richard* our Brother, ſhall forthwith be laid out again, unleſs they were our *Demeſne* Woods.]

LVI.

No Freeman for the future ſhall give or ſell any more of his Land, but ſo that out of the Reſidue, the *Service* due to the Lord of the *Fee* may be ſufficiently perform'd.

LVII.

All Patrons of Abbies, who have *Charters* of the Kings of *England* of the Advowſon, or have it by any antient *Tenure* or Poſſeſſion, may have the Cuſtody of them when void, as they ought to have, and as was declar'd before.

LVIII.

No Man ſhall be taken or impriſon'd upon the Appeal of a Woman for the Death of any other Man than her Husband.

LVIX. No

LIX.

No *County-Court* for the future ſhall be holden, but from Month to Month; and where there uſed to be a greater Interval, let it be ſo continued.

LX.

Neither any *Sheriff*, nor his *Baliff*, ſhall keep his *Turn* in the *Hundred* oftner than twice in a Year, and only in the accuſtomed Place; that is, once after *Eaſter*, and once after *Michaelmas*; and the view of *Frank-Pledge* ſhall be held after *Michaelmas*, without *Occaſion* *, and ſo that every one ſhall have his *Liberties*, which he had and was wont to have in the Time of King *Henry* our Grandfather, or ſuch as he obtain'd afterwards.

LXI.

But the View of *Frank-Pledge* ſhall be ſo made, that our Peace may be kept, and that the *Tything* be full, as it wont to be.

LXII.

And the *Sheriffs* ſhall not ſeek *Occaſions* *[1], but ſhall be content with what the *Sheriff* was wont to have for making his View in the Time of King *Henry* our Grandfather.

LXIII.

For the time to come, it ſhall not be lawful for any Man to give his Land to a *Religious Houſe*, ſo as to take it again, and hold it of that *Houſe*.

LXIV.

Nor ſhall it be lawful for any *Religious Houſe* to receive Land, ſo as to grant it to him again of whom they receiv'd it, to hold of him. If any Man for the future ſhall ſo give his Land to a *Religious Houſe*, and be convicted thereof, his Gift ſhall be void, and the Land ſhall be forfeit to the Lord of the *Fee* *[2].

Scutage

* *Sine Occaſione*, i. e. without Oppreſſion, Dr. *Brady*.

*[1] [2] *Occaſiones*, Cauſes to oppreſs any Man, Dr. *Brady*.

* The Reaſons of theſe two Articles were, becauſe by holding their Lands of the Church, the *Service* due from the *Fees*, which were intended for the Defence of the Realm were unduly with-

LXV.

Scutage for the future ſhall not be taken as it was uſed to be taken in the Time of King *Henry* our Grandfather; [and that the *Sheriff* ſhall oppreſs no Man, but be content with what he was wont to have.]

LXVI.

All the aforeſaid Cuſtoms and Liberties, which we have granted to be holden in our Realm, as much as belongs to us, towards all our Men of our Kingdom we will obſerve: And all Men of this our Kingdom, as well *Clerks* as *Laicks* ſhall obſerve the ſame, as much as belongs to them towards their Men.

LXVII.

Saving to the *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Abbots*, *Priors*, *Templars*, *Hoſpitallers*, *Earls*, *Barons*, *Knights*, and all others, as well *Eccleſiaſticks* as *Seculars*, the Liberties and free Cuſtoms which they had before: Theſe being Witneſſes, *&c.*

drawn, and becauſe the Chief Lords loſt theſe *Eſcheats*, *Wardſhips*, *Reliefs*, and the like. Abundance of Ways were us'd to evade the Force of this Law. But an effectual ſtop was put to them at laſt by the Statute of *Mortmain*. 7 *Ed.* 1.

THE



THE CHARTER *of* FORESTS (*a*)

Granted by King JOHN *to his Subjects in the Year* 1215 *.

JOHN, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, &c. Know ye, that for the Honour of God, and the Health of our Soul, and the Souls of our Anceſtors and Succeſſors, and for the Exaltation of *Holy-Church*, and for the Reformation of our Kingdom, We have of our free and good Will given and granted for Us and our Heirs, theſe *Liberties* hereafter ſpecified, to be had and obſerv'd in our Kingdom of *England* for ever.

(*a*) The *Foreſts* belong'd originally to the Crown, and the Kings had granted ſeveral Parts and Parcels to private Men, who had grubb'd them up and made them Arable, or Paſture. But yet all that was thus grubb'd was ſtill call'd *Foreſt*. Theſe Foreſts belonging to the King as his own *Demeſns*, or as the Sovereign Lord, were a continual Source of vexatious Suits, as well againſt thoſe which held them of the King, as againſt the neighbouring Freemen under pretence of the Rights of the Crown.

* As it is to be found in *Matthew Paris*, p. 250.

I.

Imprimis, All the *Foreſts* made by our Grandfather King *Henry*, ſhall be view'd by honeſt and lawful Men; and if he turn'd any other than his own proper Woods into *Foreſts*, to the Damage of him whoſe Wood it was, it ſhall forthwith be laid out again and *diſforeſted*. And if he turn'd his own Woods into *Foreſt*, they ſhall remain ſo, ſaving *the Common of Paſture* to ſuch as were formerly wont to have it.

II

Is the LIV *and* LV *of the* GREAT CHARTER *put into one Chapter.*

III.

The Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Free-Tenants, who have Woods in any Foreſts, ſhall have their Woods as they had them at the Time of the firſt Coronation of our Grandfather King *Henry*, ſo as they ſhall be diſcharg'd for ever of all *Purpreſtures* *, *Waſtes*, and *Aſſarts* * , made in thoſe Woods, after that Time, to the beginning of the ſecond Year of our Coronation; and thoſe who for the time to come ſhall make *Waſte*, *Purpreſture* or *Aſſart* in thoſe Woods without our Licenſe, ſhall anſwer for them (*b*).

IV.

Our Inſpectors or Viewers ſhall go through the Foreſts to make a View, as it was wont to be at the Time of the firſt Coronation of our ſaid Grandfather King *Henry*, and not otherwiſe.

V.

The Inquiſition or View for *Lawing* *1 of Dogs, which are kept within the *Foreſt*, for the future ſhall be when the View is made, that is, every three Years, and

* *i.e.* Encroachments upon the King's Lands.

*1 *i.e.* Grubbing up Wood, and making it Arable, without Licenſe

(*b*) Every Article of this *Charter* is a clear Evidence how much the Subject was oppreſs'd under Pretence of preſerving the Royal *Foreſts*.

*2 Cutting off their *Claws*, *&c.*

and then ſhall be done by the View and Teſtimony of lawful Men, and not otherwiſe; and he whoſe Dog at ſuch Time ſhall be found *unlawed*, ſhall be puniſh'd three Shillings; and for the future, no one ſhall be taken for *Lawing*, and ſuch *Lawing* ſhall be according to the *common Aſſize*, namely, the three Claws of the Dog's Fore-foot ſhall be cut off, or the Ball of the Foot taken out. And from henceforward Dogs ſhall not be *law'd* unleſs in ſuch Places where they were wont to be *law'd* in the Time of King *Henry* our Grandfather.

VI.

No *Foreſter* or *Bedel* * for the future ſhall make any *Ale-Shots*, or collect Sheafs of Corn, or Oats, or other Grain, or Lambs, or Pigs, nor ſhall make any gathering whatſoever but by the View and Oath of twelve Inſpectors; and when they make their View, ſo many *Foreſters* ſhall be appointed to keep the *Foreſts* as they ſhall reaſonably think ſufficient.

VII.

No *Swainmote* for the Time to come ſhall be holden in our Kingdom oftner than thrice a Year; that is to ſay, in the beginning of fifteen Days before *Michaelmas*, when the *Agiſters*, come to *agiſt* the *Demeſne* Woods, and about the *Feaſt* of St. *Martin*, when our *Agiſters* are to receive their *Pannage* *1; and in thoſe two *Swainmotes*, the *Foreſters*, *Verderers*, and *Agiſters* ſhall meet, and no other by Compulſion or Diſtreſs; and the third *Swainmote* ſhall be holden in the beginning of the fifteen Days before the *Feaſt* of St. *John Baptiſt*, concerning the *Fawning* of our *Does*; and at this *Swainmote* ſhall meet the *Foreſters* and *Verderers*, and no others ſhall be compell'd to be there.

VIII.

And furthermore every forty Days throughout the Year, the *Verderers* and *Foreſters* ſhall meet to view the *At-*

* Baliff of the Foreſt.

*1 Money for the feeding of Hogs [with *Maſt*] in the King's Foreſts.

Attachments of the Foreſt, as well of *Vert* *, as Veniſon, by *Preſentment* of the *Foreſters* themſelves; and they who committed the Offences, ſhall be forc'd to appear before them: But the aforeſaid *Swainmotes* ſhall be holden but in ſuch Counties as they were wont to be holden.

IX.

Every *Freeman* ſhall *agiſt* *1 his Wood in the *Foreſt* at his Pleaſure, and ſhall receive his *Pannage*.

X.

We grant alſo, that every Freeman may drive his Hogs through our *Demeſne* Woods, freely and without Impediment, and may *agiſt* them in his own Woods, or elſewhere as he will; and if the Hogs of any Freeman ſhall remain one Night in our *Foreſts*, he ſhall not be troubled, ſo as to loſe any thing for it.

XI.

No Man for the time to come ſhall loſe Life or Limb for taking our *Veniſon*; but if any one be ſeized and convicted of taking Veniſon, he ſhall be grievouſly *fin'd*, if he hath where-withal to pay; and if he hath not, he ſhall lie in our Priſon a Year and a Day. And if after that time he can find *Sureties*. he ſhall be releas'd; if not, he ſhall abjure our Realm of *England*.

XII.

It ſhall be lawful for every Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Earl, or Baron, coming to us by our Command, and paſſing through our *Foreſt*, to take one or two Deer by View of the *Foreſter*, if preſent; if not, he ſhall cauſe a Horn to be ſounded, leaſt he ſhou'd ſeem to ſteal them. Alſo in their return, it ſhall be lawful for them to do the ſame thing.

XIII.

Every Freeman for the future may erect a *Mill* in his own Wood, or upon his own Land, which he hath in the *Foreſt*; or make a *Warren*, or *Pond*, a *Marl-Pit*, or Ditch,

* That is, the Offences that have been committed in cutting Wood, or killing Deer.

*1 That is, take in his Neighbour's Cattle to feed.

Ditch, or turn it into *Arable*, without the *Covert* in the *Arable Land*, ſo as it be not to the Detriment of his Neighbour.

XIV.

Every Freeman may have in his Woods the *Ayries* of Hawks, of Spar-Hawks, Falcons, Eagles, and Herons; and they ſhall have likewiſe the Honey which ſhall be found in their Woods.

XV.

No *Foreſter* for the future, who is not a *Foreſter* in *Fee*, paying us Rent for his Office, ſhall take *Cheminage* *; that is to ſay, for every Cart two Pence for half a Year, and for the other half Year two Pence; and for a Horſe that carries Burthens, for half a Year a Half-penny, and then only of thoſe, who come as Buyers, out of their *Bailiwick*, to buy Underwood, Timber, Bark, or Char-coal, to carry it to ſell in other Places, where they will: And for the time to come there ſhall be no *Cheminage* taken for any other Cart, or Carriage-Horſe, unleſs in thoſe Places where antiently it was wont, and ought to be taken; but they who carry Wood, Bark, or Coal upon their Backs to ſell, altho' they get their Livelihood by it, ſhall for the future pay no *Cheminage*: But for Paſſage through the Woods of other Men, no *Cheminage* ſhall be given to our *Foreſters*, but only in our own Woods.

XVI.

All Perſons outlaw'd for Offences committed in our *Foreſts* from the Time of King *Henry* our Grandfather, until our firſt Coronation, may reverſe their *Outlawries* without Impediment, but ſhall find Pledges that for the future they will not forfeit to us *1 in our *Foreſt*.

XVII.

No *Caſtellan* or other Perſon ſhall hold *Pleas* of the *Foreſt*, whether concerning *Vert* or *Veniſon*: But every *Foreſter* in *Fee* ſhall attach *Pleas* of the *Foreſt* *2, as well con-

* Money for paſſing through the Foreſt.

*1 That is, commit no Offence. Dr. *Brady*.

*2 May ſeize the Body or Goods of the Offenders to make them appear.

concerning *Vert* as *Veniſon*, and ſhall preſent the *Pleas* or Offences to the *Verderers* of the ſeveral Counties; and when they ſhall be inroll'd and ſeal'd under the *Seals* of the *Verderers*, they ſhall be preſented to the chief *Foreſter*, when he ſhall come into thoſe Parts, to hold *Pleas* of the *Foreſt*, and ſhall be determined before him.

XVIII.

And all the *Cuſtoms* and *Liberties* aforeſaid, which we have granted to be holden in our Kingdom; as much as belongs to us towards our Vaſſals, all of our Kingdom, as well *Laicks* as *Clerks*, ſhall obſerve as much as belongs to them towards their Vaſſals *.

* There is no Original of this Charter extant, nor no Copy older than the firſt of *Henry* III.

SECT.

SECT. II.

8. *HENRY* III.

Sirnam'd of WINCHESTER.

WE are going to enter upon a long Reign crowded with Events, which, for the moſt Part, have no great Connexion one with another. Shou'd I undertake to give a particular Account of every Thing that was any Way remarkable, during the long Adminiſtration of *Henry* III. I ſhou'd be carried out to ſo tedious a Length, as wou'd be more apt to tire the Reader's Patience than afford him a diſtinct Knowledge of the Affairs of thoſe Days. I ſhall confine my ſelf therefore to certain Heads, which are as it were the Subſtance of what happen'd during this Reign. In the firſt Place, I ſhall endeavour to give an *Idea* of the State of the Kingdom, of the *Temper* and *Genius* of the King, and of the Character and pernicious Deſigns of his *Miniſters*. In the next Place, the Reader will ſee the inſatiable Avarice of the Court of *Rome*, and the Tyranny ſhe exercis'd over the Nation. In the third Place, the League entered into by the Barons, to oppoſe the *deſpotick* and *arbitrary* Power which was intended to be introduc'd into the Kingdom. And laſtly, the ill Uſe the Barons made of the Authority, which they had uſurp'd under that Pretence, and the unfortunate Succeſs which render'd all their Proceedings fruitleſs.

HENRY III. 1216. *Principal Events of this Reign.*

1216. These are the principal Points we are going to run thro', as briefly as the great Length of this Reign will permit, and to which almost all the Events related in the Sequel will refer.

The State of the Kingdom.

King *John* had left his Crown to his eldest Son. But the young Prince, who was but ten Years of Age, was very uncapable of applying a Remedy to the Disorders of so distemper'd a *State*. A few Lords, who had firmly adher'd to the Service of the King his Father, and an Army of *Foreigners*, whom *John* himself durst never confide in, seem'd to be very unlikely Instruments of restoring the Affairs of the Royal Family. There was the less Room to hope for any favourable Turn, as almost all the *Peers* of the Realm, back'd with the Forces of *France*, appear'd strictly united against the Family of the late King. Besides, the great Progress which *Lewis* had already made, seem'd in some Measure to promise him the Reduction of the whole Kingdom. In spite of these seemingly insurmountable Difficulties, young *Henry* found in the wise and brave Earl of *Pembroke*, a loyal Subject, and one capable withal of projecting and bringing about the greatest Designs. Without being disheartned in this Extremity, the generous Earl undertook to raise the Hopes of the Honest and Well-meaning *English*, and to drive the *Foreigners* out of the Kingdom.

The Earl of Pembroke *supports* Henry.

His Speech to the Lords of the King's Party. Hemingford.

As soon as *John* had resign'd his last Breath, the Earl of *Pembroke* conven'd the Lords who had follow'd the Fortunes of that Prince, and presenting young *Henry* to them, made a Speech, beginning with these Words: *Behold your King*. Then he represented to them, "That altho' the "Conduct of the late King had given the confederate Ba- "rons a plausible Pretence to complain, it was not reason- "able to take the Crown from a Family, which had "worn it so long, much less to give it to a *Foreigner*. "That King *John*'s Faults being personal, it wou'd be un- "just to punish the Prince his Son for them, whose "tender Age secur'd him from all Imputations on that "Score." He told them further, "That the Remedy "made use of by the confederate Barons was worse than

"the

« the Diſeaſe, ſince it tended to the reducing the Kingdom « under a ſhameful Servitude. And therefore in the pre- « ſent Poſture of Affairs nothing was able to deliver them « from the impending Yoke, but their firm Union under « a Prince who was beyond all Doubt the lawful Heir to « the Crown. " This Speech met with Applauſe from the whole Aſſembly, who cried out with one Voice, *We will have* Henry *for our King* *. Upon which, tho' the Earl of *Cheſter* made ſome Oppoſition at firſt, which however he afterwards dropp'd, a Day was appointed for the Coronation. The Ceremony was perform'd with little Pomp, by the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Wincheſter*, in the Preſence of an inconſiderable Number of Lords, *1 with *Gallo* the *Legate*, who eſpous'd young *Henry*'s Intereſt to the utmoſt of his Power. King *John*'s Crown being lately loſt in the *Well-ſtream*, as hath been related, they were fain to make uſe of a plain *Circle* or *Chaplet* of Gold, becauſe they had neither the Leiſure nor Means to make a Better. Before the Crown was ſet on his Head, the uſual Oath was adminiſtred to him. Which done, the *Legate*, who had ever his Maſter's Intereſt in view, caus'd the young Prince to do *Homage* to the *Holy See*. It was no Time then to oppoſe this Homage, for fear of loſing the Pope's Aſſiſtance, and increaſing the Obſtacles *Henry* was, in all likelihood, to encounter in the Beginning of his Reign.

1216. Henry III. *crown'd.* Paris.

These Ceremonies being over, the Aſſembly of the Lords, who repreſented at that Time the whole Nation, choſe the Earl of *Pembroke Guardian* to the King, and *Protector* of the Realm, that is, *Regent* of the Kingdom. They cou'd not chuſe to that High Office, a Perſon of greater Abilities, of more Zeal for the Publick Good, or a faſter

The Earl of Pembroke *made Regent.* Paris. *How qualified for that Office.*

* *Fiat Rex, Fiat Rex.* Hemingford. *l.* 3

*1 The Coronation was ſolemniz'd at *Gloceſter* on St. *Simon* and St. *Jude*'s Day, in the Preſence of the Pope's Legate, *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Jocelin* of the *Bath*, *Silveſter* of *Worceſter*, *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, *William Marſhal* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Earl of *Ferrars*, *John Marſhal*, and *Philip de Albiny*, with the *Abbots* and *Priors*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (ſays *Walter of Coventry*) was then at *Rome*, ſolliciting the taking off his *Suſpenſion*.

1216. Friend to the Royal Family. Ever since the Beginning of King *John*'s Reign, on whose Head he had been very instrumental in setting the Crown by his Diligence and Address, he had all along remain'd attach'd to the Service of that Prince, without ever deserting him in his greatest Distress. His approv'd Loyalty having gain'd him the Favour and Confidence of his Master, he had always had a Share in his most secret Counsels. It was This also that partly qualified him better than any other to be at the Helm of Affairs in so tempestuous a Season. He was perfectly well acquainted with the Source of the Troubles, and the Interests and Intrigues of Those that had caus'd them. He was not ignorant that the greatest Part of the Barons were extremely dissatisfied with the Prince they had call'd to their Aid; and upon the Knowledge of This it was that he chiefly built his Hopes. The Submission which forty of them had privately made the King, gave him Room to believe, that Dissentions were rising among them, and that their Example wou'd quickly be followed by the rest. Indeed nothing but Despair of Pardon prevented the major Part from deserting Prince *Lewis*. And therefore the *Regent* thought he had Reason to hope, that the making known how ready the new King was to grant a general Pardon, wou'd soon dissolve the *Confederacy*. Besides, there was no Appearance, that after the Death of King *John*, so many Lords cou'd be brought to continue in Obedience to a *Foreign* Prince, who gave them every day fresh Occasions of Complaint. With these Hopes the Earl of *Pembroke* sent Letters to all the *Barons* and *Corporations* in the Kingdom, to acquaint them of *Henry*'s Accession to the Crown, promising at the same Time great Rewards to all that wou'd return to their Duty *. These Assurances, and the known Probity of the *Regent*, having shaken the Resolution of a good Number of the *confederate* Barons, they began

He notifies to the Barons the Coronation of Henry.

*There is a Letter still extant to *Hugh de Lacy* a Baron of Note, containing a *Safe-Conduct* to come and treat with the King, with a Promise of the Restitution of his Estate and Privileges. The Earl of *Pembroke*'s Name is affix'd alone to the Letter, which is dated *Nov.* 18. in the 1st Year of this Reign. See *Brady*'s App. p. 143.

began to think in earneſt of the Means of making their Peace with their lawful Sovereign. The *Excommunication* of Prince *Lewis*, which was publiſh'd afreſh every *Sunday*, furniſh'd them with a further Motive to change, which carried no leſs Force with it. It was not poſſible but that among ſuch a Multitude of Lords, there were ſome whoſe tender Conſciences made them uneaſy at following the Banners of an *excommunicated* Prince. Much leſs cou'd they bear to ſee themſelves involv'd in the ſame *Sentence*, what Endeavours ſoever were us'd to remove their Scruples. So that the Affairs of *Lewis* began to decline, at the very Time that they ſeem'd to be in the moſt proſperous Condition. The Raiſing of the Siege of *Dover* contributed likewiſe very much to their Decay. Prince *Lewis* had frequently tried to bribe *Hubert de Burgh* Governor of that Place. But he had always found in that brave Man a Loyalty which was Proof againſt all Temptations. He had been able to do ſtill leſs by Force of Arms, having been repuls'd with Loſs in all his Aſſaults. The Death of King *John*'s falling out during this Siege, *Lewis* was in Hopes the Governor wou'd become more tractable. Accordingly he order'd him to be ſummon'd afreſh to ſurrender: At the ſame time, he repreſented to him, that ſince by *John*'s Death, he was releas'd from his Oath of Allegiance, he might with a ſafe Conſcience ſwear Fealty to a Prince, whom his Countrymen had own'd for their Sovereign, and who wou'd take a Pleaſure in ſhowing him Marks of his Eſteem. *Hubert* anſwer'd, that the late King having left an Heir, to whom his Allegiance was due, he wou'd maintain his Cauſe to the laſt Drop of his Blood. Adding, he cou'd never believe that a ſhameful Cowardice cou'd be a means to gain the Eſteem of any brave Prince. Promiſes proving ineffectual, *Lewis* threatned *Hubert* to put his Brother, who was in his Power, to death. This Threat made no Impreſſion on the faithful Governor, who continued to defend, with the ſame Reſolution, the important Place committed to his Truſt. *Lewis* finding he did but loſe Time before *Dover*, rais'd the Siege, and went and inveſted the Caſtle of *Hertford*, which made but a faint Reſiſtance.

1216.

Several think of deſerting Lewis.

Lewis *tries in vain to bribe the Governor of* Dover.

1216. ance. The taking this Place gave the *English* fresh Cause to complain. *Robert Fitz-Walter*, to whom the Custody of that Castle belong'd by Antient Right, having demanded the Government of it, had the Mortification to be denied, and to see a *French* Governor plac'd there with Troops of the same Nation. This Piece of Injustice caus'd great Murmurings among the *English* Lords: 'Twas with extreme Regret that they beheld their own Estates of Inheritance given about to *Foreigners*, without any Regard to their Complaints. Their Discontents were still heightned by the Indiscretion of some *Frenchmen*, who upbraided the *English* Barons for *Traytors*, and plainly told them, they were not fit to be trusted with the Custody of Castles. These Expressions, added to what the Viscount of *Melun* is reported to say, caus'd among the *English*, and especially among the *Nobility*, an universal Dissatisfaction, which *Lewis* perceiv'd not as yet, but of which he soon felt the Effects. In the mean while continuing his Progress, he became Master of several Places before he return'd to *London*, where he came not till towards the latter End of the Year.

Lewis *displeases the* English.

Whilst *Lewis* was improving his Advantages, the *Regent* for his Part omitted nothing that might help to support the just Rights of young *Henry*. The first Step he made, and which he judg'd very necessary at the present Juncture, was to send speedy Notice to the Pope of the Death of King *John* and the Coronation of his Son. At the same time, he entreated him to take into his Protection the young Prince, who was surrounded on all Sides with *Foreign* and *Domestick* Enemies. *Innocent* took Care not to be wanting where his own Interests were concern'd. The Business at present was, to keep *England*, which he consider'd as the *Patrimony* of St. *Peter*, and even gave it that Name. With this View, he sent *fresh Powers* to his *Legate* to renew the *Excommunication* of the Prince of *France* and *confederate* Barons. *Lewis*, to whom the *Legate* communicated his new *Orders*, solemnly protested against All shou'd be done to his Prejudice, In the mean Time, to prevent

prevent the *new Cenſure* from having any Effect, he requir'd all the *Engliſh* Lords to renew their Homage to him at a certain ſtated Day. His *Proteſtation* hindred not the *Legate* from executing the Pope's Orders. He held a *Synod* at *Briſtol*, where he excommunicated *Lewis* a-new with all the cuſtomary *Formalities*. By which Means he furniſh'd ſome of the Barons with a Pretence to diſpenſe with doing the Homage *Lewis* required. 1216.

Chriſtmas approaching, the two Parties agreed upon a Truce during the *Holydays*. *Lewis* made uſe of that Opportunity to hold a General Aſſembly at *Oxford*, whilſt the *Regent* held another, tho' not ſo numerous a one, at *Cambridge*. The King's Party having propos'd that the Treaty ſhou'd be prolong'd, *Lewis* at firſt refus'd to agree to it. But the News which he receiv'd preſently after, that the Pope deſign'd to confirm in a full *Conſiſtory*, the *Excommunication* thundred out by his *Legate*, caus'd him to conſent that it ſhou'd be prolong'd till a Month after *Eaſter*, his Deſign was to take a Turn to *Paris*, and conſult the King his Father *. *A Truce between the two Parties.* Walt. *of* Cov.

This Truce prov'd of very great Advantage to the Earl of *Pembroke*. He made uſe of it to good Purpoſe, in reinforcing his Army with new Levies, and in gaining by ſecret Practices, ſeveral of the *confederate* Barons. On the contrary, it was extremely prejudicial to *Lewis*, whoſe Abſence gave the Barons an Opportunity of taking Meaſures to free themſelves from his Yoke, by returning to the Allegiance of their lawful Sovereign. Several took that Opportunity to treat with the King. Among whom was *William Marſhal*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who till then had been one of the moſt zealous Partiſans of *France* *'. The *Cinque-Ports* declar'd likewiſe for *Henry*, and 1217. *The Truce turns to* Henry's *Advantage.* *The Cinque Ports declare for the King.*

* *Walter* of *Coventry* ſays, the Pope order'd his *Nuncio* in *France* to hold a *Synod* at *Melun*, and put the Kingdom under an *Interdict*, unleſs *Philip* recall'd his Son out of *England*. Upon which the King preſently order'd him to come over, and be himſelf in Perſon at the *Synod*.

*' At the ſame time came over to the King, *William Longſword* Earl of *Salisbury*, with the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warren*.

1217. and sent out a Fleet to see to oppose *Lewis*'s Return. But tho' their Fleet fought the *French*, and destroy'd several of their Ships, yet they cou'd not hinder the Prince's landing at *Sandwich*. He was so exasperated at being thus boldly attack'd, that no sooner had he set his Foot on Shore but he reduc'd the Town to Ashes, as being one of the *Cinque-Ports*.

Lewis *burns* Sandwich.

Upon the Expiration of the Truce, the *Regent* sent the Earl of *Chester* to besiege *Mont-Sorel*, a Town in *Leicestershire*, where there was a *French* Garrison. The Loss of this Place might have prov'd of great Prejudice to *Lewis*'s Affairs, not so much on account of its Importance, as because at such a Juncture it greatly behov'd him to hinder the King's Party from appearing to be in a Condition to lift up their Heads again; for which Reason *Lewis* thought it necessary, at any Rate, to cause the Siege to be rais'd. To make sure of the Matter, he put the Earl of *Perche* * at the Head of twenty thousand Men, with Orders to march directly towards the Enemy. Upon the Approach of this Army, the Earl of *Chester*, who was not near so strong, rais'd the Siege, and return'd to the *Regent*. But the *French* General was not content with that Advantage. As he was perswaded that the Earl of *Pembroke* cou'd not make Head against so great Number of Forces, he form'd the Design of going and besieging *Lincoln-Castle*, which held out for the King, though the City had declar'd for the Barons *1. In his march thither, the *French* Troops committed such terrible Ravages, that the Historians describe them as an Army of *Devils* rather than Men. But perhaps they have represented Matters worse than they really were.

The Earl of Perche *raises the Siege of* Mont-Sorel.

He besieges Lincoln-*Castle.*

The Castle of *Lincoln* was of so great Moment, that the *Regent* cou'd not resolve to look on and see it taken, with-

The Regent marches to its Relief.

* *Mareschal* of *France*, a young Man of great Courage, whom he had just brought over with him. *Saher* Earl of *Winton* was Lord of this Castle.

*1 *Gibert de Gant* had besieg'd it a long time in vain, and been vigorously repuls'd in all his Assaults. He was made Earl of *Lincoln* by *Lewis*.

without using his utmoſt Endeavours to relieve it. Whilſt the *French* were battering the Caſtle with all poſſible Vigour, and the Beſieg'd making as brave a Defence, he drew all his Forces together with a Reſolution to run all Hazards to ſave that Place. He us'd ſuch Expedition, that he advanc'd as far as *Newark*, which is but 12 Miles from *Lincoln*, before the Beſiegers had determin'd whether they ſhou'd ſtay and wait his coming, or march towards him to give him Battle. They had all along expected to be Maſters of the Caſtle, before he cou'd poſſibly draw his Army together. Surpriz'd at the ſudden Approach of the Enemy, the *French* General call'd a Council of War, in order to conſult what was to be done on this Occaſion. Some were of Opinion, the beſt way wou'd be to go and meet the Enemy, becauſe if they had the good Fortune to come off Victorious, the Caſtle wou'd immediately ſurrender. They added, that by going out of the City, they might make uſe of their *Cavalry*, in which conſiſted their chiefeſt Strength, whereas the *Horſe* wou'd be of no Service, if they reſolv'd to wait the Enemy's coming within the Walls. This Advice was the ſafeſt; but others were of a contrary Opinion. They affirm'd, that as the Caſtle was reduc'd to Extremities, it wou'd be better to keep within the City and continue the Siege; that 'twou'd be an eaſy matter to defend the Walls, till the Caſtle ſurrender'd; after which the Earl of *Pembroke* wou'd think of nothing but retreating, or in caſe he did not, they ſhou'd always have it in their Power to give him Battle. This Advice being approv'd of, all Things were prepar'd for the Defence of the City, whilſt the Siege of the Caſtle was continued. In the mean time, the *Engliſh* Army approaching the City without any Oppoſition, the *Regent* caus'd a Body of choſen Troops, commanded by *Fulk de Brent*, to enter the Caſtle at a *Poſtern-Gate* which open'd into the Fields. It is ſtrange, the Beſiegers ſhould never think of that Gate. *Fulk* was no ſooner in, but purſuant to the Orders he had receiv'd from the *Regent*, he ſallied out upon the Beſiegers, whilſt the King's Army ſtorm'd one of the Gates of the City. 1217.

1217. *The* French *Army defeated at* Lincoln.

The Earl of *Perch* perceiving himself thus attack'd from two different Quarters, exerted his utmost in his Defence. But his Troops not having room to fight, and besides, being depriv'd of the Assistance of the *Horse*, were quickly in Disorder and Confusion. On the other side, the Royal Army, animated by the Presence of the *Regent*, and encourag'd by the *Indulgences* which the *Legate* liberally bestow'd upon all that shou'd be slain in Battle, continued in a furious Manner to storm the Gate. Their Assault was so vigorous, that in spite of the obstinate Resistance of the *French*, the King's Troops at length enter'd the City, whilst *Fulk de Brent* press'd hard upon the Enemy on the other side. The Earl of *Perch* perceiving all was lost, was resolv'd not to out-live the Shame of his Defeat. He was slain upbraiding the *English* of his Party for having betray'd him by their Counsels. After the death of the General, a dreadful slaughter was made of the *French* Troops, who almost all perish'd on this Occasion. The City of *Lincoln*, which had all along sided with the Barons, was deliver'd up to be plunder'd by the Soldiers, who met with a prodigious Store of rich Booty, which made them give it the Name of *Lincoln-Fair* *.

Lewis *raises the Siege of* Dover, *and retreats to* London. *He demands Succours of his Father.*

Whilst the Earl of *Perch* had been employ'd in these Parts, Prince *Lewis* had made a fresh Attempt upon *Dover* Castle; but having met with no less brave a Defence than before, he made no great Progress in the Siege. The News of the Defeat at *Lincoln*, made him resolve to retire to *London* in order to take new Measures. Upon his Arrival, his first Care was to send to the King his Father for speedy Succours, and answerable to his Wants, without which he let him know there was no likelihood of being able to retrieve his Affairs. *Philip*, willing to keep fair with the Pope, pretended he did not care to have any thing to do in his Son's Matters. He publickly sent him Word

* One may guess at the great Riches of the *Cathedral*, which was pillag'd, when *Geoffrey de Draping*, the *Precentor*, complain'd that he had lost *eleven Thousand Marks* for his own Share.

Word, that he had nothing to do but to get clear of the Buſineſs in the manner he thought beſt. However, he order'd it ſo that *Blanch* his Daughter-in-law, in her own Name, had quickly got ready a Body of Troops and Ships to tranſport them into *England*. Had theſe Succours ſafely arriv'd, they might have made up *Lewis*'s Loſs at *Lincoln*. But his Fortune was no better at Sea than at Land. The Commanders of the Fleet of the *Cinque-Ports*, having received Intelligence that the *French* Troops were to embark at *Calis*, laid wait for them in their Paſſage and gave them Battle, wherein they took and ſunk the greateſt part of the *French* Fleet *. 1217. *They are defeated at Sea.*

Theſe two ſucceſſive Loſſes threw *Lewis* into great Straits, which were ſtill encreas'd by the Approach of the *Engliſh* Army. He had ſcarce received the News of the Defeat of the Succours which were coming from *France*, before he ſaw himſelf beſieg'd in *London*, or at leaſt cloſely block'd up. So many Misfortunes in the Neck of one another, the Diſcontents of the *Engliſh*, which openly broke out ſince his Diſgraces, the Pope's *Thunders*, which began to inſpire him with Terror, upon the decline of his Affairs, made him ſenſible it was high time to think of retreating. He determin'd therefore to ſue for Peace of the *Regent*. But maugre the wretched Poſture of his Affairs, he gave him to underſtand that he wou'd never conſent to a diſhonourable Peace, or ſuch a one as wou'd not ſecure thoſe that had invited him into *England* from being ever call'd in Queſtion. But, by the way, Lewis *is block'd up in* London. *He ſues for Peace.*

* As the *Engliſh* had but forty, and the *French* eighty large Ships, the King's Fleet durſt not attack them in the Front, but tacking about, and getting to the Windward, they bore down upon them and made great ſlaughter of them with their *Archers*; but what contributed moſt to their Victory, was their having great Quantities of *Quick-lime* in Powder, the which being caſt into the Air, was blown by the Wind into the *Frenchmens* Eyes and blinded them. The Commanders of the *Engliſh* Fleet were *Philip de Albiny* and *John Marſhal*. The *French* Admiral was one *Euſtace*, who from a Monk turn'd *Pirate*, and at laſt was made Admiral of the *French* Fleet. M. *Paris* ſays, *Richard* baſe Son of King *John* cut off his Head.

1217. way, the generous Care this Prince ſhow'd for the *Engliſh* Barons, is hardly reconcilable with the Reſolution, which the Viſcount of *Melun* affirm'd he had taken.

The Earl of Pembroke *conſents to it.* The Earl of *Pembroke* granted his Demand without a Moment's Heſitation. He conſider'd that the King of *France* was not ſo drain'd of Men and Money, but that he was ſtill able to exert himſelf powerfully in defence of the Prince his Son. On the other Hand, he was afraid the Barons wou'd become deſperate, ſhou'd he refuſe them a Pardon, and that too great a Severity wou'd involve the Kingdom in freſh Troubles. In fine, he ſaw that by uſing his Succeſs with Moderation, he ſhou'd be able to reſtore Peace to the Kingdom, and put the young King in quiet Poſſeſſion of the Crown, the which was the ſole End of all his Wiſhes. Theſe Conſiderations induc'd him readily to agree to a Treaty of Peace upon the following Terms:

Conditions of the Peace. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 221. *That* all Perſons who had ſided with *Lewis*, ever ſince the Beginning of the War, ſhou'd be reſtor'd to all the *Rights* they enjoy'd before the Troubles.

That the City of *London* ſhou'd have her antient Privileges.

That all the Priſoners taken ſince the coming of *Lewis* into *England* ſhou'd be ſet at Liberty. But as to thoſe that were taken on either Side, before that Time, Commiſſioners ſhou'd be appointed to enquire whether thoſe of his Party had actually join'd him, at the time of their being made Priſoners.

That the Ranſoms already paid ſhou'd not be return'd, and *that* ſuch as were become due ſhou'd be punctually paid: But *that* nothing ſhou'd be demanded of the Priſoners, whoſe Ranſoms had not been agreed upon.

That all the *Engliſh*, of what Rank and Condition ſoever, Priſoners or others, who took up Arms againſt King *John*, ſhou'd ſwear Allegiance to King *Henry*.

That the Hoſtages Prince *Lewis* had taken for the Payment of the Ranſoms which were become due, ſhou'd be releas'd immediately upon the Payment of the Money.

That

That all the Places, Towns and Caſtles in Poſſeſſion of *Lewis*, ſhou'd be deliver'd up to the King. 1217.

That the King of *Scotland* ſhou'd be included in the Treaty upon his reſtoring all that he had taken during the War, and that the King of *England* ſhou'd do the like with regard to him.

The ſame thing was ſtipulated in Behalf of the Prince of *Wales*. *That Lewis* ſhou'd cauſe all the Iſlands to be given up that had been taken in his Name.

That he ſhou'd renounce the Homages he had receiv'd from the Subjects of the King of *England*.

That whatever was due to him, and of which the Time of Payment was expir'd, ſhou'd be punctually paid him.

That in the firſt Article, relating to thoſe that had ſided with *Lewis*, *Eccleſiaſticks* were not included, but with reſpect to the *Lay-Fees* they held before the War.

An Hiſtorian adds two Articles more, which are not found in the Treaty. *Firſt*, That *Lewis* ſhou'd uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to oblige his Father to reſtore all that he had taken from King *John* beyond Sea. *Secondly*, That in caſe he cou'd not prevail with his Father, he himſelf ſhou'd do it when ever he came to the Crown. Tho' theſe two Conditions were not inſerted in the Treaty it ſelf, yet is it very likely they were ſtipulated among the *ſecret* Articles, ſince the *French* Hiſtorians make no ſcruple to own them. Beſides, we ſhall ſee in the Sequel, that when *Lewis* came to the Crown, the Court of *England* call'd upon him to perform his Promiſe, and that St. *Lewis* his Son had very great Scruples of Conſcience about this Matter. Paris. Mezeray.

The Treaty being ſign'd, and afterwards confirm'd by the Authority of the *Legate*, the King and Prince *Lewis* ſwore to perform their reſpective Engagements, with the uſual Formalities; which done, *Lewis* receiv'd *Abſolution* from the Hands of the *Legate* *. All Thing being thus concluded, Lewis *returns to* France.

* The *Chronicle of Mailroſs* ſays, that Prince *Lewis* walk'd bare-foot and ungirt from his own, to the Pavilion of the *Legate*, where

1217. concluded, the Prince set sail for *France*, after having borrow'd five thousand Marks of the City of *London* to pay his Debts.

Henry *makes his Entry into* London.

Immediately after the Prince's Departure, *Henry* made his Entry into *London*, where he was receiv'd with a great deal of Pomp, and with Demonstrations of an universal Satisfaction. 'Twas not without Reason that the People express'd so great Joy, since, notwithstanding the Advantages the young King had just gain'd, he took a solemn Oath, that he wou'd maintain the Nation in their Privileges. Thus by the prudent Management of the *Regent*, the Barons, tho' worsted, obtain'd more solid Advantages than they cou'd have expected from a Victory which wou'd have subjected them, and perhaps beyond all Redress, to a *Foreign* Power.

Swears to maintain the People in their Privileges.

The Legate proceeds against the Ecclesiasticks that adher'd to Lewis. Paris.

Of all *Lewis*'s Party, the *Ecclesiasticks* were the only Persons that had no Reason to rejoice at the Peace, seeing they were left to the Pope's Mercy, whom they had wounded in the most sensible Part. He bore, with a great deal of Impatience, the Contempt wherewith *Lewis* and the Barons treated his *Censures*; but the Disregard of the *Clergy* made him still more outragious. As soon as the Legate was at Liberty to proceed against the *Ecclesiasticks*, pursuant to the last Article which he had caus'd to be inserted in the Treaty, he order'd strict Inquiry to be made throughout the Kingdom, after those who contemn'd the *Interdict*. All that were found guilty were *suspended*, or depriv'd of their *Benefices*, or constrain'd to make amends for their Fault by large Sums of Money *. A remarkable Instance of the wide Difference between the *Ecclesiastical* and the *Civil* Power.

The

where he and all his Followers were absolv'd. This Treaty was concluded upon an Island in the *Thames* near *Staines*.

* *Hugh*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, paid to the Pope's Use 1000 Marks, and 100 to the *Legate*, whose Examples being follow'd by many of the Bishops, and other *Religious* Persons, vast Sums of Money were rais'd for the Pope, who was always sure to gain, whoever lost.

The King of *Scotland*, who had been excommunicated for doing Homage to a *foreign* Prince, embrac'd the Offer of being included in the Treaty. Accordingly he came to *Northampton*, where he was abſolv'd by the *Legate*, after which he did Homage to *Henry* for the *Fees* he held in *England*. And then he deliver'd up *Carliſle*, which he had taken during the late Troubles. 1218. *The King of* Scotland *does Homage to* Henry. Chr. Mail.

Pope *Innocent* III. dying this Year, *Honorius* III. was promoted to the *Papal Chair*. Honorius III. *made Pope.* 1218.

One wou'd think, after the going off of the *French*, *England* at length wou'd have enjoy'd ſome Repoſe, to which ſhe had been ſo long a Stranger. But it was not poſſible that a perfect Calm ſhou'd immediately ſucceed ſo violent a Storm. The Treaty made with *Lewis* became a new Source of Troubles, which threw the *Regent* into great Perplexities. Thoſe Barons that had faithfully ſerv'd King *John*, and to whom he had given the confiſcated Eſtates of the *Rebels*, cou'd not bear the Thoughts of reſtoring them to the old *Proprietors*, according to the Tenor of the Treaty. On the other Hand, the *Eccleſiaſticks* loudly complain'd of having been left open to the *Legate*'s Perſecutions, without any one's thinking it worth the while to take the leaſt Care of their Concerns. However, the *Regent* was reſolv'd, let the Conſequence be what it wou'd, to execute the Treaty, being perſwaded it was the only Means to cut up all Diſturbances by the Roots. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he march'd with a good Body of Troops, in order to bring to Reaſon ſuch as forcibly and obſtinately with-held divers Caſtles and Lands from the former Owners. *Robert Gaugy* was the only one however that held out a Siege of eight Days, in the Caſtle of *Nottingham* *, belonging to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*. But at length, finding there was no help for it, he ſurrender'd the Caſtle to the Biſhop, upon Condition he wou'd pay him 100 Pound Sterling. The reſt that were in the ſame Caſe, diſheartned by his Example, made the like Compoſitions. *Diſturbances in* England. Paris.

The

* Of *Newark*. *M. Paris.*

1218. *The Regent stands by the Legate against the Clergy.*

The executing the Articles of the Treaty was so necessary towards restoring Tranquillity to the Kingdom, that the *Regent* was of Opinion, the Interests of some private Persons, how faithfully soever they had serv'd the King, were not to be put in the Scale against the general Good which wou'd result from the punctual Performance of his Word. In the mean time, to compleat the thorough Establishment of the young King on the Throne, he had still upon his Hands the satisfying the Pope, who was not in Humour to pardon the *Ecclesiasticks*, who had been so presumptuous as to despise the *Interdict*. In the Beginning of a Reign, when the Fidelity of the Subjects was yet wavering, and the King a *Minor*, it wou'd have been very imprudent in the Earl to exasperate the Court of *Rome*, by maintaining the Interests of the Clergy. On the contrary, there was but too great likelihood that the young King wou'd stand in need of the Pope's Protection. For which Reason he made no Scruple to publish at the Instance of the *Legate*, a Proclamation commanding all the *Excommunicated Ecclesiasticks* that had not been *absolved*, to depart the Kingdom on pain of Imprisonment. These rigorous Proceedings put them upon compounding Matters with the *Legate*, who demanded nothing but their Money.

He orders King John's *Charter to be observ'd.*

All Troubles being thus happily appeas'd, the *English* impatiently expected the Fruits of the King's Promises, with regard to their *Liberties*, the effectual Re-establishment whereof they had been made to hope for. How great Zeal soever the *Regent* might have for the King's Service, he did think himself oblig'd to carry it so far as to go from his Word. Accordingly, he sent express Orders * to all the *Sheriffs* of the Kingdom, that they shou'd see the two *Charters* of King *John* duly observ'd, and shou'd punish without Mercy all Violators of the same. How happy wou'd the *English* have been, if those that succeeded this Great Man in his Post and Credit

* These *Letters* or *Orders* are not to be found in our Histories, but remain upon Record in the *Tower* on the *Clause-Roll* of this Year. See Dr. *Brady*'s Appendix. N. 144.

Credit with the King, had trod in his Steps, and poſſeſs'd betimes with his generous Principles the Mind of this young Monarch! But by taking a contrary Courſe, they were the Cauſe of all the Troubles the Kingdom was involv'd in. 1218.

Whilſt the *French* were in *England*, *Lewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, who was in League with them, had taken ſeveral Places, which it wou'd have been a hard Matter to diſpoſſeſs him of, without drawing together the Troops which had been disbanded. This however was what the *Regent* wou'd willingly avoid, that he might not be forc'd to put the Subjects out of Temper, by levying Men and Money, at a Time when it was neceſſary to gain their Affections, by cauſing them to enjoy the Fruits of Peace. For this Reaſon, he granted the Prince of *Wales* an honourable and advantagious Peace, and procur'd him the *Legate*'s *Abſolution*, hoping by that Means to induce that turbulent Prince to ſit down in Quiet *. *The Prince of* Wales *makes Peace with the King.* Act. Pub. I. 2. 5.

This Affair being finiſh'd, *Gallo* the *Legate*, who had been recall'd, ſet out for *Rome* *. *Pandulph*, whom I have had frequent Occaſion to mention in King *John*'s Reign, ſucceeded him in his *Legateſhip*. Pandulph *is Legate for* England.

The *Orders* concerning the two *Charters* not having been duly executed, the *Regent* ſent *Itinerant Juſtices* into all the *Counties* to cauſe them to be ſtrictly obſerv'd. He was perſwaded, that he cou'd not without Injuſtice, and great Injury to the Honour and Intereſts of the young King, diſpenſe with putting in Execution, what the Prince and the King his Father had ſworn to perform. Had he liv'd any Time longer, he wou'd have infallibly ſet that Affair in ſo good a Way, that it wou'd have been a difficult Matter to turn it out of its Courſe again. But this great Man, equally qualified for War and Peace, died a little af- 1219. *The Regent iſſues freſh* Orders *about the* Charters. *He dies, and is ſucceeded by the Biſhop of* Winchester.

* He had the Cuſtody of the Caſtles of *Caermarthen*, and *Caerdigan* with their Lands and Appurtenances, deliver'd up to him during the King's Minority, after which he was to reſtore them.

[1] Tho' the Kingdom was then reduc'd to the loweſt Degree of Poverty, yet he made a ſhift to carry off 12000 Marks with him.

1219. ter, to the great Grief of the whole Kingdom, which he had freed from *Slavery*, by his Prudence and Valour *. *William des Roches* *1, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was made *Regent*, and *Hubert de Burg*, who had defended *Dover*, *Chief Juſticiary* of *England* (*a*).

Hubert de Burg *is made Juſtitiary.*

1220. The Coronation of the King had been perform'd at *Wincheſter* *2, in the Preſence of ſo few Lords, and with ſo little Solemnity, that it was thought proper to renew the Ceremony in a more pompous Manner, in the uſual Place. Cardinal *Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being return'd into *England* after the Troubles were over, ſet the Crown on the King's Head, after he had adminiſtred to him the Cuſtomary Oath *3.

Henry *is crown'd again.*

Immediately after his Coronation, *Henry*, attended by the new *Regent*, went on Progreſs into ſeveral *Counties*. His Deſign was to make ſome Alterations with regard to the Government of the Caſtles, which the King his Father had committed to ſuch as the new Regent thought he cou'd not confide in. He met with no Oppoſition but

1221. from *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, Governor of *Rockingham* Caſtle, who having ſet up for a *Petty Sovereign*, or rather a *Tyrant*, took little or no Notice of the *Orders* ſent from *Court*. The Garriſon made ſome Show of defending themſelves, but when they ſaw the whole Country in Arms to aſſiſt the King, and caſt off their Yoke, they did not ſtay to be compell'd to ſurrender, but choſe rather to procure ſome little Advantages by a Capitulation.

The Earl of Albemarle *reſiſts the King.*

This Year, the new Building of the Abby-Church of *Weſtminſter* *4 was begun, the King himſelf laying the Firſt-Stone.

William

* He died about the Middle of *May*, and his Body was buried in the Church of *the Knights-Templers* (now the *Temple-Church*) where his Effigy in a Coat of Mail is ſtill to be ſeen in the Middle of the *Round*.

*1 *Peter des Roches* or *de Rupibus*. M. Paris.

*2 At *Gloceſter*. M. Paris.

(*a*) He was as it were the King's *Lieutenant General*.

*3 *Walter* of *Coventry* ſays, the King was crown'd with St. *Edward*'s Crown on the 27th of *May*.

*4 Then call'd St. *Mary*'s *Chapel*. *See* Note, Vol. II. p. 89.

William [*de Forz*] Earl of *Albemarle* took to Heart the Loſs of his Caſtle, which he thought he was unjuſtly depriv'd of. To revenge this pretended Injury, he endeavoured to fortify himſelf in his Caſtle of *Biham* *, by the Means of which he held the whole Country round in Subjection. He even compell'd Merchants and Tradesmen to take *Paſſes* of him for leave to go through the Neighbourhood, without which they ran the Risk of being rifled. The Complaints of theſe Violences having been laid before the *Parliament*, then aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, he was ſummon'd to appear and anſwer for himſelf. He pretended he wou'd come, and accordingly ſet out, with Deſign, as was thought, for *London*. In the mean time, he took the Road for *Northamptonſhire*, and by Surprize ſeiz'd the Caſtle *Fortheringay*, where he plac'd a ſtrong Garriſon, and then return'd to *Biham*. Upon News of This, the *Parliament* reſolv'd, that an Army ſhou'd be forthwith rais'd, to lay ſiege to *Biham*, and that the Earl ſhou'd be puniſh'd for his Inſolence according to the utmoſt Rigour of the Law. As ſoon as Earl *William* found that the King's Army was on the March, he withdrew into the *North*, leaving the Caſtle to the Government of one, who ſurrender'd not till after a long Reſiſtance. 'Twas believ'd, that the Rebel wou'd be purſued, or at leaſt compell'd to quit the Kingdom: but he found the Means to make his Peace by the Mediation of the Archbiſhop of *York*. The Archbiſhop having repreſented in his Behalf, that it was but juſt to balance this Offence with the great Services he had done the late King, the *Regent* was prevail'd with by that Conſideration. A fatal Precedent, which afterwards gave Encouragement to other Barons to commit the ſame Fault without Dread of Puniſhment.

1221. *The Earl of* Albemarle *rebels.*

He is pardon'd.

The Court had taken a Progreſs laſt Year to *York*, where a Marriage had been agreed upon between the King of *Scotland* and the Princeſs *Joanna*, Siſter to the King. But as ſhe was in the Hands of the Earl of *March*, to whoſe eldeſt Son ſhe had been contracted, it was no eaſy Matter to get her

Joanna *the King's Siſter is married to the King of* Scotland. Act. Pub. I. 193, & 240.

* In *Lincolnſhire*.

1221. her thence. However, after some treating, she was at length sent back to the King her Brother, and her Nuptials with the King of *Scotland* were solemniz'd this Year. Shortly after *Hubert de Burg*, chief Justiciary, espous'd the eldest Sister of that Prince: An Honour, which by procuring him the Alliance of two Monarchs, might one Day cause some one of his Posterity to mount the Throne of *Scotland*.

Pandulph *made Bishop of* Norwich.

The Term of *Pandulph*'s Legateship being expir'd, he laid down his Office, and went and resided at his *See* of *Norwich*, of which the Pope had got him to be made Bishop as a Reward for his Services.

A Quarrel between the Londoners *and Men of* Westminster. Paris. M. West.

What Care soever the late Earl of *Pembroke* had taken, and those which were now at the Helm still took, to keep the Peace of the Kingdom, there were some Persons who made it their Business to disturb it. They laid hold of an Opportunity which a Quarrel between the Citizens of *London* and *Westminster* furnish'd them with. A great *Wrestling-Match* being made between the *Londoners* and the Country-People, Abundance of *Westminster-Men* came to the Place appointed, and being desirous of disputing the Prize, had the Mortification to see their Neighbours carry off the Honour of the Victory. This Triumph, tho' in it self scarce worth minding, rais'd however the Spleen of the Citizens of *Westminster*, who lay open to the insulting Railleries of the Conquerors. The Steward of the Abbot of *Westminster*, prepostrously imagining that his Master's and his own Honour were concern'd in the Case, undertook to revenge the Quarrel of his Fellow-Citizens, and to put them in a Way to be even with their Neighbours. To that End, he appointed another Match at *Westminster*, to which the Citizens of *London* flock'd in great Numbers. But as they went thither without Arms, they were rudely set upon by the *Westminster-men*, who wounded several, and put the rest to Flight. This Piece of Treachery caus'd a terrible Commotion in *London*. The Mob being got together, resolv'd to go and be reveng'd for this Outrage, the Authority of the *Mayor* not being able to curb their Fury. A Citizen of *London*, one *Constantine*,

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an Incendiary, who had been a zealous Stickler for the *French*, during the late Troubles, having put himſelf at the Head of the Rabble, did all he cou'd to ſpirit up their Rage. He repreſented to them, that 'twas in vain to expect Juſtice from the Magiſtrates, who were not concern'd at all about the *Honour* of the City, and that it was neceſſary, without Delay, to go and make their Enemies know to their Coſt that the Citizens of *London* were not to be thus dealt by with Impunity. His Speech meeting with Applauſe, He fell to crying as loud as he cou'd, *Monjoye St. Dennis*, which is what the *French* Soldiers ſhouted before a Battle, and marching towards *Weſtminſter* at the Head of the Mob, he caus'd the Steward's Houſe to be pull'd down to the Ground, after which he return'd in Triumph to *London*. The Tumult being appeas'd, *Hubert*, Chief Juſticiary, came to the *Tower*, and commanded ſeveral of the Citizens to appear before Him. *Conſtantine* was there among the reſt, and maintain'd to the *Juſticiary*'s Face, that *the Citizens of* London *had done nothing that was puniſhable by the Law, and that happen what wou'd, they were reſolv'd to ſtand by what they had done*. *Hubert*, perceiving his Inſolence, diſmiſs'd all the others, and detaining *Conſtantine*, order'd him to be hang'd next Morning, tho' he offer'd a thouſand * Marks for his Life. The *Juſticiary*'s Severity did not ſtop here. A few days after, he caus'd to be ſeiz'd in their Houſes thoſe that had the chief Hand in the *Riot*, ſome of whom had their Hands, and ſome their Noſes and Ears cut off, and then were ſent back thus maim'd into the City; which done, he chang'd all the Magiſtrates of *London*, and oblig'd thirty of the moſt conſiderable Citizens to be *Pledges* for the Good Behaviour of the City, to which the *Corporation* agreed by a *Charter*, ſeal'd with their common Seal *.

1222. Conſtantine *ſtirs up the* Londoners *to a Riot.*

Hubert *orders him to be hang'd;*

and puniſhes ſome more of the Rioters.

This

* *M. Paris* ſays fifteen thouſand, for it ſeems he was very rich.

* They bound themſelves to deliver up the *Sureties* to the King or Juſticiary whenever they were called for; and if any of them died, to add others in their Stead. This is mention'd by no Hiſtorian, but the *Recogniſance* is found upon Record in the *Tower*. See Dr. *Brady*'s Appendix. N. 147.

1222. This Rigour might have been juſtifiable, if *Hubert* had not acted in an arbitrary Manner, and directly contrary to the *Tenor* of the *Great Charter*, which orders, purſuant to the antient Cuſtom of the Kingdom, that every Man ſhall be tried by his *Peers* (*a*). Hence therefore he became odious to the Nation, and eſpecially to the *Londoners*, who did not fail to make him feel the Effects of their Hatred, when they had it in their Power.

1223. *The Parliament petition the King that the Charters may be obſerved.* Paris. Theſe arbitrary Proceedings of the *Chief Juſticiary*, put the *Parliament*, which met ſome time after at *Oxford*, upon requeſting the King, that he wou'd be pleas'd to cauſe *the Charter of Liberties* which he had ſworn to confirm, to be obſerv'd throughout the Kingdom. This Requeſt was not at all reliſh'd by Thoſe that were then at the Head of Affairs. Since the Death of the Earl of *Pembroke*, the *Court*, with the *new* Miniſtry, had taken up *new* Maxims, inſomuch that what appear'd in the Eyes of the former *Regent* to be highly Juſt, ſeem'd the quite contrary to the preſent *Miniſters*. When the *Parliament* preſented their *Petition* to the King, one of the Members of the *Council* * replied, that *it was unreaſonable to deſire the Execution of a Charter which had been extorted by Violence*. This imprudent Anſwer gave great Offence to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſharply reprov'd the Councellor, telling him, *if he really lov'd the King, whoſe Intereſts he ſeem'd to have ſo much at Heart, he wou'd not ſeek to involve the Kingdom again in Troubles, from which it was happily freed*. *Henry*, who was not then but ſixteen years of Age, approv'd of what the Archbiſhop had ſaid, and declar'd to the Deputies who had preſented the *Petition*, that His Intereſt was to cauſe the *Charters* of the King his Father to be ſtrictly obſerved. Accordingly, ſome Days after, he diſpatch'd Orders to all the *Sheriffs* to ſee them put in Execution. If he had always continued in this Mind, it wou'd have ſaved him a World of Vexations and Misfortunes which befell him afterwards.

(*a*) *See* Chap. XLVIII. of the *Great Charter*.
* *William Brewer*. M. Paris.

afterwards. In the mean Time the *Parliament*, satisfied with what the King had done, granted a *Subsidy* * of three Marks for every *Earl*, one Mark for every *Baron*, a Shilling for every *Knight*, and for every House in the Kingdom one *Penny*. 1223.

Philip Augustus King of *France* dying about this Time, and *Lewis* VIII. his Son succeeding him, the King's Council thought proper to send Ambassadors to the new King, to challenge the Performance of his Word with Regard to the Territories *Philip* had taken from King *John*. *Lewis* return'd in Answer, that he did not look upon himself as oblig'd to the Performance of a Treaty which the King of *England* had violated the first, in exacting large Ransoms of the Prisoners, and neglecting to re-establish the antient Laws, as had been agreed upon: That for his Part, he held *Normandy* and the other Provinces taken from the *English* by Right of Conquest, and as their Sovereign Lord, and in case any one had a Mind to dispute his Title, he was willing to submit it to the *Judgment* of the *Peers*. Some * say that he alledg'd also the Death of *Constantine* out of Spite, as he pretended, for his Affection to *France*, as one of the Reasons why he thought himself freed from all his Engagements; after which, he dismiss'd the Ambassadors without any further Reply. *The King of* France *dies, and is succeeded by* Lewis *his Son, who refuses to perform his Oath.* * Paris.

Whilst these Things were transacting, the Favour and Credit of the *Chief Justiciary* were increas'd to such a Degree, that he openly assum'd a Power, which none in his Post had ever pretended to before. But however, all wou'd not satisfy him, as long as there was one above him, from whom he was oblig'd to receive *Orders*. This was the Bishop of *Winchester*, who having been appointed *Regent* by Authority of *Parliament*, cou'd not easily be removed. As the *Regency* was still to last some Years, *Hubert* thought he had found out an infallible way to shorten it, by obtaining from the Pope a *Bull*, whereby the King was declar'd *Great Credit of the Justitiary,* *He gets the Pope to declare the King of Age.*

* *Walter of Coventry*, who is the only Author that mentions it, says, 'twas a *Poll-tax* for the Succours of the *Holy Land*.

1223. declar'd of *full Age*. This ſame *Bull* authoriz'd *Henry* to take the Reins of the Government into his own Hands, without being oblig'd any longer to make uſe of a *Regent*. The *Bull* likewiſe enjoin'd All that had the Cuſtody of the King's Caſtles forthwith to ſurrender them to the King, to be diſpos'd of according to his Pleaſure. But how expreſs ſoever this Order might be, the Barons refus'd to comply with it, becauſe it was directly contrary to the Laws of the Realm, by which the King was not to be *of Age* till one and twenty.

The Barons agree not to it.

Hubert's *Artifice to get the Caſtles from the Barons.* Rad. de Cog.

This Artifice not having had the Succeſs *Hubert* expected from it, he invented another in order to compaſs his Ends. As his procuring the Pope to declare the King of *full Age* was to no Purpoſe, ſince the Barons wou'd not agree to it, and as it was impoſſible to extort their Conſent as long as they were Maſters of the Caſtles, he devis'd this *Stratagem* to wreſt them out of their Hands. He got the King to demand of him the Caſtles he had the Cuſtody of; to which he ſubmitted, on Condition the reſt of the Barons ſhou'd do the ſame. Accordingly he ſurrender'd to the King the *Tower* of *London* and Caſtle of *Dover*, which were the two moſt important Places in the Kingdom. Some of the Barons follow'd his Example, not imagining there was any Fraud in the Matter. But when once the King was in Poſſeſſion of their Caſtles, he reſtor'd to *Hubert* all thoſe he had voluntarily given up, thus openly making a Jeſt of their Credulity. A Procedure ſo unworthy of a Prince, began from thenceforward to raiſe in the Barons an ill Opinion of the King. They were chiefly incens'd againſt the *Favourite*, whom they look'd upon as the principal Contriver of the Cheat. Moſt of Thoſe that had Places at Court, not being able to bear the Pride and Haughtineſs of this *Miniſter*, threw them up, and retir'd into the Country, with a Reſolution to lay hold of the firſt Opportunity to be reveng'd. In the mean Time, all the Lords not having fallen into the Snare, *Hubert* tried to bring them to Obedience, by cauſing them to be threatned with *Excommunication*. Some were frighte-

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ned into a Compliance; but others reſolv'd to ſtand their Ground in ſpite of the King and his *Juſticiary*. 1223.

Theſe domeſtick Broils were ſomewhat interrupted by foreign Wars. *Lewis* VIII. King of *France*, not content with having refus'd to perform what he had promis'd with an Oath, confiſcated all the Territories which the *Engliſh* held in *France*, and march'd directly into *Saintonge*, where he became Maſter of ſeveral Places; after which he went and laid Siege to *Rochelle*, where *Savary de Malleon* was Governor. 'Tis ſaid, that this Lord, who had receiv'd Intelligence of the King of *France*'s Deſign, having demanded an Aid of Money of the Court of *England*, they had ſent him, inſtead of the Money, a Coffer full of old Iron. So ſhameful a Neglect in the Defence of a Place, which deſerv'd the whole Care of the *Miniſtry*, irritated the Governor to ſuch a Degree, that he ſurrender'd the City in a few Days, and turn'd to the *French* (*a*). The Pretext *Lewis* made uſe of to break the Peace, was, that *Henry*, as Duke of *Guienne*, had not appear'd at his Coronation. But the true Reaſon was, that he had a Mind to take Advantage of that Prince's *Minority*, to expel the *Engliſh* entirely out of his Kingdom. This War begun upon ſo ſlight an Occaſion, of which *Lewis* had not ſo much as made any Complaint, made the Court of *England* ſenſible that there was an indiſpenſable Neceſſity of ſending an Army into *France*. Accordingly a *Parliament* was conven'd to conſult about the Way and Means to raiſe it. 1224. *The King of* France *attacks* Saintonge, *and takes* Rochelle. Paris.

Whilſt the King and Parliament were taken up in this Affair, the Outrages committed by *Fulk de Brent* interrupted their Debates. *Fulk*, encourag'd by *William of Albemarle*'s coming off with Impunity, tyranniz'd over his *Vaſſals* and Neighbours, and had committed ſuch Violences, that he was condemn'd in a Fine of a hundred *Rebellion of* Fulk de Brent. Paris.

(*a*) We find in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, a Letter, whereby it appears that there was Treachery, in the Loſs of *Rochelle*, either in the Governor, or ſome of the Inhabitants. T. I. p. 269.

1224. Pounds Sterling, by three Judges sent down on purpose *. His fierce and haughty Temper causing him to consider this *Verdict* as a great Injury, he resolv'd to be reveng'd. To that End, he sent *William* his Brother to *Dunstable*, where the Judges were holding the *Assizes*, with Orders to seize them by Force, and bring them to him. Two of them escap'd, but the third, *Henry de Braibrock*, was taken and carried to *Bedford-Castle*, where he suffer'd a thousand Indignities. News of this being brought to the Parliament, it was unanimously resolv'd, that this Disturber of the Peace shou'd be exemplarily punish'd; and that all other Affairs shou'd be laid aside till that was over. Pursuant to this Resolve, *Fulk*'s Brother, who commanded in *Bedford*, being summon'd to give up the Town to the King, and refusing to obey, he was attack'd so vigorously, that he was at length forc'd to surrender at Discretion. What Endeavours soever his Friends might use to appease the King, they cou'd not prevent his being hang'd, with four and twenty *Knights* that were found in the Garrison; which done, he order'd the Castle to be raz'd to the Ground. In the mean time, *Fulk*, who was fled into *Wales*, upon the Assurances several Lords had given him to stand by him, finding they were not as good as their Word, implor'd the King's Mercy by the Mediation of the Bishop of *Coventry*. The Prelate using the same Arguments which the Archbishop of *York* had done in behalf of *William* of *Albemarle*, got the Rebel pardon'd as to Life and Limbs: But he cou'd not hinder his being deliver'd to the Custody of the Bishop of *London* till the Year following, when the *Parliament* confiscated his Estate, and banish'd him the Realm. *Henry* obtain'd, for the Charges of this Expedition, a *Subsidy* of two Shillings upon every *Hide* of Arable Land.

1225. *A Subsidy granted on Condition that the Charters were observ'd.*

But he stood in need of much greater Sums to carry on the War with *France*. For the obtaining of which he call'd

* *Matthew Paris* says, he had 30 *Verdicts* given against him in Tryals of *Novel Desseizin*, in each of which he was fin'd a hundred Pounds, that is in all three thousand Pounds. *M. Paris*, *Ann* 1224.

call'd another *Parliament*, of whom he demanded a *Fifteenth* upon *Moveables*. The *Parliament* told him, they wou'd readily grant him the *Subsidy* he requir'd, provided the *Charters* of King *John*, which had all along been neglected, were punctually obſerv'd for the future. The King's Circumſtances not ſuffering him to deny their Requeſt, he granted it in a handſom Manner, and even ſent into every *County* Commiſſioners to ſee the *Charters* put in Execution *: But the Effects of theſe Orders were of no long continuance. However, People were ſo well ſatisfied of the King's good Intentions, that never was Tax levied with greater exactneſs. That it might meet with the fewer Rubs, the Biſhops excommunicated all thoſe who were guilty of any Fraud. 1225. Act. Pub. I. 277.

The King made uſe of this Money to raiſe an Army, which he ſent into *Guienne*, under the Command of Prince *Richard* his Brother, whom he had juſt made Earl of *Cornwal*. *Richard*, having the Earl of *Salisbury* for his Lieutenant, made ſome Progreſs in *Guienne*, where he took St. *Macaire*. After which he beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Riol*, a ſtrong Place, which, by the Reſiſtance it made, gave the Earl of *March*, General of the *French* Army, time to come to its Relief. The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians affirm, that *Richard* obtain'd a conſiderable Advantage over the Earl. The *French*, on the contrary, ſay, that perceiving he was not ſtrong enough to hazard a Battle, he retir'd on the other ſide of the *Dordonne*, and ſhortly after into *England*. It is certain however, that *Richard* quitted not *Guienne* till 1227, as appears from *the Collection of Publick Acts*. I. 291.

The Year 1226 was uſher'd in with a *Parliament*, wherein the King, who was recover'd from a dangerous Illneſs, was declar'd of full Age, tho' he was not ſo old as the *Law* requir'd. But this was not the only Buſineſs for which the *Parliament* was call'd. A *Legate*, lately arriv'd 1226. *The King is declar'd of Age.* *An extraordinary Demand of the Pope.*

* The King ſign'd and ſent two *Charters* to every County, one concerning the *Common Liberties*, the other of *the Liberties of the Foreſts*. M. Paris. Ann. 1225.

1226. arriv'd from *Rome*, had an extraordinary Propoſal from the Pope to lay before them, which concern'd the whole Kingdom, and the *Clergy* eſpecially. The Subſtance of the Propoſal was, That ſince the *Holy See* had of a long time lain under the Scandal of doing nothing without Money, it was for the Honour and Intereſt of all Chriſtians to wipe out this Reproach, by removing the Cauſe of it. That it was notorious to all the World, that the extreme Poverty of the *Church of Rome* laid her under an abſolute Neceſſity of demanding ſome *Acknowledgment* for the *Favours* ſhe diſpens'd to her Sons; that ſhe deſir'd nothing more than to be in a Capacity to do this with Moderation; and that the beſt Means to that End, wou'd be for the *Faithful* to grant her ſuch Aids as ſhou'd be proportionable to her Wants. Then the *Legate* propos'd, that in order to ſupply the urgent Occaſions of the *Holy See*, there ſhou'd be ſet apart to the Pope's Uſe, out of every *Cathedral* Church two *Prebendaries*, and out of every *Monaſtery* two Monks Portions; and that this Grant ſhou'd be confirm'd by *Parliament*. He back'd his Propoſal with the moſt ſpecious Reaſons he cou'd deviſe, without promiſing, however, that the Pope wou'd take nothing for the *Favours* he ſhou'd grant for the time to come; but inſinuating only, that he wou'd uſe more Moderation in that Reſpect. It was no hard Matter to ſee the Pope's Drift; and therefore the *Legate*'s Eloquence was not able to prevail with the *Parliament*. He had even the Mortification to ſee that they did not ſo much as vouchſafe to give him an Anſwer. When he wou'd have complain'd of their uncivil Uſage of the Pope, he was told, that the Abſence of the King, and of ſome of the principal Biſhops, hinder'd them from taking into Conſideration a Propoſal of that Nature. Not diſcouraged at this Repulſe, he requir'd that the *Seſſion* of *Parliament* ſhou'd be prolong'd till the King and the abſent Prelates ſhou'd come. But no Regard was had to his Inſtances; and the *Parliament* broke up without coming to any Reſolution in the Matter; ſo that the *Legate* was forc'd to wait with Patience till

The Parliament makes no Reply to the Legate's Demand.

till the next *Seſſion*. In the mean time he took a Journey into the *Northern* Counties, where, under Pretence of the Right of *Procurations* (*a*), he oppreſs'd the *Churches* to ſuch a Degree, that they were fain to complain of him to the Pope, who recall'd him for fear of exaſperating the *Engliſh* at ſo critical a Juncture. 1226. *The Pope inſiſts upon it.* However the Pope, who was ſtill in hopes of obtaining what he had demanded, injoin'd the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to get the Parliament conven'd again, and to require them to give a poſitive Anſwer to the Propoſal made by his *Legate*. The King having advis'd with the Biſhops, ſent the Pope Word, that ſince this Affair concern'd not *England* alone, but all *Chriſtendom*, he was ready to conform to the Reſolutions which ſhou'd be taken in the Matter in other Chriſtian Countries. This was properly a civil Denial; for 'twas well known that a *Legate* had made the ſame Propoſal in *France*, but to no manner of Purpoſe.

Lewis VIII. *Head of the Cruſade againſt the* Albigenſes

In the mean time *Henry* went on with his Preparations to carry War into *France*: But he found himſelf conſtrain'd to put a Stop to them, by Reaſon that *Lewis* having taken upon him to head a *Cruſade* againſt the *Albigenſes*, had procur'd of the Pope private Orders to all Chriſtian Princes not to give him any Diſturbance during his Expedition. *Henry* having conſulted his *Parliament* about theſe Orders, was advis'd to put off the War till the Return of the King of *France*, who was then beſieging *Avignon*, where Entrance had been denied him. This Prince died a little after his taking that Place, not without Suſpicion of being poiſon'd by the Earl of *Champaign*, who was deſperately in love with the Queen. *Lewis* IX. his Son, ſucceeded him, under the Guardianſhip of *Blanch* of *Caſtile* his Mother, who, tho' a Foreigner, had Credit enough to obtain the *Regency* of the Kingdom.

He dies, and is ſucceeded by his Son.

Whilſt

(*a*) The *Legates* had a Right to demand their Expences to be defray'd, when they viſited the *Churches* and *Monaſteries*, the which had been converted into ready-Money.

1226. Henry *causes all Charters to be renew'd in Order to raise Money.*

Whilst the *English* Arms were suspended by the superiour Orders of the Court of *Rome*, *Henry* enter'd upon his *Majority* with an Act of Injustice, for which he had not the least Colour. As he durst not demand any Money of the *Parliament*, who had so lately granted him a very considerable Subsidy, he bethought himself of an Expedient, formerly made use of by *Richard* his Uncle upon the like Occasion, after his Return from the *Holy Land:* And that was, to oblige all those that had *Charters* to renew them, upon payment of such a Sum. This Order, the only End whereof was to fill the King's Coffers, fell the heaviest upon the *Monasteries*. All the unjust Methods invented by Princes to extort Money from their Subjects, are so many Fountains of Oppression, which never dry up, Successors seldom failing to follow the ill Example of their Predecessors.

1227. Hubert *is suspected of poisoning the Earl of* Salisbury.

In the Begining of the next Year, the sudden Death of the Earl of *Salisbury*, natural Son to *Henry* II, at a Banquet, to which the *Chief Justiciary* had invited him, gave occasion for strong Suspicions against that *Minister*. However, no Inquiry was made into the Matter, no Body daring to attack directly a Favourite who had an absolute Sway over the King. As *Henry* advanc'd in Years, he was observ'd to have *Qualities* ill-becoming a great Prince; an extreme Avarice, an astonishing Fickleness, a deal of Caprice and Unsteadiness in his Behaviour, an unusual Easiness to suffer himself to be govern'd by those about him; and what was worst of all, Principles of Oppression and Tyranny, which afforded a frightful Prospect for the Time to come. Tho' he had been declar'd of Age the Year before, he had kept the Bishop of *Winchester* near his Person, for the sake of his Advice: But *Hubert de Burg* wou'd not suffer him to retain him any longer. He represented to him, that although he had been declar'd of *full Age*, he wou'd always be look'd upon as under the Guardianship of a *Regent*, as long as that Prelate was at Court; and that it wou'd be for his Honour and Interest to let his Subjects see he was capable of holding the Reins of the Government himself. This Advice being

Charter of Henry III.

The Bishop of Winchester *is sent to his Diocese.*

being readily embrac'd by the King, who div'd not into the Motives of it, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had Orders to return to his Dioceſe. 1227.

The *Engliſh* wou'd have been unconcern'd, and perhaps glad at the Biſhop's Diſgrace, if it had not been immediately follow'd by an Event, which convinc'd them that it wou'd have been better for them had the King always divided his Favours. As ſoon as *Hubert* ſaw himſelf without a Rival in the *Miniſtry*, he endeavour'd to ſet himſelf above the Laws, by perſwading his Maſter that his ſole Aim was to render him abſolute. It was no hard Matter for him to engage the King in a Project, to which he was but too much inclin'd of himſelf. Beſides the Renewing of the *Charters* before-mentioned, he had extorted five thouſand Marks from the *Londoners*, under Pretence of their having lent the like Sum to Prince *Lewis*, when he left *England*. The Town of *Northampton* had been compell'd to pay him twelve hundred Pounds, on much the ſame frivolous Pretence. The Monaſteries had been no better dealt by. Maugre their Appeal to *the Holy See*, he had exacted from them large Sums, whilſt the Affair was depending before the Pope. Theſe Things were plain Indications how little he was diſpos'd to keep any Meaſures with his Subjects, and accordingly began to make him loſe their Eſteem. But what he did further, by the violent Counſels of the Chief Juſticiary, entirely alienated their Affections. On a ſudden, when 'twas leaſt expected, he annull'd the two *Charters* of the King his Father, tho' he had bound himſelf by Oath inviolably to obſerve them, pretending he was not oblig'd to ſtand to what he had promis'd during his *Minority*. *Hubert* for his Part, without giving himſelf any Trouble about the Murmurs of the People, by whom he was look'd upon as the Author of theſe pernicious Counſels, caus'd himſelf to be created Earl of *Kent*, as a Reward for the great Service he had done his Maſter in freeing him from the Yoke of theſe *Charters*.

Hubert *adviſes the King to become abſolute.* Paris.

The King begins to oppreſs the People.

He annulls King John's *Charters.*

Hubert *made Earl of* Kent.

The

1227. *Quarrel between the King and Prince* Richard. Paris.

The Proceedings of the King and his Prime Minister, rais'd such Discontents among the Barons, that it was easy to see the little Affection they had for their Sovereign. Prince *Richard*, who arriv'd from *Guienne* a little after the Revoking of the *Charters*, laid hold of this Juncture, to brave the King his Brother in a Contest he had with him. The Occasion whereof was this, King *John* having given to one *Waleran*, a *German*, a certain *Manor* belonging to the Earldom of *Cornwal*, *Richard*, as soon as he was invested with that Earldom, order'd *Waleran* to appear and produce his Title, and in the mean time caus'd the *Manor* to be seiz'd. Whether *Waleran* had lost his *Charter*, or whether he thought it not *good*, he refus'd to obey the Summons. On the contrary, as if great Injustice had been done him, he carried his Complaints to the King, who, without examining the Affair, sent Orders to the Prince's Officers to restore the *Manor*. They found Means however to put it off till the Return of their Master. Upon his Arrival, *Richard* represented to the King, that he had done *Waleran* no wrong in obliging him to show his Title: That his Intent was not to deprive him of his Lands by force, but to have the Matter decided by the Laws, and to that End offer'd to refer it to the Judgment of the *Peers* of the Realm. *Henry*, offended at this Proposal, fell into a Passion with his Brother, and commanded him to give back the *Manor* in Dispute, by such a Time, or else to depart the Kingdom. *Richard* boldly replied, That he wou'd do neither without the Judgment of his *Peers*, and immediately retir'd without staying for an Answer. The *Chief Justiciary*, who never ceas'd inspiring the King with violent Maxims, advis'd him to take the Prince into Custody. But whilst *Henry* was considering what to do, *Richard* withdrew from Court, and hasten'd to the Earl of *Pembroke* in order to consult him in this Affair. *Pembroke* approv'd of what the Prince had done, and perceiving this to be a favourable Opportunity to check the arbitrary Power, the King had a Mind to usurp, believ'd he ought not to let it slip. And therefore he assur'd

Richard's *bold Answer to the King.*

Richard

Richard he was ready to ſtand by him with his Life and Eſtate; and that he did not queſtion in the leaſt but that the greateſt Part of the Barons wou'd do the ſame. And indeed, ſhortly after, by the Diligence of the *Earl-Marſhal*, the Earls of *Gloceſter*, *Cheſter*, *Warren*, *Warwick*, *Ferrars*, and *Hereford*, with a great Number of other Barons, enter'd into a Confederacy with *Richard*, and took up Arms to compel the King to reſtore the *Charters* he had lately cancell'd. *Hubert* was alarm'd at this Confederacy. As he foreſaw it might be attended with fatal Conſequences, he thought it his beſt way to accommodate Matters between the two Brothers. In order to give Prince *Richard* Satisfaction, who was the Chief of the *Confederates*, he got the King to ſettle upon him the Queen their Mother's *Dower*, to which he pretended a Right; and likewiſe to augment his *Appennage* with the Lands which the Earl of *Boloign* had held in *England*. *Richard*, fully ſatisfied with theſe Grants, ſaid not a Word about reſtoring the *Charters*, and the Confederacy was diſſolv'd. Thus it is that *the Great* make uſe of the Pretence of the *Publick Good* to advance their own Intereſt, or to gratify their Paſſions: But when once they have found Means to attain their own private Ends, they quickly let the World ſee the *Good* of the *Publick* was what they had leaſt in View.

1227.

He makes a League with divers Barons who take up Arms.

Richard *is ſatisfied, and the League broken.*

Pope *Honorius* III. died this Year, and was ſucceeded by *Gregory* IX.

Gregory IX. *Pope.*

Stephen Langton, Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, outliv'd *Honorius* but a few Months. His Eyes were no ſooner cloſ'd, but the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*, willing to ſecure the Privilege of electing their Archbiſhop, immediately choſe *Walter de Hemeſham*, one of their Fellow Monks. The King was offended at this Election being made without his Licenſe, and refus'd to confirm their Choice; becauſe, as he alledg'd, the Father of this Monk had been hang'd for Theft. On the other Hand, the *Suffragan* Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury*, angry that he was choſen without their Conſent, refus'd to accept him on the Score of his having corrupted a *Nun*,

1228.

Death of Archbiſhop Langton.

The Election of another, whom the King refuſes to confirm.

Paris.

1228. by whom he had had ſeveral Children. Upon this, both ſides ſent *Agents* to *Rome* to have the Matter decided there. In the mean time the Church of *Canterbury* remain'd vacant.

War with the Welſh. This Year the *Welſh* having made Irruptions into *England*, the King march'd into their Country to chaſtiſe them. But after he had harraſs'd his Troops to no manner of purpoſe, he was fain to return without having made any Progreſs.

Frederick II. *excommunicated* Paris. This ſame Year the new Pope thunder'd out a *Bull* of Excommunication againſt the Emperor *Frederick* II. for having fail'd to carry his Arms into *the Holy Land*, as he had ſolemnly vow'd to do. How haughty ſoever this Monarch might be, he was forc'd to truckle to the Pope's Authority, and perform his Vow the Year following.

Troubles in France, *which* Henry *takes not the Advantage of.* Paris. Whilſt theſe Things were tranſacting, the Regency of *Blanch*, Mother of *St. Lewis*, occaſion'd, in *France*, Diſturbances which *Henry* might have turn'd to his Advantage, had he known how to make the beſt of them. But this Prince was not of a *Genius* fit for great Deſigns. If ever he form'd any, it was always at an improper Time, whilſt he neglected to lay hold of the moſt favourable Opportunities. A better had never offer'd than the Preſent one, to recover the Provinces which the *Engliſh* had loſt in *France*, had it been well manag'd. The *Normans* having eſpous'd the Side of the Barons in League againſt the Queen-Regent of *France*, had ſent *Henry* Word, that if he wou'd come over, he ſhou'd be receiv'd with open Arms, and put in Poſſeſſion of that rich Province. On the other Hand, the *Poictevins* importun'd him to come and ſeize ſuch of their Towns as were in the Hands of the *French*, and offer'd him their Aſſiſtance. At the ſame time the *Gaſcons* ſent the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* to inform him, that it was his own Fault, if he laid not hold of the preſent Juncture to expel the *French* out of the Places they were poſſeſs'd of in *Guienne*. Inſtances ſo urgent, at ſuch a ſeaſonable Time, ſhou'd have induc'd *Henry* to make a vigorous Puſh for the Recovery of what

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the King his Father had loſt by his Careleſneſs. But, blinded by the Advice of the *Chief Juſticiary*, he return'd in anſwer, that he wou'd ſtay for a more convenient Opportunity, as if he had been ſure of one every Day. We ſhall ſee hereafter that he raſhly embark'd in this Undertaking at a Time when there was not the leaſt Appearance of ſucceeding. 'Twas thus that this Prince blindly ſuffer'd himſelf to be guided by his *Miniſters*, who abus'd his Eaſineſs and Weakneſs to advance their own Affairs, without any Regard to the Intereſts of their Maſter. 1228.

The Pope nominates another Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Paris.

In the mean time, the Diſpute about the Election of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was carrying on at *Rome* with great warmth, without the Pope's being yet pleas'd to determine the Matter. But at length, the King's Envoys having bethought themſelves to make the Pope an Offer of a *Tenth* of all the *Moveables* in *England* and *Ireland*, and this Offer having given him ſome more Light into the Affair than he had before, he voided the Election made by the Monks. At the ſame time, on pretence to cut off all Diſputes that might ariſe from a new Election, he conferr'd the *Archiepiſcopal* Dignity on *Richard le Grand*, Chancellor of the Church of *Lincoln*; in which he out-did even *Innocent* III, who was willing at leaſt to keep up ſome Form, by cauſing *Langton* to be elected by the Monks that were ſent to him by the reſt. Though this Step of *Gregory*'s was of a more dangerous Conſequence than that of *Innocent*'s, yet the King and *Suffragan* Biſhops receiv'd the new Archbiſhop, well ſatisfied with having voided the Monk's Election, without troubling themſelves about the Damage done by it to the Church of *England*.

He demands the promis'd Tenths.

Quickly after *Geoffrey*, who was in haſte for the Performance of the Promiſes lately made him, ſent one of his Chaplains into *England* to gather the promis'd *Tenths*, which were to be expended in his Wars againſt the Emperor. The King having aſſembled the *Parliament* upon this Occaſion, the Chaplain laid before them the Pope's Letters, wherein he urg'd the Performance of what he had been made to expect. Every one's Eyes were fix'd

1228. upon the King, all imagining that he wou'd oppoſe this Exaction, and diſclaim what his Envoys had done. But when they ſaw that he kept ſilence, they were convinc'd that the Promiſe had been made by his Order, or at leaſt that he had not Courage enough to contradict the Pope's Will and Pleaſure. The Lords therefore thought it behov'd them to ſhow greater Reſolution than the King. The Buſineſs ſeem'd to them of ſo great Moment, that they unanimouſly reſolv'd not to ſuffer their *Lay-fees* to be thus liable to the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*. However, to ſatisfy the Pope in ſome Meaſure, they propos'd to give him a certain Sum, without inquiring into the Effects of each particular Perſon. In all appearance this Method wou'd have ſucceeded, had not *Stephen Segrave*, one of the Barons, voluntarily ſubmitted to the Pope's Demands, and drawn in others by his Example. The Number of thoſe that had ſuffer'd themſelves to be gain'd, being increas'd by degrees, the greateſt Oppoſers found themſelves conſtrain'd to yield, for fear of incurring the Indignation of the King and Pope. The *Clergy* durſt ſtill leſs venture to ſtand out, leaſt they ſhou'd be liable to the *Excommunication* they were threatned with. The *Nuntio*, having thus attain'd his Ends, produc'd a *full Power* from his Maſter to collect the Tax, which was to be paid out of all *Moveables*, of what kind ſoever. He executed his Orders ſo rigorouſly, that he caus'd the *Tenths* of all Sorts of Fruits, even of ſuch as were yet growing, to be paid him in Money. Neither was this all: That this Tax might be levied with the more ſpeed, he oblig'd the Biſhops to advance the Money for the inferior *Clergy*, leaving them a Power to reimburſe themſelves in the manner they ſhou'd think proper. The Prelates and Abbots therefore were under a Neceſſity of finding ready Money. But as ſeveral of them were not able to raiſe it ſoon enough, the *Nuntio* had provided againſt this Inconvenience, by bringing along with him certain *Italian* Uſurers, who lent them Money at an extravagant Intereſt. 'Twas thus the Pope abus'd the King's Weakneſs, who might eaſily have prevented this Exaction, if

He meets with Oppoſition;

but gains his Point.

The Nuntio raiſes the Tenths with rigour.

if he had but vigorouſly oppos'd it. For the Earl of *Cheſter*, his Subject, had the Power to hinder this Tax from being levied in his Earldom, by ſtoutly maintaining, in ſpite of the *Nuntio*'s Clamours, that the Pope had nothing to do with *Lay-Fees*. But beſides that *Henry* was terrify'd by the Example of the King his Father, which he had ever before his Eyes, he had another Reaſon that induc'd him to this Compliance with the Pope's Will. In his Project of rendring himſelf abſolute, and raiſing Money upon his Subjects by all ſorts of Ways, he was very ſenſible he ſhou'd ſtand in need of the Pope's Protection, and nothing cou'd procure it him ſooner, than the letting him go Shares in theſe Exactions. Accordingly we ſhall ſee in the Sequel of this Reign, that the Pope and King mutually ſtood by one another whenever the Buſineſs was to extort Money from the *Engliſh*. 1228.

The King and Pope ſtand by one another.

The Nation had ſcarce forgot the Oppreſſion they had lately ſuffer'd from the Hands of the Pope, when they ſaw themſelves oblig'd to furniſh the King with Means to wage War with the King of *France*. After the Diſturbances in that Kingdom were over, and conſequently the Opportuuity of taking advantage of them was loſt. *Henry* form'd the Deſign of recovering by Arms the Provinces which had been taken from the King his Father; without conſidering that the Poſture of Affairs in *France* was very much alter'd, the Lords, that had oppos'd the *Queen-Regent* being return'd to their Obedience, and no longer in a Condition to aſſiſt him. To put his Deſign in Execution, he reſolv'd to make great Preparations; and with this View he ſummon'd all the Vaſſals of the Crown to meet him, immediately after *Michaelmas*, at *Portſmouth*, where he aſſembled one of the fineſt Armies that had ever been rais'd in *England*. However this extraordinary Armament prov'd in vain, by Reaſon when the Troops came to be embark'd, there were not Ships enough to tranſport them. This Diſappointment threw the King into ſuch a Paſſion that he call'd *Hubert de Burg*, who had taken up him to get all Things ready, *Old Traytor* ſeveral

The King forms the Deſign of carrying War into France. Paris.

Ships are wanting to tranſport the Troops.

The King is angry, and wou'd have kill'd Hubert.

1228. several times. He charg'd him with receiving a Bribe from the Court of *France* to put a Stop to this Design, and in his Rage drew his Sword to kill him. He wou'd certainly have done it, if the Earl of *Chester* had not interpos'd, not so much to save the *Justiciary*, as to prevent the King from imbruing his Hands in the Blood of one of his Subjects. It does not appear whether *Hubert* had acted out of Design or Negligence: but, be that as it will, the Expedition was forc'd to be retarded the whole Winter. To which did not a little contribute the Arrival of *Peter de Dreux* Duke of *Bretaign*, who perceiving that so much time had been lost in waiting for Transport-ships, and that the *English* Army, the Season being too far advanc'd, wou'd be oblig'd to take up their Winter Quarters in his Dominions where they were to land, advis'd the King to put off his Undertaking till the next Spring. During this Interval, *Hubert* found Means to get into Favour again, and to have the Administration of Affairs as Before.

The Expedition is deferr'd.

Affairs of Palestin. Paris.

This same Year the Emperor *Frederick* carried his Arms into *Palestin*, and compell'd the Sultan of *Egypt* to give him up *Jerusalem* *. He wou'd have been able to make a greater Progress, if the *Excommunication*, the Pope had thunder'd out against him the Year before, had not been of greater Weight with the *Templars* and *Hospitallers* of the *Holy Land*, than the Valour and Bravery of that Prince. Their Prejudice against him rose to that Height, that they had laid a Plot to deliver him into the Hands of the *Sultan*, to whom they had even communicated their Design. But this Prince, tho' an *Infidel*, abhorring their Treachery, was so generous as to give *Frederick* Notice of it. This Generosity turn'd more to his Advantage, than the having of the Emperor in his Power. By that Means he sow'd among the *Christians* of *Palestin* such Dissentions as were extremely prejudicial to their Affairs. *Frederick* finding he cou'd expect no Assistance from the Christians of *the Holy*

* The Emperor sent King *Henry* a large Account of his Proceedings in a Letter under his own Seal, the Copy of which *Matthew Paris* has inserted in his History under the Year, 1229.

Holy Land, and that the Pope diverted to other Uſes, the *Cruſades* deſign'd againſt the *Saracens*, made a Truce with the *Sultan* for ten Years, and return'd into *Europe*. 1228.

Altho' *Henry* waited with Impatience for the coming of the Spring, in order to tranſport his Army into *France*, his Stay in *England* during the Winter was not loſt Time. He procur'd a conſiderable Preſent from the *Clergy*, and exacted a large Sum from the City of *London*; and to leave no Means untried to raiſe Money, he compell'd the *Jews*, who were then very numerous in the Kingdom, to pay him a third Part of their Subſtance. As ſoon as the Spring was come, he embark'd with his Army at *Portſmouth*, and landed at St. *Maloes*, where he was receiv'd by the Duke of *Bretaign*, who put into his Hands all his ſtrong Towns and Caſtles. In the mean time the *French*, having had all the Winter to prepare themſelves, were poſted near *Angiers*, with deſign to hinder his March into *Poictou*. *Henry* gave them Time to fortify themſelves in their Poſt, whilſt he continued at *Nants* expecting the reſt of his Troops which were to come from *Ireland*. Altho' by the prudent Conduct of the *Queen-Regent* of *France*, the Male-contents had ſubmitted and promis'd to ſit down in Quiet, they no ſooner ſaw the King of *England* in *Bretaign*, and all *Lewis*'s Forces employ'd in thoſe Quarters, but they began to ſtir again. Upon which the King and *Queen-Regent* were oblig'd to quit *Anjou*, in order to quaſh the Deſigns of the Male-contents, which ſeem'd to them of worſe Conſequence than the Progreſs the *Engliſh* Arms might make. This was the Time for *Henry* to act vigorouſly, and lay hold of the preſent Juncture, eſpecially as the *Normans* were urgent with him to march into their Country, where they were ready to receive him and aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their Power. But tho' he was inclin'd to turn that way, 'tis affirm'd he was diſſwaded from it by his Favourite, who told him that the Attempt was liable to too many Difficulties. Inſtead therefore of marching into *Normandy*, he went directly to *Poictou*, where he took the Caſtle of *Mirabel*.

1229. Henry *raiſes Money by unjuſt Methods.* Paris.

Makes a Deſcent into Britaign.

Marches into Guienna, *and from thence returns into* Bretaign, *without doing any thing againſt the* French.

1219. *Mirabel.* After which, as if he had intended to let the *French* Male-contents see they were to expect nothing from him, he came to *Guienne*, in order to receive the Oath of Allegiance from the *Gascons*. Then, after loss of much Time, he return'd into *Bretaign*, where he employ'd himself in such a Manner as plainly show'd his little Inclination for War. This Behaviour made it suspicious that his *Ministers* held Intelligence with the Enemy, who had Leisure enough afforded him to appease the Troubles in his Kingdom. Accordingly the *Queen-Regent* took this Opportunity, which was so unseasonably given her, to accommodate Matters with the confederate Barons. They readily consented to a Peace, when they found that *Henry* took not one Step in their Favour.

At the Approach of the French *he retires into* England.

As soon as the *Queen-Regent* had nothing to fear from the Barons, she order'd the Army to march towards *Bretaign*, where *Henry* was lavishing away the Remains of his Money in Feastings and Diversions, as if his Design in leaving *England* had been only to take a Journey of Pleasure. Upon the first News of the Enemies Approach, finding his Treasure spent, and fearing he shou'd draw upon him the whole Power of *France*, he shamefully return'd into *England*. 'Twas not even without great Difficulty that he was brought to consent that Part of his Army shou'd be left in *Bretaign* under the Command of the Earls of *Chester* and *Pembroke*, for the Defence of the Duke whom he had unseasonably engag'd in the War. These Earls, not so fearful as their King, with the few Troops left them, not only hinder'd the *French* from entering *Bretaign*, but made Incursions into *Anjou* and *Normandy*, from whence they carried off great Spoils. Thus ended this Expedition. Instead of procuring any Advantage to *Henry*, it serv'd only to render him contemptible in the Eyes of his Subjects, who wou'd never hearken any more to an Expedition against *France*, seeing he had made such Ill-Use of so favourable a Conjuncture. He cast the whole Blame on the Treachery of the Earl of *March* and the *Poictevins*, who had not made good what they had promis'd him. But he himself was the Cause of the

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Change, ſince, in all Appearance, they cou'd not have deſerted him, had they ſeen him behave in ſuch a Manner as might have put them in hopes of a powerful Protection. 1229.

During *Henry*'s Abſence in *Bretaign*, ſome Commotions happen'd in *Ireland*. The King of *Connaught*, willing to take the Advantage of the Weakneſs of the *Engliſh*, whoſe beſt Troops had been ſent to the King, invaded their Territories with a great Army, or rather with Multitudes of unwarlike People. But he found in *Geoffrey de Maris*, chief *Juſticiary* of *Ireland*, a more formidable Enemy than he expected, who, having kill'd twenty thouſand of the *Iriſh*, took their King himſelf Priſoner. 1230. *Rebellion in* Ireland.

Altho' the King had laid out in needleſs Expences, the Sums granted him for his War with *France*, yet he made that Expedition a Pretence to demand a new *Subſidy*. The *Parliament* was with great Difficulty brought to comply with his Demands. However being prevail'd upon at length out of Conſideration of his great Wants, he had three Marks granted him out of every *Knight*'s *Fee*, which was held of the Crown. 1231. *Subſidy granted the King.*

Shortly after, *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* complain'd to the King, that after the Death of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, *Hubert de Burg* had ſeiz'd the Caſtle of *Tunbridge*, tho' it was a *Fief* of the Archbiſhoprick. *Henry* told him that the *Wardſhip* of the young Earl of *Gloceſter* belonging to him, it was his Prerogative to diſpoſe of it to his *Juſticiary*, during the Heir's Minority; adding, he thought it very ſtrange that he ſhou'd call his Right in Queſtion. This Anſwer not being ſatisfactory to the Archbiſhop, he excommunicated, without Diſtinction, all ſuch as wrongfully detain'd the *Church*'s Lands, and forthwith ſet out for *Rome* to proſecute his Suit in that Court. *Diſguſt of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. Paris. *He goes to* Rome.

Much about the ſame Time, Prince *Richard*, the King's Brother, married the Counteſs-Dowager of *Gloceſter*, Siſter of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who died quickly after his Siſter's Marriage. He left his Eſtate by *Will* to *Richard* *Prince* Richard's *Marriage.*

1231. *Death of the Earl of* Pembroke.

his Brother who was ſtill in *Bretaign*, where he did the State ſignal Services. A Truce for three Months, which was concluded ſhortly after, having afforded him Leiſure to return into *England*, he demanded his Brother's Inheritance, which the King had ſeiz'd. *Henry* wanting an Excuſe to enjoy the Profits, gave this Anſwer: That he heard his Brother's Widow was with Child, and therefore he cou'd not diſpoſe of the Inheritance till ſhe was delivered. But as he knew this was falſe, he ſought a more plauſible Pretence. He charg'd *Richard* with having held criminal Correſpondence with *France* whilſt he was in *Bretaign*, and without ſuffering him to vindicate himſelf, commanded him to depart the Kingdom within fifteen Days. It was very ſhocking to an *Engliſh* Earl to ſee himſelf treated in this Manner. But it was ſtill more ſo to the Son of that Earl of *Pembroke*, who had ſet the Crown on the King's Head, and eſtabliſh'd him in the Throne, in Spite of the Endeavours of his Enemies to the contrary. *Richard* indeed quitted *England*, but it was to paſs over into *Ireland*, where he was put in Poſſeſſion of the Caſtles and Lands belonging to his Family. Which done, he levied ſome Troops, and made himſelf amends out of the King's *Demeſns*, for what was unjuſtly detain'd from him in *England*. Whether *Henry* dreaded the Conſequences of this Revolt, or whether he had been made ſenſible that the Injuſtice done the Earl was too bare-fac'd to be maintain'd, he recall'd him from Baniſhment, put him in Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, and inveſted him with the Dignity of *Earl-Marſhal*, which his Brother had enjoy'd. It was the Temper of this Prince to behave haughtily to ſuch as he thought were not able to reſiſt him, and to ſtoop on a ſudden to thoſe that oppos'd him.

The King defrauds his Brother of the Inheritance.

He revenges himſelf in Ireland.

The King gives him his Eſtate.

Henry *makes War with the* Welſh, *but to little Purpoſe.*

Llewellyn Prince of *Wales*, having lately made ſome Incurſions into the Borders of *England*, *Henry* let him go on for ſome Time. But when he thought the *Welſh* Prince no longer expected to be attack'd, he reſolv'd to go in Perſon and chaſtiſe him. However, upon the firſt Reſiſtance he met with, his Warlike Heat abated, and he return'd without doing any Thing.

Tho'

Tho' *Henry* was now arriv'd to the twenty fifth Year of his Age, he had been forc'd to live unmarried, by Reason he had met with Diſappointments in all the Matches hitherto propos'd. His firſt Deſign had been to eſpouſe *Volante* Daughter of the Duke of *Bretaign*, to whom he was engag'd by Oath. But whether the Pope had refus'd to give him a Diſpenſation, or for ſome other Reaſon, the Matter was broke off. A Match was likewiſe propos'd between him and the Duke of *Auſtria*'s Daughter, but with no better Succeſs. Some time after, he wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, to impart to him his Intent of entering into a ſtrict Alliance with the Empire, by marrying the Daughter of the King of *Bohemia*. But we don't find this Affair was carried any further. He had alſo the Mortification to be diſappointed this very Year, in his Deſign of eſpouſing the Second Daughter of the King of *Scotland*, Siſter of the *Chief Juſticiary*'s Wife. The Jealouſy of the *Engliſh* Barons was a Bar to this Marriage. As they cou'd not bear to ſee the King married to the younger Siſter of the Wife of one of his Subjects, they were ſo urgent with him to divert him from it, that he thought fit to drop an Affair, wherein he met with ſo ſtrong Oppoſition. I ſhall add here, that, four Years after, he had a Mind to marry the Daughter of the Earl of *Pontieu*; but this Project like the reſt came to nothing. Tho' he was contracted to her, and Ambaſſadours were diſpatch'd to get the Pope's Diſpenſation, he alter'd his Mind whilſt they were on the Road, and ſent them Orders not to mention the Affair.

1231. *Several Matches propos'd, come to nothing.* Act. Pub. I. 271, 283, 275.

293.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had ſo effectually pleaded his Cauſe at *Rome*, that he had obtain'd an Order from the Pope to take Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Tunbridge*, during the Nonage of the Earl of *Gloceſter*. But he cou'd not reap the Benefit of this Favour: Death having ſurpris'd him, as he was returning to *England*. As ſoon as the Monks of St. *Auguſtin* heard the News of it, they forthwith elected the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* * Chancellor of the

Death of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

* *Hugh Nevil.*

1231. *An Election confirm'd by the King, and null'd by the Pope.*

Kingdom. The King having confirm'd their Choice, inveſted the Prelate with the Temporalities of the Archbiſhoprick. But the Archbiſhop elect cou'd never obtain the Pope's Confirmation, to whom it was repreſented * that he was too much a Courtier. This ſingle Reaſon was enough to induce the Pope to void the Election, and ſend orders to the Monks to chuſe one more devoted to the *Holy See*.

1232. *The King demands a Subſidy, but is refus'd.*

In the Beginning of the Year 1232, *Henry* call'd a *Parliament*, of whom he demanded a *Subſidy* to enable him to pay the Debts he had contracted by Reaſon of his Expedition againſt *France*. The Earl of *Cheſter* replied, in the Names of all the Barons, that they had aſſiſted him not only with their Money, but alſo their Perſons, and therefore they ow'd him no further Aid. The *Clergy*, who were no better inclin'd, having demanded Time to conſider of the Matter, the Parliament was prorogu'd till *Eaſter*.

A Confederacy againſt the Foreign Eccleſiaſticks. paris.

Beſides that the King had made an Ill-Uſe of the Aids granted him by the Parliament, he gave the *Clergy*, *Nobility*, and *People*, another Cauſe of Diſcontent, which they no leſs took to Heart. They ſaw that the King openly favour'd the Uſurpations of the Court of *Rome*, and by an affected Connivance, ſuffer'd the Pope to trample daily upon the Rights of the *Church* and Kingdom. The Popes, not contented with exacting from Time to Time, on divers Pretences, large Sums from the *Clergy*, were manifeſtly aiming at getting into their Hands the *Collations* to all the vacant *Benefices*, and conſequently the Rights of the Patrons were going to be quickly aboliſh'd. Moreover the conferring of almoſt all the Benefices upon *Italians*, or other Foreigners, cou'd not but very much incenſe the *Engliſh*. Their Diſguſt was arriv'd to that Height, that above fourſcore Perſons of Quality enter'd into a Confederacy to turn the *Italian Eccleſiaſticks* out of all they held in *England*, by Force of Arms. The Confederates, having choſen one *Twingham* for their Leader, forcibly enter'd

* By *Stephen Langton*.

ter'd ſeveral Houſes of theſe Foreigners, and having carried off what Things of Value they met with, diſtributed them among the Poor. This was done with ſo little Noiſe, that not a Soul ſtirr'd either to oppoſe or puniſh the Authors. But the Pope, who had quickly Intelligence of it, wrote ſo ſevere a Letter to the King, that if one were to judge by the Contents, one wou'd think the *Church* had receiv'd a mortal Wound. Beſides, without conſidering that the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England* requir'd a previous Proceſs and Examination of Matters, he commanded the King, to puniſh on the Spot the Diſturbers of the *Church*'s Peace, upon Pain of *Excommunication* and *Interdict*, if he deferr'd a Moment the Chaſtiſement of the Guilty. Theſe Threats having oblig'd the King to iſſue out Orders to make ſtrict Inquiry after the Authors of this Violence, he found there were more Perſons concerned in it than he had imagin'd, and that the Biſhops themſelves were either in the Plot, or had countenanc'd it by their Silence. However, for the Pope's Satisfaction, the chief Leader of the Confederates was apprehended, and ſent to *Rome*, purſuant to his *Holineſs*'s Order. Some of the *Sheriffs* and other Officers were impriſon'd for having neglected to ſuppreſs the Riot. In all Likelihood the Number and Quality of the Parties concern'd prevented this Affair from being proſecuted any further. 1232. Act. Pub. T. I.

During theſe Tranſactions, the Monks of St. *Auguſtin* having elected another Archbiſhop, according to the Orders they had receiv'd, and their Choice not having pleas'd the Pope any more than the former, they were enjoin'd to proceed to a third Election. *Another Election of an Archbiſhop voided by the Pope.*

How ſmooth ſoever Things ſeem'd to go outwardly for ſome Years at Court, the Minds of the Courtiers were not the leſs in Agitation. There was gathering againſt the *Chief Juſticiary*, a Storm, which prov'd the more fatal to him, as he was not prepar'd againſt it. Ever ſince it had been perceiv'd that the King was capable of entertaining Suſpicions againſt his Favourite, the Enemies of *Hubert* had not ceas'd to do him ill Offices. They had ſo well laid their Schemes, that they had prevail'd with the *Diſgrace of* Hubert.

King

1231. King to call the Bishop of *Winchester* to Court again, and make him one of his Counsellors. This Prelate had no sooner the King's Ear, but he labour'd incessantly at the Ruin of the Favourite, being sensible that his own Safety depended on the Downfal of his Rival. As he earnestly sought all Opportunities to compass his Ends, there was one that soon offer'd, which he fail'd not to lay hold of. The Prince of *Wales* having made without any Opposition several Inroads into *England*, the Bishop of *Winchester* represented to the King, how great a Reproach it was, that so despicable a People as the *Welsh* shou'd thus plunder his Subjects, without any one's endeavouring to prevent them. The King replied, that he was so far from having Money to undertake a War, that his Treasurers had given him to understand, his Revenues wou'd scarce suffice the necessary Expences of his Family. These Words furnish'd the Bishop with what he wanted, a Pretence to blame the Conduct of the *Prime Minister*. He told the King, that the Scarcity of Money which he complain'd of, proceeded from the Ill-management of his Treasury: That they, thro' whose Hands the Money pass'd, were not call'd to an Account: That the *Wardship* of Minors were continually given away to private Persons without any Benefit to his *Exchequer*: That he receiv'd no Profit from the Revenues of the vacant Benefices; or from the Lands which by Death or Confiscation, fell to the Crown. He added, that by these Means the Kings his Predecessors were wont to fill their Coffers, and consequently stood not so much in need of Parliamentary Aids, but liv'd in a greater Independence. *Henry*, improving this Advice, call'd all his *Sheriffs*, and such as had the Management of the Treasury, to an Account, and made *Peter de Rivaux*, the Bishop of *Winchester*'s Nephew, Treasurer of his Chamber. The Bishop did this to make Trial of his Credit, in order to bring about with the more Ease the Execution of his main Design. These Alterations were followed by some others, which tended to the removing from Court the Creatures of the *Chief Justiciary*, whose Interest visibly decreas'd, in Proportion as his Rival's gain'd Ground. In short, the Bishop

Hubert *turn'd out, and* Segrave *put in his Room.*

Biſhop knew ſo well how to manage the King, that he caus'd *Segrave*, his principal Confident, to be promoted to the Office of *Chief Juſticiary* in the room of *Hubert*, who was turn'd out, tho' he had a *Patent* to hold that Dignity for Life. 1232.

It ſeldom happens that a Favourite falls eaſy. The Hatred of the Prince is in proportion to his paſt Affection, the Former hardly ever failing to be as violent as the Latter. Princes generally act on theſe Occaſions from a Principle of Pride, which they themſelves very often do not perceive. As their Affection grows cool, they endeavour to juſtify their Inconſtancy, and frequently upbraid the Favourite for the very Thing which before was the Cauſe of their Love. Of this we have a remarkable Inſtance in the Downfal of *Hubert de Burg*. Never had Favourite ſo great an Aſcendent over his Maſter. His Counſels, which flatter'd all the King's Paſſions, were look'd upon, whilſt in Favour, as ſo many Oracles: But no ſooner had he entertain'd a Prejudice againſt him, but he conſider'd his former Advices as ſo many Treacheries. It is true indeed, 'twou'd be difficult to vindicate all the Actions of this Favourite. But it is very probable, that among the Things laid to his Charge, there were ſeveral falſe Imputations. Be this as it will, ſome few Days after he had been turn'd out, the King ſent for him, and requir'd him to give an Account of all the Money that had paſs'd thro' his Hands; the which being very hard to do, *Hubert* endeavour'd to be exempted from it. He produc'd King *John*'s *Charter*, wherein that Prince declar'd he was ſo well ſatisfied of his Faithfulneſs, that he diſcharged him from all Accounts. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* replied, That the *Charter* might be valid as to what had been done in the late Reign; but it was of no Force to exempt him from giving an Account of his Adminiſtration during the preſent Reign. He added, this was not the only thing he was charg'd with: That he was accus'd moreover of ſeveral Crimes, and particularly of having given the King treacherous Advices, to the great Prejudice of His and the Kingdom's Affairs. *Hubert* perceiv-

The King orders Hubert *to give in his Accounts.*

Hubert *endeavours to evade it.*

1232. perceiving by these Accusations, that they were bent upon his Ruin, requir'd some Time to give in his Answer; which they cou'd not well refuse him. The Bishop of *Winchester*, who stood in need of the Barons to get him condemned, durst not disoblige them, by denying *Hubert* a Privilege which was common to him with all the *Peers* of the Realm. It may be, they wou'd have made it their own Cause, if the Court had persisted in denying his Request.

Violence of the King against Hubert. Paris.

Whether *Hubert* was conscious of his Guilt, or whether he despair'd of being able to vindicate his Innocence before Judges, several whereof were his profess'd Enemies, instead of appearing on the Day appointed, he took *Sanctuary* in the *Priory* of *Merton*, from whence he hop'd they wou'd not dare to force him. Some time after, the Parliament being met at *Lambeth*, a *Subsidy* of the fortieth Part of the *Moveables* of the whole Nation was granted to the King. Which done, the Lords having requested that *Hubert de Burg*'s Tryal might go on, he was summon'd to appear; but he refus'd to obey the Summons. Upon which the King, who was of a violent Temper, commanded the Mayor of *London* to go and force him from his *Sanctuary*, and bring him either dead or alive. The Citizens of *London* very joyfully embrac'd this Opportunity of being reveng'd of *Hubert*, against whom they had entertain'd a mortal Hatred ever since his severe Proceedings against them in the Affair of *Constantine*. They immediately flock'd together to the Number of twenty thousand, with a Resolution to execute the King's Orders without Mercy. In the mean Time, some of the chief Citizens dreading the Consequences of so rash an Order, went and advis'd with the Bishop of *Winchester*, who told them, that whatever might be the Consequence, the King must be obey'd. But the Remonstrances the Earl of *Chester* made the King himself, had a better Effect. He represented to him, that such tumultuous Proceedings might be very dangerous, and raise in the City a Sedition which wou'd not be easily appeas'd. Moreover he made him sensible that so violent

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an Action wou'd be blam'd by all the World, and eſpecially by Foreigners, who not being prejudic'd, like the *Engliſh* againſt the Party accus'd, muſt needs think it very ſtrange that he ſhou'd treat him in this manner, ſince other Means were not wanting to puniſh him if he was guilty. Laſtly, He put him in Mind of the Pope's Reſentment, who wou'd never ſuffer the Sacredneſs of the *Sanctuary* to be violated with Impunity. *Henry* being prevail'd upon by theſe Reaſons, ſent a Countermand to the Mayor of *London*, who had enough to do to diſperſe the Mobb. 1232.

Hubert is drag'd by force out of a Church.

Of all the Friends *Hubert* had in his Proſperity, there was but one left that durſt open his Mouth in his Behalf. This was the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, who, by his Sollicitations, obtain'd of the King, that he wou'd grant *Hubert* ſome further Time to prepare his Anſwer. In the Interim, *Hubert* coming out of his Sanctuary, in order to viſit his Wife at St. *Edmunds-bury*, the King, who had notice of it, caus'd him to be purſu'd by ſome Soldiers, who found him in a ſmall Chapel *, whither he had fled for Refuge, with *the Croſs* in one Hand, and *the Hoſt* in the other: Both which being violently wrung from him, they chain'd his Feet under his Horſe's Belly, and in that ignominious Manner conducted him to the *Tower* of *London*. All Churches, as well as all that belong'd to them being in thoſe Days ſo many *Sanctuaries*, which cou'd not be violated without Puniſhment, the King's Attempt alarm'd the whole Body of the *Clergy*. The Biſhop of *London* was no ſooner inform'd of the Matter, but he went to the King, and declar'd he wou'd excommunicate all thoſe that, directly or indirectly, had any Hand in the Breach of the *Church*'s Privileges. The King being terrified at theſe Threats, order'd *Hubert* to be ſent back again to the Chapel from whence he had been taken: But at the ſame Time he commanded the *Sheriffs* of *Herefordſhire* and *Eſſex*, upon pain of being hang'd, to guard the Church ſo ſtrictly, that the Priſoner

He is ſent back.

* At *Brentwood* in *Eſſex*.

1232. might neither make his Escape, nor receive Victuals from any Person. The Archbishop of *Dublin* plainly perceiving that his Friend cou'd not long remain in this Condition, interceeded for him once more, and intreated the King with Tears in his Eyes, to let him know what he design'd to do with the Prisoner. *Henry* replied, he intended to have him condemn'd for a *Traytor*, unless he wou'd own himself guilty, and abjure the Kingdom for ever.

The Archbishop of Dublin *in vain interceeds for him.*

He is confin'd to the Tower.

This Condition having appear'd too hard to *Hubert*, he voluntarily yielded himself to the *Sheriffs*, who carried him to the *Tower* fetter'd, and chain'd, amidst the Shouts of the People, who took a Pleasure in insulting over his Disgrace.

The King relents. Paris.

But whilst he was anxiously expecting the rigorous Sentence he was threatned with, his Affairs began to have a new Face by the fickle Temper of the King, who cou'd not for any time continue in the same Mind. Two Things contributed to this Change: First, The Death of the Earl of *Chester* *, profess'd Enemy of *Hubert*, tho' he had dislik'd the illegal Ways the King wou'd have taken to destroy him. Secondly, A large Sum of Money which the Prisoner had lodg'd in the Hands of the *Knights Templers*, and which he readily deliver'd up to the King upon demanding it. Thus *Hubert* saw the King's Anger cool by degrees, at the very time that he expected to feel the most terrible Effects of his Wrath.

The Bishop of Winchester *tries to stir him up afresh.*

This sudden Change alarm'd the Bishop of *Winchester*, who dreading the revival of the King's Affection for his *old Minister*, made a fresh Attempt to compleat the Destruction of his formidable Rival. He took Occasion from the Money, lodg'd with the *Templers*, to accuse him of Fraud and Rapine; alledging, 'twas impossible for him to heap up such immense Riches by lawful Means. This Charge was back'd by all *Hubert*'s Adversaries who

* He died at *Wallingford-Castle* without Issue, and was succeeded in the Earldom of *Chester* by his Nephew *John*, Son to Earl *David*, Brother of the King of *Scotland*.

who, finding the King began to relent, came in a Body and urg'd that he might be put to Death. But the King reſolutely made anſwer, that he wou'd never conſent to the Death of a Perſon, from whom he himſelf and the King his Father had received ſuch ſignal Services. He dropp'd therefore his Proſecution, and leaving him in Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate of Inheritance, and of ſuch Lands as he had purchaſed with his own Money, was contented with depriving him of the reſt. As ſoon as 'twas known how the King ſtood affected, ſome of the Lords *, who till then had not dar'd to ſpeak for *Hubert*, ſollicited the King in his Behalf, and ſo far prevail'd upon him, that he was ſent to the Caſtle of the *Deviſes*, till it ſhou'd pleaſe the King to diſpoſe of him otherwiſe. Thus ended this Affair, which had made ſo much Noiſe, to the great Sorrow of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who had been in hopes that *Hubert* wou'd not have been able to come off without the loſs of his Head. 1232. *Hubert is ſent to the Deviſes.*

Richard *1 *Bland*, Profeſſor in *Divinity* at *Oxford*, being elected Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, forthwith ſet out for *Rome* with the King's Licenſe, in order to obtain the Pope's Confirmation. *A Fourth Election of an Archbiſhop.*

One wou'd think that *Hubert*'s Diſgrace ſhou'd have oblig'd the *new Miniſter* to keep within the Bounds of Moderation, and behave better towards the *Engliſh*. But contrary to every one's Expectation, it prov'd quite otherwiſe. Inſtead of taking a different Courſe from that of his Predeceſſor, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* thought of nothing but how to govern with abſolute Power, and at the ſame time to ſcreen himſelf from the Plots of thoſe that ſhou'd oppoſe his Deſigns. He gave the King to *The Biſhop of* Wincheſter *forms the Project of governing abſolutely.*

* *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, the King's Brother, *William* Earl of *Warren*, *Richard* Earl-Marſhal, and *William* Earl of *Ferrars*, became Sureties for his Good-behaviour.

*1 *John. M. Paris.* About this Time was collected the Fortieth Part of all Goods lately granted by Parliament. The Form of the Commiſſion to the Sheriffs, and the Manner how it was to be levied and collected is to be ſeen in *M. Paris*, under the Year 1232. to which the curious Reader is referr'd.

1233. underſtand, that among the Barons there were few that were really devoted to his Service, and that their ſole Aim was to make themſelves Independent: Adding, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to think of Means to repreſs their Inſolence: But that it wou'd be next to impoſſible to ſucceed, whilſt they were, as one may ſay, Maſters of the Kingdom, by having in their Hands all the Places of Truſt and Profit; in a Word, whilſt they had in their Poſſeſſion what might ſerve to increaſe their Audaciouſneſs: That their Power therefore was to be undermin'd by degrees, by turning them out of their Poſts, Offices, and Governments, which might be conferr'd upon Foreigners who ſhou'd be invited into *England*, to the End the King might depend upon their Aſſiſtance in caſe of Neceſſity: That the ſtrong Places and Poſts which drew after them the greateſt Credit and Authority among the People, being in the Hands of ſuch as were devoted to the King, out of Gratitude and their own Intereſt, it wou'd be in vain for the *Engliſh* Barons to attempt the re-eſtabliſhment of their pretended Rights. This Advice, ſo conformable to the King's Inclinations, cou'd not but be very agreeable to him; accordingly he put it forthwith in Practice. Quickly after were ſeen to arrive above two thouſand Knights, *Gaſcons* or *Poictevins*, whom the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, their Countryman, and *Peter de Rivaulx* his Son, who paſs'd for his Nephew, had ſent for over. Theſe Strangers not only were promoted to the moſt conſiderable Poſts and Governments, but moreover the King committed to them the Wardſhips of the young Nobility; by which Means they mutually procur'd one another very advantagious Matches, to the great Detriment of all the Noble Families. This Step very much exaſperated the Barons, who plainly ſaw the Conſequences of it. Beſides, they cou'd not bear to ſee themſelves remov'd from Places and Poſts to which they had a Right to pretend, whilſt the King was profuſe in beſtowing his Favours on Foreigners. But the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* prevented their Murmurs from reaching the Ears of the King;

He brings into England *great Numbers of* Poictevins.

King: Or, if he cou'd not do that, he had the Addreſs to hinder their making any Impreſſion on his Mind. 1233.

Richard, Earl of *Pembroke*, was the firſt that ventur'd openly to complain of theſe Proceedings. He boldly repreſented to the King, that by placing his whole Confidence in Strangers, he alienated to ſuch a Degree the Affections of his Subjects, that it was not poſſible but their Diſcontents wou'd be attended with fatal Conſequences. He told him roundly, that in caſe he continued thus to give the Preference to Foreigners before the *Engliſh*, the Barons wou'd be forc'd to find Means to rid the Kingdom of theſe Blood-ſuckers. The Prime Miniſter, who was preſent, gave not the King time to reply. He told the Earl, that his Inſolence deſerv'd Correction, in thus pretending to abridge the King of the Liberty of employing whom he thought moſt proper for the Defence of his Crown: Adding, that if the Foreigners, which were already in the Kingdom, were not ſufficient to reduce his rebellious Subjects to due Obedience, a greater Number ſhou'd be call'd in. This haughty and imprudent Anſwer caus'd a general Diſcontent among the Barons. From thenceforward they began to withdraw from Court, and to form a Confederacy, in order to put a Stop to the Deſpotick Power the King was aſſuming by the violent Counſels of his *Miniſter*.

The Earl of Pembroke *makes a Remonſtrance to the King.*

The Biſhop's Anſwer exaſperates the Barons.

Some time after, the King having ſummon'd a Parliament, the Barons, purſuant to the Reſolution they had taken among themſelves, refus'd to meet. They were ſummon'd a ſecond Time, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, having been inform'd that a freſh Troop of Foreigners were landed in *England*, in order to ſtrengthen the Court-Party, they met together in a Body, to conſult about what was to be done. The Reſult of their Conſultation was to ſend Deputies to the King, to let him know, that if he remov'd not from his Perſon and Counſels, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and the *Poictevins*, they were reſolv'd to place on the Throne a Prince, who ſhou'd better obſerve the Laws of the Realm. So formal a Declaration having furniſh'd the *Prime Miniſter* with a plauſible Pretence

They refuſe to meet in Parliament;

and threaten to elect another King.

1233. tence to exasperate the King against the Barons, he omitted nothing that might put him upon the most violent Measures to reduce them to Obedience. *Henry* blindly giving himself up to the Guidance of the Bishop, began, by his Advice, with compelling some of the Lords to deliver to him their Children as Pledges of their *Allegiance:* After which, he prepar'd, very unadvisedly, to prosecute by Arms such as refus'd to submit. When he thought himself in a Condition to make himself dreaded, he call'd a Parliament, with Design to get the most Stubborn condemn'd. The Barons obey'd the Summons indeed, but came so well attended, that they had nothing to fear. The Earl of *Pembroke* was on the Road in order to be present with the rest, being perswaded that it was not in the King's Power to get any Thing *pass'd* to his Prejudice: But upon Notice that the Court design'd to go a speedier and surer way to work with him, he turn'd back and retir'd into *Wales.* The Precautions the Barons had taken having broken the King's Measures, he porogu'd the Parliament, for fear what he had projected might fall on his own Head. Having fail'd in his Design of causing the Parliament to proceed against the Barons, he resolv'd to act with open Force. To that End, he summon'd all the *Vassals* of the Crown to meet him with their Troops at *Gloceſter;* but the Earl of *Pembroke,* and some others, did not think fit to appear. Their Refusal furnishing him with a plausible Reason to attack them, he order'd their Estates to be plunder'd, their Parks to be destroy'd, their Houses to be pillaged, and their Spoils to be distributed among his *Poictevins.* If the Barons had held together, the King wou'd never have ventur'd to proceed to such Violences. But Dissention having arisen among them, some of them broke the Confederacy, and left the rest expos'd to the King's Resentment. The Earl of *Pembroke* perceiving he was too weak to make head, after being thus deserted by the greatest Part of his *Associates,* applied to *Lewellyn,* Prince of *Wales,* who granted him Protection and Assistance.

Henry *undertakes to reduce them by Force.*

The Earl of Pembroke *retires into* Wales.

The King treats the Barons roughly.

Pembroke *leagues with the Prince of* Wales.

In

In the mean time, *Henry* having receiv'd a freſh Recruit of *Poictevin* Troops, march'd down as far as *Hereford*, with deſign to ſeize the Caſtles which the Earl of *Pembroke* had in that County. But he quickly fell off his Speed, by the Reſiſtance he met with from the firſt Caſtle he beſieged. As he was ſpending his Time in vain before the Caſtle, he bethought himſelf of a Device which ſucceeded. He made as if he was deſirous to refer the Deciſion of his Quarrel with the Barons to the Parliament, which was to meet in *October*. He even engag'd his Royal Word, that he wou'd conſider of their Complaints; and as his paſt Conduct had render'd his Word doubtful, ſome of the Biſhops were willing to be Sureties for his performing what he promiſed. Then he required that the Caſtle he was beſieging ſhou'd be put into his Hands, promiſing to ſurrender it again to the Earl of *Pembroke*, within fifteen Days. Theſe Conditions being approv'd of, the Caſtle was deliver'd up to the King: But when the fifteen Days were expir'd, he laugh'd at the Earl's Eaſineſs, and refus'd to ſtand to his Engagement. Such were the Leſſons the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* gave this Prince; I mean, to reckon for nothing the Breach of his Faith, and to behave ſo as to oblige his Subjects to require Pledges for the Performance of his Promiſes.

1233. *The King beſieges one of his Caſtles in vain. He propoſes an Accommodation; and breaks it.*

The Parliament being met on the 9th of *October*, as had been agreed upon, the King was earneſtly intreated by all the Lords, to replace his Confidence in his own native Subjects. They remonſtrated to him, that the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs belong'd more naturally to the *Peers* of the Realm than to Foreigners; and that he cou'd not prefer Strangers without doing Injuſtice to his Barons. Above all Things, they beſought him not to introduce the pernicious Cuſtom of treating as Rebels and Traytors, thoſe that were not legally condemned. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who, on ſuch Occaſions, never fail'd to anſwer for his Maſter, replied in a manner, which plainly ſhow'd what Maxims he inſtill'd into the Mind of the young King. He told them, that the

The Parliament make Remonſtrances to him. The imprudent Anſwer of the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Peers

1253. *Peers* of *England* took very much upon them, to put themſelves upon a Foot with the *Peers* of *France*, when there was a very wide Difference between the one and the other: And added, that it was a notorious Incroachment upon the Royal Prerogative, to pretend to deprive the King of the Right of making uſe of what Judges he pleas'd to puniſh ſuch Perſons as diſobeyed his Orders.

The Biſhops threaten to excommunicate him. Upon theſe Words, which contain'd Maxims ſo deſtructive of Liberty, the Biſhops to a Man ſtood up and threatned the Prelate with *Excommunication*. But he deſpis'd their Menaces, affirming he was not ſubject to their Juriſdiction, as having been *conſecrated* by the Pope.

He appeals to the Pope. However, leaſt this Reaſon ſhou'd not be thought weighty enough, he appeal'd before-hand to *His Holineſs*, againſt whatever the Biſhops ſhou'd do. *Appeals* to the Court of *Rome* were ſo *Sacred* at that Time, that the Biſhops not daring to *excommunicate* him by Name, were contented to dart their Thunders in general, againſt all thoſe who alienated the King's Affections from his natural Subjects.

The Earl of Pembroke *retakes his Caſtle.* In the mean time, the Earl of *Pembroke* finding that all his Inſtances for the Reſtitution of his Caſtle were to no Purpoſe, laid Siege to it, and became Maſter of it in a few Days. Upon News of this, the King fell into a great Fury againſt the Earl, and commanded the Biſhops

The Biſhops refuſe to excommunicate him. to pronounce him *Excommunicated*: But he had the Mortification to be denied. They told him, they did not ſee lawful Cauſe to excommunicate the Earl, who had done nothing but taken Poſſeſſion of what was his own, and what the King had promiſed to reſtore. *Henry*, not being able to prevail with the Biſhops, reſolv'd to take Arms again, in order to revenge the Affront

The King marches againſt him, he had juſt received. With this View he ſummon'd all the Lords to meet him at *Gloceſter* with their Troops, immediately after *All-Saints* Day. As ſoon as his Army was ready, he march'd into *Wales*; but he was hardly there, before he found himſelf in extreme want of Proviſions and Forrage, the Earl of *Pembroke* having laid waſte all the Places through which the Royal Army was

to

to paſs. This Diſappointment oblig'd him to alter his Courſe: He enter'd *Monmouthſhire*, where he ſtaid ſome Time to give Orders about the Subſiſtance of his Army. In the interim, the Earl of *Pembroke* underſtanding that the King and moſt of the general Officers were lodg'd in the Caſtle of *Groſmont*, whilſt the Army was quarter'd without in Tents, attack'd the Camp by Night, and put the whole Army, who thought nothing of the Matter, to rout. This Accident ſo confounded the King, who had loſt in the Action five or ſix hundred Horſes *, and almoſt all his Baggage, that altho' his Army was Superior to the Earl's, he retir'd to *Gloceſter*. *Pembroke*, upon the King's Retreat, reſolv'd to beſiege the Caſtle of *Monmouth*, which was under the Command of *Baldwin de Guiſnes*, a *Flemiſh* Officer of great Reputation. *Baldwin* not queſtioning but the Earl wou'd approach the Caſtle with a ſmall Number of Soldiers to take a View of it, laid an Ambuſh for him, which having ſurrounded him on a ſudden, took him Priſoner. This Accident wou'd doubtleſs have brought on the Ruin of the Earl and his whole Party, if, by good luck, whilſt they were conducting him to the Caſtle, *Baldwin* had not been deſperately wounded by an Arrow. His Wound having oblig'd his People to halt in order to aſſiſt him, the Earl's Army had not only time to reſcue their General, but likewiſe to kill or take Priſoner all thoſe that came out of the Town.

1233.

His Army ſurpris'd, and routed.

The Earl taken Priſoner, and reſcued again.

Whilſt theſe Things were tranſacting in *Wales*, *Hubert de Burg* was contriving Means to avoid a new Danger which hung over his Head. He had receiv'd Notice that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had a Deſign to diſpatch him out of the Way; and to compaſs his Ends the more eaſily, had earneſtly deſir'd of the King the Cuſtody of the Caſtle of the *Deviſes*. *Hubert*'s Danger having put him upon endeavouring to avoid it, he was ſo

Hubert *eſcapes, and flies to a Church.*

* The Earl wou'd not ſuffer any of the King's Soldiers to be taken or hurt, by which Means only two, (and they by their own Fault) fell by the Sword. *M. Paris.*

1233. lucky as to gain ſome of his Guards, who gave him an Opportunity to eſcape, and take Refuge in a neighbouring Church. As ſoon as it was known that he had given them the ſlip, the Governor ordered him to be purſued by ſome of the Garriſon, who having found him before the *Altar*, dragg'd him thence with great Violence, and brought him back to the Caſtle. If he had been taken any where but in a *Church*, few People wou'd have concerned themſelves about it. But the Breach of the Privilege of *Sanctuary* appear'd to the *Clergy* of ſo dangerous a Conſequence, that the Biſhop of *Salisbury* made it his own Cauſe, becauſe the Violation had been committed in a *Church* within his *Dioceſe*. He forthwith repaired to the *Deviſes*, and tried to perſwade the Governor to ſend back the Priſoner to the Place from whence he had been taken. His Solliciations proving ineffectual, he excommunicated the whole Garriſon, and immediately went and carried his Complaints to the King. He was back'd by the Biſhop of *London*, and ſome other Prelates, who were ſo urgent with the King, that he order'd the Priſoner to be ſent back to his *Sanctuary*. But this Favour was of little Benefit to *Hubert*, ſince at the ſame time the King commanded the *Sheriff* of the County to prevent any one from bringing him Victuals. However, on the Morrow he was reſcued by a Troop of armed Men, who afforded him Means to make his Eſcape into *Wales*, where he went and join'd the Earl of *Pembroke*.

He is dragg'd thence;

and ſent back again.

He is reſcued.

The Pope annuls the fourth Election of an Archbiſhop.

The Election of *Richard Blund* to the *See* of *Canterbury*, not meeting with Approbation at *Rome*, the Pope declar'd it void. But for fear the *Monks* ſhou'd miſtake him once more, he gave them leave to chuſe *Edmund* Canon of *Salisbury*. Thus by degrees the Popes became Maſters of the Elections of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, by annulling them, till ſuch time as one to their Mind ſhou'd be choſen.

Ever

Ever ſince the King's Retreat, the Earl of *Pembroke* continued his Progreſs, and daily gain'd ſome Advantage. In the Beginning of the Year 1234, he defeated a ſmall Army commanded by *John de Monmouth*, who thought to have ſurpris'd him, but found himſelf circumvented. After this Victory, he ravaged the Lands of the King's Councellors, lying on the Borders of *Wales*, and burnt the Town of *Shrewsbury*, whilſt the King, who was ſtill at *Gloceſter*, durſt not take the Field. He was ſo far from oppoſing the Earl's Progreſs, that he thought himſelf unſafe at *Gloceſter*, and for that Reaſon went and ſhut himſelf up in *Wincheſter*, leaving the Counties about the *Severn* to the Mercy of the Enemy. Several Biſhops and others advis'd him to make Peace with the Earl. But this weak Prince, ſuffering himſelf to be entirely directed by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, refus'd to hearken to any Accommodation, unleſs the Earl of *Pembroke* wou'd come and throw himſelf at his Feet, * and acknowledge himſelf a *Traytor*. It was difficult to bring the Earl to ſubmit voluntarily to theſe hard Terms: And it was no leſs ſo, to compel him to it, ſince the King had not the leaſt Hopes of obtaining any Aids from the Parliament, to continue a War ſo diſagreeable to every Body. But the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had an After-game to play, which he did not think fit to acquaint the King with. As the *Council* conſiſted of None but his Creatures, it was no hard Matter for him to engage them to join in the Means he made uſe of to bring about his Deſigns. He caus'd to be directed to the King's Officers in *Ireland* an Order, ſign'd by twelve *privy Councellors*, to plunder the Eſtates of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to take him Dead or Alive if he ſhou'd come into that Country *1. To this Order was ſubjoin'd a Promiſe in the King's Name, of giving them the confiſcated Lands the Earl held in *Ireland*, if they

1234. *Progreſs of the Earl of* Pembroke

The Biſhop of Winchester's *Plot againſt the Earl of* Pembroke

* With a *Halter* about his Neck. M. Paris. p. 332.

*1 This Order, which is in *Matthew Paris*, is directed to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, the King's Juſticiary in *Ireland*, to *Walter* and *Hugh de Lacy*, *Richard de Burgh*, and *Geoffrey March*, with others of the Earl's Liege-Men or *Feudatories*. p. 333.

1234. wou'd faithfully execute what was enjoin'd them. The Governors of *Ireland*, allur'd by ſo fine a Bait, promis'd to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours, to content the King. But they wiſh'd to have beforehand a *Charter* in Form, that they might be ſecur'd of what had been promis'd them. The Biſhop, having gone too far to draw back, caus'd a *Charter* to be drawn up, and found Means to get it ſign'd by the King, among other *Papers* of little Moment. Which done, he had the *Seal* affix'd to it by the *Chancellor*, who, in all Appearance, was in the Plot *. As ſoon as the *Iriſh* Governors had receiv'd this *Charter*, they ſet about executing the Order. To that Purpoſe they levied an Army on ſome Pretence, and entering the Lands of the Earl of *Pembroke*, committed great Outrages, in order to draw him into *Ireland*. This Artifice had all the Succeſs the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had promis'd himſelf. *Pembroke*, exaſperated at the Injuries done him in *Ireland*, immediately repair'd thither with Deſign to take Vengeance of Thoſe who attack'd him thus of their own Accord.

The Earl is kill'd. But inſtead of being reveng'd, he was baſely betray'd by Thoſe who pretending to be his Friends, engag'd him in a Battle wherein he loſt his Life, by a Stab in the Back with a Dagger.

Diſgrace of the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Whilſt the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was thus making Uſe of the King's Authority, without his Knowledge, to rid him of his Enemies, the new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was ſecretly labouring to undermine him. This Prelate, out of Zeal for the Good of the Publick, and for the King himſelf, never ceas'd repreſenting to him, that it was his Intereſt to remove from his Perſon a *Miniſter* ſo odious to all his Subjects. He gave him to underſtand, that the Foreigners who alienated from him the Affections of his People, wou'd infallibly prove one day the Cauſe of his Ruin. His Inſtances were ſo urgent, that at length *Henry*'s Eyes were open'd, and he ſeem'd diſpos'd in good Earneſt to reform his Conduct. The firſt Effect of his Change was

* *M. Paris* ſays they ſtole the Seal from *Ralph* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* the Chancellor.

was the Diſgrace of the *Prime Miniſter*, who had expreſs Orders to return to his Dioceſe. After which *Peter de Rivaulx* High Treaſurer, *Segrave* Chief Juſticiary, *Robert de Paſſelew*, and all the Reſt of the Favourite Strangers, whom the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had promoted to the principal Poſts in the State, were ſhamefully turn'd out. At the ſame Time, they were order'd to prepare to give an Account of their Management, and of all the Money that had paſs'd thro' their Hands. The Affair of the Court being thus ſettled, the King ſent the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the Biſhops of *Cheſter* and *Rocheſter*, into *Wales* to treat with *Lewellyn* about a Peace, which they concluded to the Advantage of the State.

1234. *The other Foreigners are diſcarded.* *Peace with the* Welſh.

The King's happy Change reſtor'd Tranquillity to *England*, from whence it had been baniſh'd ſome Time. In all Likelihood the Kingdom wou'd have recover'd its former Splendor, if the Prince who was at the Helm had continued all along in the ſame Temper. In the mean Time, the *new Miniſters* laid hold of this good Interval to make the King ſenſible of the Injury he had done himſelf in placing his Confidence in *Strangers*, who had no Affection for Himſelf or his Kingdom. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had been inform'd of the Particulars of the Plot contriv'd againſt the Earl of *Pembroke*, ſhow'd him a Copy of the *Order* and *Charter* which the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had ſent into *Ireland*. *Henry*, amaz'd at ſo great a Preſumption, proteſted that he had no Hand in the Matter. He even ſeem'd to grieve for the Death of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to be extremely incens'd againſt his *Miniſters* who had ſo notoriouſly abus'd his Confidence.

The King inform'd of the Biſhop of Winchester's *Treachery to the late Earl of* Pembroke

The Day appointed for *the old Miniſters* to give in their Anſwers being come, the Parties accus'd, who doubtleſs were conſcious they had nothing to ſay for themſelves, choſe to take *Sanctuary* in *Churches*, under Pretence they had reaſon to be apprehenſive of ſome Violence from their Enemies. The Aim of *the new Miniſters* being to convince the King of the Unfaithfulneſs of the *Old* ones, they manag'd it ſo that the King remov'd the Pretence, they made uſe of not to appear, by granting them a *Safe-Conduct*.

The Old Miniſters proſecuted. *They take Sanctuary.*

1234. *They have a safe Conduct.*

Conduct. Peter de Rivaulx, who appear'd first, talk'd in a manner so arrogant, and so little suitable to the Condition he was in, that the King not being able to bear his Insolence, order'd him to the *Tower.* He remain'd there but three Days, the Archbishop having obtain'd leave for him to be sent back to his *Sanctuary. Segrave* requir'd a longer Time to give in his Answer, which was granted him upon the Archbishop's Intercession. As for the Bishop of *Winchester* he continued in his *Cathedral,* not daring to trust to his *Safe-Conduct,* and it was not thought proper to force him thence.

The King of France *invades* Bretaign.

Whilst they were taken up at Home with these Affairs, the Truce with *France* being expir'd, *Lewis* vigorously attack'd the Duke of *Bretaign.* According to the Rules of sound Politicks this Ally ought to have been powerfully assisted. But *Henry* was contented with sending sixty *Knights* and two Thousand *Foot.* Succours so disproportion'd to his Needs, not being sufficient to protect him, he saw himself under a Necessity of demanding a Truce for three Months. But he cou'd not obtain it, but on Condition that in Case the King of *England* came not in Person within that Term to his Relief, he shou'd submit to all that shou'd be requir'd of him. During this Interval, he us'd his utmost Endeavours to prevail with *Henry* to come into *Bretaign*; but not succeeding, he did full Homage to *Lewis* for his Territories, which made his Subjects give him the Nick-name of *Mau-clerc,* that is, *Bad Scholar* *.

Henry *neglects to assist the Duke.*

1236. *The old Ministers make their Peace.*

In the Beginning of the next Year, *Segrave* and *Passelew,* the King's *old Ministers,* found Means to make their Peace by a Present of a thousand Marks each, for which they were discharg'd from further Prosecution.

Shortly

* 'Tis thus he is stiled by the Historians of *Bretaign*: For tho' he had studied at the University of *Paris,* yet it seems he had made no Progress in the Study of *Politicks.*

Shortly after was ſolemniz'd the Marriage of *Iſabella*, the King's Siſter, with the Emperor *Frederick* II. Tho' it was not cuſtomary to grant the King a *Subſidy* for the Marriage of a younger Siſter, the Parliament was ſo well ſatisfied with what he had lately done, that they granted him two Marks on every *Plough-Land*. 1236. Henry's *Siſter married to the Emperor.*

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who, ever ſince his Diſgrace had kept within his *Dioceſe*, departed from thence by the Pope's Order, who ſent for him to be near his Perſon, on Pretence he ſtood in need of his Advice in a Quarrel between him and the Citizens of *Rome*. 'Twas not at all doubted but the Pope made uſe of this Expedient to free him from the King's Proſecutions; and in all appearance the Prelate paid dearly for this Favour. He had to do with a Pope who omitted no Opportunity to heap up Money. This is evident from a Procedure of his this ſame Year. The ten Year's Truce, which *Frederick* had made with the *Saracens*, being now almoſt expir'd, he caus'd a freſh *Cruſado* to be publiſh'd, as if he had intended to make a vigorous Puſh to reſtore the Affairs of *Paleſtine*. Upon this News, the Zeal of the *Chriſtians* being rouz'd, vaſt Numbers took the *Croſs*: But whilſt they were getting ready to ſet out, another *Bull* appear'd, which diſpens'd with their going for a certain Sum of Money. *The Biſhop of* Wincheſter *ſent for to* Rome. *A Cruſado publiſh'd.*

England being then in profound Tranquillity, *Henry* took this Opportunity to eſpouſe *Eleanor*, ſecond Daughter to *Raymond*, Earl of *Provence*. The Nuptials were celebrated with great Magnificence and Rejoicings, which ſeem'd to preſage to the King more Happineſs than this Marriage was attended with. The Solemnity of the Wedding and Coronation * of the new Queen being over, the King *The King marries* Eleanor *of* Provence.

* *Matthew Paris* has given us a very particular Deſcription of the Coronation, and what each Perſon perform'd in their reſpective Functions, among which is this remarkable Paſſage, that the Earl of *Cheſter*, (as Lord High Conſtable) carried the Sword of St. *Edward*, called *Curteine*, before the King, in token *That he is Earl of the Palace, and hath by Right a Power of Reſtraining the King if he ſhou'd act amiſs.* *M. Paris* under the Year 1235.

1236. King call'd a Parliament at *Merton*, where divers Statutes were enacted, which remain'd a long time in Force, but are now for the most part repeal'd *.

The French *War ends without a Truce.*

The War which the King of *France* had renewed, ended with his Expedition into *Bretaign*, without any Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns. *Henry*, who was not of a martial Temper, had done nothing towards continuing it, and the Queen-Regent of *France* was very glad not to draw the *English* into *France*, during the *Minority* of the King her Son.

State of the English *Court.*

But altho' *England* was not troubled with Wars abroad, the Kingdom was however disturbed at home by the Discontents among the *Nobility*, upon the Promotion of a new Favourite. This was *William* of *Provence*, Brother *1 to the Queen, who had been elected Bishop of *Valence*, but had not yet been confirm'd by the Pope. This Prelate, who was but lately arriv'd in *England*, had gain'd the King's Affection to such a degree, that nothing was done but by his Advice; and the Administration of all Publick Affairs was entirely left to him. So great Favour and Credit bred ill Blood in the *English* Barons, who saw themselves reduc'd to the same Condition from which they imagin'd they had freed themselves by the Expulsion of the *Poictevins*. At a Parliament which was assembled this Year in *April*, they complain'd of these Proceedings so boldly to the King, that he thought fit to retire to the *Tower*, whither he wou'd have had the Barons to follow him. But finding none of them came to him, he return'd of his own accord into the City, and endeavour'd to give them Satisfaction with regard to some of their *Grievances*, in order to induce them to pass over that which they look'd upon as the principal One. He remov'd several *Sheriffs* who had abus'd their Authority, and substituted others

The Parliament complains to the King, who gives them some Satisfaction.

* *M. Paris* says the same Day after the Coronation, the King went from *London* to *Merton*, a Monastery in *Surry*, where he met his *Great Men*, and enacted the *Provisions* of *Merton*, which are the most antient Body of Laws after *Magna Charta*, and divided into eleven *Articles* or *Chapters*.

*1 Uncle.

others in their Places. The Prince his Brother having complain'd of one *Richard Sward* for having ſhown him ſome Diſreſpect, obtain'd that *Sward* ſhou'd be baniſh'd the Realm for his Inſolence. In fine, by ſome Alterations which the King made at Court, to gratify the Barons, he believ'd he had brought them to Temper. But having a Mind to take this Occaſion to remove the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* from the Chancellorſhip, in which Office he had behav'd unblameably, he had the Mortification to find that he refus'd to reſign it. To juſtify his Refuſal, he affirm'd, *That he had been entruſted with that Office by the Parliament, and therefore cou'd not quit it but by the ſame Authority.* 1236.

Tho' the Parliament had granted the King a conſiderable *Subſidy* for the Marriage of the Empreſs his Siſter, it appear'd that the Money had not been put to that Uſe. For Ambaſſadors from *Frederick* came to Court to demand the Portion promis'd their Maſter. If Peoples Reflections on this Occaſion were not to the King's Advantage, thoſe which they had cauſe to make quickly after upon his Unſteadineſs, were no leſs prejudicial to his Reputation. All on a ſudden, when there ſeem'd to be leaſt Reaſon to expect any ſuch Thing, he recall'd to Court *Segrave* and *Rievaulx*, whom a little before he had proſecuted for their Miſdemeanours. Not content with this, he plac'd in them again his whole Truſt and Confidence, as if he had ſeen Reaſon to be well ſatisfied with their former Conduct. Theſe pernicious *Miniſters* were hardly reſtor'd to their Poſts, but the ill Effects of their Counſels on the Mind of the King were viſible to all. In a Parliament held that Year in *June*, at *Wincheſter*, *Henry*, by virtue of a *Bull* from *Rome*, wou'd have annull'd all the Grants he had made during his Nonage, becauſe they wanted the Pope's Confirmation. This frivolous Pretence plainly ſhow'd how induſtriouſly he labour'd to enſlave himſelf more and more to the Court of *Rome*, inſtead of endeavouring to throw off its Yoke. A Procedure ſo directly contrary to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, cou'd not but be look'd upon with Indignation:

The Emperor demands the Empreſs's Portion.

The King recalls his old Miniſters.

He wou'd annul all the Grants made in his Nonage.

1236. Accordingly the Parliament refus'd to consent to the revoking of the *Grants*, chiefly on account of the *Bull*, which the King built his Design upon.

He dreads engaging in a War.

As *Henry*'s Conduct drew upon him the Contempt of his Subjects, this Contempt prov'd very prejudicial to him with respect to foreign Princes. They look'd upon him as one not to be much dreaded, since he cou'd not be sure of the Assistance of his People in case of need. On the other Hand, the Knowledge he himself had how his Subjects stood affected towards him, put him upon taking all possible Precautions to avoid a War with his Neighbours. He chose rather to give way to them voluntarily, than involve himself in Troubles, out of which he plainly saw he cou'd not extricate himself with Honour. For this Reason he had deserted the Duke of *Bretaign*; and on the same account it was that he suffer'd himself to be bullied this very Year by the King of *Scotland*, who demanded the County of *Northumberland* with that Haughtiness as wou'd have met with a mortifying Repulse, if he had been to deal with any other Prince. But how unjust soever his Pretensions seem'd to be, *Henry* made no Scruple to purchase Peace with the yearly Pension of eighty Marks, which he settled on the King of *Scotland*. He took a Journey to *York* on purpose to negotiate this dishonourable Treaty, using for a Pretence his fear of the *Scots* entring into a League with the *Welsh*. He pretended likewise to be apprehensive that *Gilbert Marshal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, who had succeeded his Brother *Richard*, and married the King of *Scotland*'s Sister, wou'd take hold of this Opportunity to raise Commotions in the Kingdom.

Makes a dishonorable Peace with the King of Scotland.

1237. In the mean Time, as the King daily perceiv'd that the Great Men were estrang'd from him; and that in the Temper they were in, it wou'd be very difficult to raise Money to fill his empty Coffers, he bethought himself of an Expedient which he believ'd cou'd not fail of Success. He call'd a Parliament, to which all the Lords of the Kingdom were summon'd, in order to debate about some weighty Affairs of *State*. As soon as they were met

He calls a Parliament, and pretends to condemn his past Conduct, in order to obtain a Subsidy.

met, a certain Prieſt, fam'd for Eloquence, told the Lords, he was commanded to lay before them the Occaſion of their being aſſembled. After a ſhort Pauſe, he added, *That* the King having ſeriouſly reflected on the Abuſes which had crept into the Government, was extremely concern'd at his having contributed towards them by his Careleſneſs and ill Conduct: *That* he acknowledg'd, with Grief, that he had made uſe of imprudent and ſelfiſh *Miniſters*, who never having had in view the Good of the Kingdom, to which they were Strangers, had drawn him in by their pernicious Counſels, to do Things contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm: *That* to make amends, as far as was poſſible, for the Evils which his own Indiſcretion, and the Unfaithfulneſs of his *Miniſters* had occaſion'd, he was determin'd to be guided no longer by the Advice of *Foreigners*, but to put the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs into the Hands of his native Subjects: *That* he was perſwaded, they wou'd labour to the utmoſt of their Power to prevent the Oppreſſion of the People, to cauſe Juſtice and the Laws to flouriſh, and to reſtore the Crown to its former Luſtre. After having laid theſe Foundations, the Orator continued, *That* the King deſir'd his Parliament to conſider, that the Miſmanagements of his Treaſury, and the Debts he had contracted, were not the leaſt of the Miſdemeanours his *Miniſtry* might be charg'd with: *That* he hop'd they wou'd begin with applying a Remedy to this, upon his aſſuring them he wou'd conſent to any Expedients they ſhou'd propoſe to redreſs the other Abuſes: *That* therefore he requir'd of them an *Aid* proportion'd to his preſent Occaſions; and that they might ſee he was in earneſt, he conſented beforehand, that they ſhou'd appoint Commiſſioners to take Care that the *Subſidy* they ſhou'd grant him, be diſpos'd of for the neceſſary Uſes of the Kingdom. If *Henry* had not been ſo well known, this Harangue might have had a ſudden Effect on the Parliament. But as they were but too ſenſible to what a Height he cou'd carry his Diſſimulation, all theſe ſubmiſſive Expreſſions were not able to move them. They replied,

1237.

The Barons Reply.

1237. replied, That they had often granted *Subsidies* to the King, without having ever received any reciprocal Mark of his Affection; that since his Accession to the Crown, his Dominions were considerably lessen'd, tho' he had frequently exacted from his Subjects very large Sums, which had been employ'd only in inriching *Foreigners*. To this vigorous Reply, the King made Answer, That his own and his Sister's Marriage had entirely exhausted his Treasure; but if they wou'd grant him a *Thirteenth* * Part of their *Moveables*, he promis'd them upon his Honour, he wou'd never injure or oppress any Baron of the Realm. The Lords were not prevail'd upon by this Promise, which seem'd to them of little Moment, since they cou'd not rely upon the King's Word. And therefore they reply'd, That they had already granted the King a *Subsidy* for the Marriage of the Empress, but that he had diverted it to other Uses; and that since he had married without asking their Advice, he might defray the Expences of his Wedding in the way he thought best. This Answer having convinc'd him that he stood in need of some stronger Engine to wrest from them the *Aid* he demanded, he attack'd them in a more sensible Part. He promised them to re-establish the *Charters* of the King his Father; and to satisfy them that he really intended to cause them to be observed, he order'd the Execration denounc'd formerly by Cardinal *Langton* against such as shou'd break them, to be publish'd in all the Churches. In fine, to gain them intirely, he added to his Council three Lords *' whom he knew to be very acceptable to the *Nobility*. So many Advances from the Sovereign, and especially the Re-establishment of the *Charters*, had at length the Effect he desired. The Parliament suffering themselves to be impos'd upon by these pretended Demonstrations of Sincerity, granted him the *Subsidy* requir'd. However

The King promises to cause the two Charters to be observ'd.

The Parliament grants a Subsidy upon certain Terms;

* A Thirtieth. *M. Paris.*

*' The Earl of *Warren*, *William Ferrars*, and *John Geoffrey*, who swore they wou'd never be corrupted by Gifts to deviate from Truth, but wou'd always give the King good and wholesome Advice. *M. Paris.*

However they clogg'd it with two Conditions which were not very pleasing to him. *First*, that for the time to come he shou'd reject the Counsels of *Foreigners*, and adhere to the Advices of his Subjects. *Secondly*, that four *Knights* shou'd be chosen in ever *County* to collect and secure the Money in some Monastery, that it might be restored to every One again, in case the King shou'd not be as good as his Word. Notwithstanding this Precaution, the *Subsidy* was no sooner rais'd, but the King seiz'd it and squander'd it away in useless Expences, even in Presents to his Favorite *Foreigners*, who continued in his *Council* as before. 1237. *which the King observes not.*

Henry's Conduct occasion'd such loud Murmurings, that Prince *Richard* his Brother thought himself oblig'd to represent to him in pretty sharp Terms, the Ruin he was infallibly exposing himself to. But his Remonstrances were to no Purpose, *Henry* having a greater Relish for the Counsels of the Foreigners, which were more agreeable to his Inclinations. Among those that had the greatest Ascendent over the King, History particularly mentions *Simon de Montfort*, Son to the famous Earl of *Montfort*, General of the *Crusado* against the *Albigenses*. This young Man, who for some Disgust had quitted the Court of *France* in order to make his Fortune in *England*, had conform'd himself so to the King's Humour, that few were in greater Favour. I shall have frequent Occasion to speak of him, in the Sequel of this Reign, under the Title of *Earl of Leicester*. Richard *his Brother expostulates with him.* Simon de Montfort. *begins to be in Favour.*

Altho' *Henry* had scarce any Thoughts of extending his Dominion over the Neighbouring Countries, a lucky Juncture procur'd him, before the End of this Year, an Advantage which the most Illustrious of his Predecessors had in vain endeavour'd to obtain. *Lewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, grown old and infirm, and finding himself persecuted by *Griffyn* his Son, cou'd think of no better Means to secure himself from his rebellious Practices, than by putting himself under the Protection of the King of *England*, to whom he did *Homage* for his Dominions. This Proceeding was so much the more extraordinary as he himself, *The Prince of* Wales *does Homage to* Henry.

1237. himself, as well as his Ancestors, had all along exerted their utmost to prevent the acknowledging the Sovereignty of the *English*. If Force of Arms had at any time compell'd them to it, they had always been ready to disown their Submission, when ever a favorable Conjuncture offer'd.

Arrival of a Legate.

Whilst the *English* were loudly complaining of their being expos'd to the Avarice of the King and his Foreign *Ministers*, a fresh Subject of Discontent unexpectedly happen'd by the Arrival of *Otho* the Pope's *Legate*, who was come to plunder them of what they had left. The *Clergy* dreading, not without Reason, these *Extraordinary* Legateships, the Sole Aim whereof was to pillage them. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* blamed the King very much for suffering the *Legate* to come into the Kingdom, without any apparent Necessity, and before he had given Notice of it to the *Clergy* and *Parliament*. But these Expostulations were all in vain. It wou'd not only have been very difficult to prevail with the King to send back the *Legate*; but it even appear'd that he himself had privately sent for him. His View was to screen himself, under his Protection, from the Designs of his Subjects against him. The Pope took care not to lose this Opportunity of sending a *Legate* into *England*, in hopes that by Means of the King's Authority, he might be able with Impunity to rifle the *Churches*. Thus the *English* saw themselves expos'd at the same time to the Avarice of the King and Pope, who were united together for their Destruction.

Interview of the King's of England. *and* Scotland *at* York. *The* Legate *has a Mind to go into* Scotland;

It was not upon *England* alone that the *Legate* had an Eye; his Design was to drain *Scotland* also, which hitherto had been free from the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*. He believed he had met with a good Opportunity at an Interview which the Kings of *England* and *Scotland* had at *York*, on account of the *Scotch* King's Pretensions. As soon as the *Conference*, wherein the King of *Scotland* obtain'd an Augmentation of his Pension *, was over,

* He was to have 300*l.* a Year in Land, says M. *Paris*; but by the *Record*, (*Rot. Pat.* 21. *H.* 3. *M.* 8.) it appears to have been but 200*l. per Annum*, out of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*.

over, the *Legate*, who had found ſome Excuſe to be preſent, let him know that he deſign'd to go into *Scotland*, to regulate the Affairs of the *Church*. *Alexander* made Anſwer, that he had never heard of any Legate ſent into *Scotland*; that there was ſtill leſs Occaſion for one in his Reign; and that, in a word, he wou'd not allow ſuch an Innovation as long as he ſat on the Throne. And added, that if notwithſtanding this Declaration, he ſhou'd perſiſt in his Deſign, he gave him Warning beforehand, that he was not abſolute Maſter of his own Subjects, and that perhaps it wou'd not be in his Power to protect him, if the People, fierce and ungovernable, ſhou'd fail in their Reſpect due to the *Legate* of the Pope. This laſt Particular was apparently the Reaſon of the *Legate*'s altering his Mind, and of his ſtaying with the King of *England*, whom he found much more obſequious. 1237. *but is oppos'd by the King.*

John late Earl of *Cheſter* dying this Year without Iſſue, the King annex'd to the Crown that Earldom, which enjoy'd very great Privileges, and paid, in Money, to the Earl's Siſters what they were to receive from thence, or allow'd it out of other Lands. *The Earldom of* Cheſter *annex'd to the Crown.*

About the ſame time, *Henry* receiv'd a Letter from the Emperor *Frederick* informing him of the Birth of a Son by *Iſabella* his Wife, to whom he had given the Name of *Henry*. Adding, that he deſign'd the Kingdom of *Sicily* for the New-born Prince. *Birth of* Henry *Son to the Emperor.*

Matthew Paris the *Hiſtorian* concludes the Occurrences of this Year, with a lively Deſcription of the Court of *Rome*. What he ſays is the leſs to be queſtion'd, as it comes from the Pen of a *Monk*, who liv'd and wrote at this very time. But however it is this which has gain'd him ſo many Enemies, and put them upon endeavouring to the utmoſt of their Power to render his Teſtimony of doubtful Authority. *Corruption of the Court of* Rome.

Simon de Montfort, of whom I have already ſpoken, finding himſelf in great Favour at Court, ventur'd to caſt his Eyes on the Counteſs Dowager of *Pembroke*, Siſter to the King. But as he was juſtly apprehenſive of Meeting with great Obſtacles in his Deſign, he went a ſhorter way to work, 1238. Simon de Montfort *marries a Siſter of the King's.*

1238. work, by making ſure beforehand of the Princeſs's Heart. In a Word, he manag'd his Matters ſo well, that the King found himſelf oblig'd to get them privately married in his own Chapel. Prince *Richard* was extremely incens'd at this Marriage. He complain'd of it bitterly to the King, and boldly remonſtrated to him how much he was in the wrong to give his Siſter to a younger Brother, whoſe Fortune was no way anſwerable to a Royal Family. The King excus'd himſelf in the beſt Manner he cou'd, from the Neceſſity there was of haſtening the Marriage, adding, there was now no Remedy, ſince the Wedding was ſolemniz'd and the Princeſs with Child. However, *Montfort* perceiving that Prince *Richard* was highly exaſperated againſt him, and fearing he wou'd endeavour to get his Marriage annull'd, took a Journy to *Rome*, where he found Means to have it confirm'd by the Pope. Which done, he return'd to the King, who gave him a very kind Reception.

His Marriage confirm'd by the Pope.

The Barons *complain to the* King.

This Marriage was not the only thing *Richard* thought he had reaſon to complain of. The great Credit of the *Foreigners*, who were always about the King's Perſon, created in him no leſs Uneaſineſs than in the reſt of the Barons. They all unanimouſly complain'd, that the King had violated his Promiſes, and that all the Money which he had exacted from his People on divers Pretences, was employ'd only in inriching the Queen's Relations. As Prince *Richard* ſeem'd to have the Intereſt of *the Publick* much at Heart, they believ'd that, under ſuch a Leader, it wou'd not be impoſſible to obtain of the King the Satisfaction they requir'd, eſpecially with regard to the *Foreigners*. In this Belief they enter'd into a *Confederacy*, and having the Prince at their Head, ſent the King word, that they deſir'd him to call to mind what he had promis'd them. This Confederacy, the Conſequences whereof *Henry* dreaded, caus'd him to put on a ſeeming Moderation, as he uſually did, when he found himſelf hard preſs'd. Far from ſhowing any Reſentment, as they expected, he appointed a Day to give them a favorable Anſwer. But as they had been deceiv'd more than once, they were reſolv'd not to be impoſed upon by this outward Mildneſs. Perſwaded

They enter into a League with Richard, *and demand redreſs of their Grievances.*

ſwaded as they were, that the King ſought only to amuſe them, they came to *London* on the Day appointed, attended with great Numbers of armed Men, reſolutely bent upon any Attempt. *Henry* was not ſo imprudent as to ſtand out, at a time when he ſaw no *State* in a condition to ſupport him. He aſſur'd them that he really intended to redreſs all *Grievances*, and to convince them of his Sincerity told them, he was willing to ſubmit to the Arbitration of a certain Number of Lords, the one Half of whom he wou'd appoint. This Propoſal being approv'd of, Commiſſioners were choſen on both Sides, who drew up certain Articles, to which the King was to conform himſelf for the future, in the Government of the Kingdom. Theſe Regulations were ſign'd by the King and the Barons, and confirm'd by the *Legate*, who in all publick Affairs always endeavour'd to interpoſe his Maſter's Authority. 1238.

The King is forc'd to comply.

Regulations for the Government of the State propos'd by the King.

This ſame *Legate* met not at *Oxford*, whither he was gone about ſome Affairs, with that Reſpect he was treated with at Court. Tho' the *Univerſity* in a Body had receiv'd him with the Deference due to his Character, the Inſolence of ſome of his Domeſticks was the Occaſion that certain *Scholars* loſt the Reſpect which they ow'd him. Some young *Students* offering to enter into his Lodgings, were repuls'd by the Porter in ſo rude a Manner as put them very much out of Humour. Whilſt they were ſtill in the Houſe, ſome of them going into the Kitchin, found there a poor *Iriſh* Scholar begging for ſome Relief of the Cook, who inſtead of an Alms threw a Ladle-full of boiling Water in his Face. This barbarous Action provok'd a *Welſh Student* who was Witneſs to it, to ſuch a degree, that having a Bow in his Hand, he ſhot the Cook dead on the Spot with an Arrow. The *Legate* hearing of the Tumult, retir'd in a Fright into the Tower of the Church, where he kept himſelf ſhut up till Night, dreading that the Inſolence of the *Scholars* might reach his Perſon. As ſoon as he thought he might go off with Safety, he haſten'd to the King, and complain'd of this Outrage, laying it to the Charge of the whole *Univerſity*, which he had already put under an *Interdict*. The King appear'd extremely inrag'd

The Legate *inſulted at* Oxford.

1238. at the Inſult done the *Legate*, and to give him Satisfaction, forthwith ſent the Earl of *Warren* to *Oxford* with orders to ſeize the moſt Guilty. This Buſineſs, which at firſt made a great Noiſe, was at length huſh'd by the Mediation of the Biſhops, who prevail'd with the *Univerſity* to make all the Submiſſions he requir'd *.

Coldneſs between the King and the Pope.

Had this Accident happen'd a little later, *England* wou'd not have come off ſo cheap. Shortly after, *Henry* having ſent the Emperor a Body of Troops, under the Command of *Henry de Turbeville*, the Pope, againſt whom they were employ'd, was ſo incens'd at it, that, for a good while, the *Engliſh Eccleſiaſticks* were denied Admittance at the Court of *Rome*. This Quarrel made the Emperor hope, that he ſhou'd be able to gain the King his Brother-in-law to his Side. Accordingly, being deſirous to improve this Conjuncture, he diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to him, who did all that lay in their Power to perſwade him to join with the Emperor againſt the Pope; but it was not poſſible for them to ſucceed. The King and the Pope ſtood too much in need of one another, to remain long at Variance. Tho' the Pope look'd upon himſelf as Sovereign Lord of *England*, yet he was not ignorant how averſe the Barons were to his Pretenſions, which the King's Authority was alone capable of keeping alive. Beſides, it was only thro' the Countenance and Connivance of the King that he was enabled to rifle the *Engliſh Clergy* with Impunity. On the other Hand, *Henry* ſaw that none but the Pope cou'd ſupport him againſt the Barons. Moreover in his Deſign of filling the principal Church-Preferments with his Creatures, he was very ſenſible he cou'd not do without the Pope's Authority. It is no wonder therefore that the King and the Pope held together, ſince it ſo greatly concern'd them to ſtand by one another.

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* The *Legate* oblig'd all the *Scholars* to meet at St. *Paul's Church* (above a Mile from his Lodgings) and go on Foot to the Biſhop of *Carliſle*'s Houſe, and there putting off their Caps, Gowns, and Shoes, to go to the *Legate*'s Houſe, and humbly crave Pardon and Abſolution.

The Death of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, which fell out during theſe Tranſactions, gave the King an Opportunity to make the firſt Advances towards an Accommodation with the Pope. *Henry*, ardently deſiring to procure this rich Biſhoprick for the Biſhop of *Valence* his Brother-in-law, earneſtly recommended him to the Monks the Electors. But notwithſtanding his Sollicitations, they made choice of the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* High Chancellor of *England*. Tho' the King found he was diſappointed as to the Monks, yet he deſpair'd not to ſucceed by another way. He knew the Pope wanted nothing more than to ſee him make ſome Advances towards a Reconciliation. The Intereſt of the Court of *Rome* requir'd it, and ſeldom does that Court neglect what may turn to its Advantage In this Belief, *Henry* ſent Ambaſſadors thither, who, after making ſome Submiſſions in their Maſter's Name, got the Election of the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* annull'd by the *Apoſtolical* Authority.

1238. *Death of the Biſhop of* Wincheſter. Henry *tries to get the Queen's Brother elected, but the Monks chuſe another.*

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whoſe Death I have juſt mentioned, was juſtly look'd upon as one of the chief Authors of the Troubles in this Reign. It was he that adviſ'd the King to annul the two *Charters* of the King his Father, and to ſend for *Foreigners* into the Kingdom, in order to commit to them the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs. Theſe two Articles were a perpetual Occaſion of Diſcontent among the *Nobles*, and at length were attended with very fatal Conſequences. The Death of this pernicious Counſellor was preceeded by that of *Joanna*, Queen of *Scotland*, Siſter to *Henry*.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter *chief Cauſe of the Troubles in this Reign.*

Death of the Queen of Scotland.

The Manner in which the Kingdom was govern'd, was diſpleaſing to all the World. So that it was not at all ſtrange, there ſhou'd be ſome People, who, by ill Means endeavour'd to get rid of the King. This Year, a Villain pretending to be mad, found Means to get into his Chamber by Night, with deſign to kill him; but being diſappointed by the King's paſſing that Night in the Queen's Apartment, he was taken and puniſh'd according to his Deſert. Before he died, he declared that *William de Maris* was the Author of the Conſpiracy, in

Plot againſt the King.

1238. at the Insult done the *Legate*, and to give him Satisfaction, forthwith sent the Earl of *Warren* to *Oxford* with orders to seize the most Guilty. This Business, which at first made a great Noise, was at length hush'd by the Mediation of the Bishops, who prevail'd with the *University* to make all the Submissions he requir'd *.

Coldness between the King and the Pope.

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Plot againſt the King.

1238. which several others were engag'd. However, either out of Carelesness, or for some other Reason, no Inquiry was made into the Matter.

1239. *Instances of the King's Inconstancy.* I shall begin the Relation of the Occurrences of the Year 1239, with observing some Effects of the capricious and changeable Temper of *Henry*. The Knowledge of the Character and Genius of this Prince is absolutely necessary, for the better understanding the Springs and Causes of what pass'd in this Reign. As he neither lov'd nor hated, but as it pleas'd those who had got the Ascendent over him, it is no wonder that he frequently alter'd his Inclinations and Maxims. He sometimes loaded with Favours and Caresses, Persons who in a few Days after found themselves in Disgrace; and very often he restor'd to his Service such as he had shamefully dismiss'd. I have already taken Notice, that after having persecuted the Earl of *Pembroke*, he had restor'd to *Gilbert* his Brother the Office of *Grand Marshal* *. *Gilbert*, who imagin'd he was in the King's good Graces, was very much surpriz'd, when one Day as he came to wait upon him, he was, contrary to Custom, denied Entrance. He complain'd of it to the King himself, by one of his Friends, who besought him to let him know the Reason why such an Affront was offer'd to a Lord of so great Distinction. *Henry* replied, It was because *Richard*, Brother to the Earl, had been a Traitor, and had continued in his Treason till the time of his Death; and therefore he repented of having invested him with the Office of *Marshal*, the which however he cou'd deprive him of whenever he pleased. This Answer oblig'd the Earl to withdraw from Court, and retire into the *North* of *England* to secure himself from the Plots of his Enemies, who had stirr'd up the King against him.

Gilbert *Earl of* Pembroke *disgrac'd without Cause.*

Another

* *Gilbert* was restor'd to his Brother's Office and Inheritance by the Intercession of the Archbishop, as appears by the King's Letter to *Lewellyn* still extant. But I don't remember *Rapin* any where mentions it.

Another Inſtance of this Prince's Fickleneſs is this. So far was he from having reſented the Affront *Simon de Montfort* had done the Royal Family, that he had continued him in Favour as before, and at laſt made him Earl of *Leiceſter*. And yet, a few Days after, having given him this freſh Mark of his Eſteem, he publickly charg'd him with debauching his Siſter, and bribing the Pope to confirm his Marriage. This Accuſation cou'd never be more out of Seaſon, ſince the Time to inquire into this Matter was elapſed; and beſides, he had caus'd the Wedding to be celebrated in his Preſence, and in his own Chapel. The Earl, dreading the Effects of his Reſentment, departed that very Day with his Lady for *France*, where he remain'd till the King's Diſpleaſure was over.

1239. *The King wou'd proſecute* Simon de Montfort *for his Marriage.*

He re ires into France.

I ſhall bring but one Inſtance more of the variableneſs of this Monarch, of which one ſees Proofs enough in almoſt all the Actions of his Life. He was not afraid, the Year before, to break with the Pope, by ſending Succours to the Emperor. And yet, a few Months after, *Frederick* having been ſolemnly *excommunicated*, *Henry* order'd the *Bull* of Excommunication to be publiſhed in all the Churches in his Kingdom. This Proceeding was look'd upon as the more ſtrange, becauſe as Brother-in-law to the Emperor, he might have excus'd himſelf with a good Grace from doing it, or at leaſt been ſo backward in the Matter, as to make it appear that he did it againſt the Grain.

Henry *publiſhes the Bull of Excommunication againſt the Emperor.*

This ſame Year the Queen was deliver'd of a Prince, who was called *Edward*, and having in proceſs of Time ſucceeded his Father, prov'd one of the moſt illuſtrious Monarchs that ever ſway'd the *Engliſh* Sceptre.

Birth of Prince Edward.

The Exactions which *Otho* the *Legate* continued daily to impoſe on the *Churches*, had at length compell'd the Biſhops to carry their Complaints to the Pope, who had twice by his Letters called him home; but the King had ſtill oppos'd it. At length the Prelates, tired with the perpetual Demands of the *Cardinal*, who daily invented ſome new Pretence to pillage the *Clergy*, reſolv'd to meet and

The Legate's Exactions.

1239. and consult how to put a stop to these Oppressions. They had scarce begun to treat of their Affairs, when the *Legate* came into the *Assembly*, and demanded a *Subsidy* for the pressing Occasions of *the Holy See*. This fresh Demand having put them beyond all Patience, they roundly told him, that they were determined to endure his Oppressions no longer; and to prevent any further Sollicitations, they broke up immediately. A Denial so peremptory, which shou'd have made him sensible how much the *Clergy* were disheartned, had no other Effect but to cause him to turn to the *Religious Houses*, who were fain to furnish what the Bishops had refused.

He demands a Subsidy of the Bishops, who deny him.

The Legate makes a fresh Attempt upon Scotland.

This *Legate*, like all the rest that had been in *England* before him, was insatiable. After he had with Impunity extorted large Sums from *England*, he had a Mind to do the same in *Scotland*, tho' he had already been refus'd Entrance there: But he was not a Man to be discourag'd at one Denial. With this Design he set out, attended by some *English* Barons, without ever troubling himself about getting the King of *Scotland*'s Consent before-hand. Upon his Arrival on the Borders, he was met by the King, not to do him Honour, but to hinder his going any further. This Opposition, which however he had Reason to expect, offended him to such a Degree, that in his Passion he threatned *Alexander*, who answer'd him in a louder Tone, and let him see that he did not value his Threats. They wou'd have came to a downright Quarrel, if the *English* Lords had not interposed to make up the Difference. They prevail'd at length with the King of *Scotland*, tho' not without great Difficulty, to give the *Legate* leave for this once to enter into his Kingdom. But *Alexander* wou'd not agree to it, but on Condition that the *Legate* shou'd acknowledge under his Hand and Seal, that it was out of pure Condescension for his Person, and that this shou'd not be drawn into a *Precedent*. All Obstacles being remov'd, the *Legate* came to *Edinborough*, where he exacted some Money from the *Scotch Clergy*, which was the sole End of his Journey.

Is denied Entrance by the King.

Finds Means to go there.

If the *Clergy* of *England* had to deal with a greedy *Cardinal*, the reſt of the King's Subjects were in no better Caſe. *Henry*, who cou'd not without great Difficulty, obtain *Subſidies* of the Parliament, let no Opportunity ſlip of extorting Money from private Perſons, by all ſorts of Means. *Hubert de Burg*, whom he had left unmoleſted for ſome Years, was now proſecuted afreſh, for the ſame Crimes he had been charg'd with before, and which were thought to be entirely forgotten. This Cauſe was ſolemnly tried before an Aſſembly of the Barons, where 'tis ſaid, he vindicated his Innocence by inconteſtable Proofs. However, as he had Reaſon to dread a *Sentence* which the King himſelf was ſolliciting againſt him, he thought 'twould be his wiſeſt way to compound Matters with him, and not ſtay for the Deciſion of the Judges. Accordingly he reſign'd into the Hands of the King four of his beſt Eſtates *, for which *Henry* dropp'd the Proſecution.

1239. Henry *proſecutes afreſh the Earl of* Kent;

who compounds the Matter with the King.

I find my ſelf indiſpenſably oblig'd frequently to return to the ſame Subject, I mean the Exactions of the King and Court of *Rome*, becauſe they are the moſt conſiderable Occurrences of this Reign; at leaſt to the Time we are now ſpeaking of. But altho' theſe Things ſeem of little Importance, they ſerve however to diſcover the State of the Kingdom at that Time, which was inceſſantly pillag'd, one while by the King, and another while by the Pope. Theſe Extortions were carried to that Height, that one can't help being ſurpriz'd that the *Engliſh* ſhou'd bear them with ſuch Patience, under a King ſo weak as *Henry*, and deſtitute of all Aſſiſtance, except from the Court of *Rome*. But this Aſſiſtance was that which to them ſeem'd moſt formidable, the Calamities of the late Reign making them dread the involving the Kingdom in the like Confuſion. One wou'd think however, that the Biſhops ſhou'd have reſolv'd to take ſome Meaſures to ſcreen themſelves from theſe Oppreſſions, in a *Synod* they

1240. *Great Exactions of the King and Pope.*

* Four of his ſtrongeſt Caſtles, viz. *Blanch-Caſtle*, *Groſmund* in Wales, *Screnefrith* and *Hatfield*. M. Paris.

1240. they held at *London* for that Purpose. They loudly complain'd that the King kept for his own use all the vacant Benefices; and that he obstructed all Elections, till such were chosen as he had a Mind shou'd be so. They even proceeded to *excommunicate* the Authors of these pernicious Counsels. But *Henry* never minded their Complaints as long as he was sure of the Pope's Protection; for whom he show'd so great Regard tnd Deference as cannot be conceiv'd. When the Emperor sent Ambassadors to complain of his having caus'd the Sentence of *Excomunication* to be publish'd against him, he most shamefully answer'd, That being *Vassal* to the Pope, he cou'd not dispense with obeying him. In the mean time the *Legate* continued his Exactions. After he had drain'd the *Churches* and *Monasteries* of immense Sums, under colour of *Procurations*, and a thousand other Pretences, he discover'd, by a new sort of Oppression, how little Measures the Court of *Rome* then kept with the *English*. He order'd it to be publish'd throughout the Kingdom, that he had Power not only to absolve from their Vow all that had taken the *Cross*, but likewise to oblige them to compound for their Absolution by Money, under Pain of *Excommunication*.

Complaints of the Bishops against the King.

But this was a Trifle in comparison of what the *Legate* demanded shortly after of the *Clergy*. On Pretence of securing the Peace of the *Church*, against the pretended Assaults of the Emperor, the Pope required of all the *English Ecclesiasticks* the *Fifth* Part of their *Goods*; and the King, instead of opposing, promoted this Exaction to the utmost of his Power. The Bishops at first somewhat exerted themselves, and refus'd not only to comply with the *Legate*'s Demands, but even to contribute any Thing at all towards the pretended Wants of the *Holy See*. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was willing to live in Quiet, and afraid of the imperious Temper of the Pope, having consented to give in lieu of the *Fifth* of his *Goods*, a fifth Part of his *Rents*; the rest followed his Example. However, the *Legate* refus'd a good while to accept of an Offer so much below his Demands, as if this

The excessive Demands of the Pope from the Clergy.

Matter

Matter had been to give the *Clergy* his Master's own *Goods*. This was the last Money the Archbishop of *Canterbury* gave the Pope. This Prelate, who led a truly *Christian* Life, perceiving it was impossible to redress the *Grievances* which were daily introduc'd, as well into the *Church* as *State*, retir'd into *France*, to the *Monastery* of *Pontigniac*, where he died this same Year. He was *canoniz'd* by the *Council* of *Lyons*, some Years after his Death. 1240. *The Archbishop retires into* France, *where he dies.*

Upon the Archbishop's Retreat, the Court of *Rome* no longer kept any Measures with the *Clergy* of *England*. Hardly was this Imposition levied, when one *Peter Ross* (*a*), the Pope's *Nuntio* arriv'd with Orders to all the Bishops and *Patrons* of *Livings*, to prefer to the vacant *Benefices*, three hundred *Italians*, whose Names the Pope had sent; with an express Prohibition to confer any *Benefice*, till the *Foreigners* were all provided for. But this was not the sole End of his coming. His main Business was to squeeze Money from the Monasteries, under Pretence that the Pope stood in need of an extraordinary Supply to defend the *Church* against her Persecutors. Hitherto the Pope had acted with Authority: But on this Occasion he judg'd it more proper to make use of Cunning. To bring about his Designs, the *Nuntio* went to all the *Religious Houses*, and tried, by Promises and Threats, to engage each Abbot in particular to assist the Pope in his pressing Necessities. He gave them to understand that such an Abbot had promis'd such a Sum, and therefore it wou'd be a Shame, and perhaps of ill Consequence, not to follow so good an Example. After he had got some to give it under their Hands, that they wou'd furnish so much, he made use of their *Notes* to induce the Rest to the same Compliance, enjoyning *Secrecy* to them all, on Pain of *Excommunication*. But the Abbots of St. *Edmundbury* and *Battle* thought these Proceedings so strange and arbitrary, that they complain'd of them to the King even before the *Legate*'s Face. *Hen-*

The Pope nominates 300 Italians *to the vacant Benefices.*

He sends a Nuntio, who tries to extort Money from the Abbies.

The King backs the Nuntio.

(*a*) * *Petrus Rubens.*

1240. ry, far from giving Ear to their juſt Complaints, receiv'd them with Frowns, and even offer'd the *Legate* one of his Caſtles to impriſon them. This Stratagem being blown up, the *Nuntio* durſt not purſue what he had begun. But the *Legate* conven'd the *Clergy* once more, in order to obtain a freſh *Subſidy*, ever on Pretence of the War with the Emperor. To this new Demand, the *Clergy* made Anſwer, that ſince the Emperor was not *excommunicated* by the *Church*, but by the Pope alone, they wou'd not concern themſelves in the Quarrel: That beſides, they were too *Poor* to anſwer all the Pope's Exactions, and that, ſuppoſing they were able to do it, they wou'd no longer endure that the *Church of England* ſhou'd be *Tributary* to *Rome* in the manner ſhe had been for ſome Time. During the long ſtay the *Legate* had made in *England*, he had remark'd enough of the Temper of the *Engliſh*, to know that his beſt way was not to exaſperate them too much, in the Diſpoſition they were in with regard to the Pope. However, not to omit anything that might contribute to the accompliſhing his Maſter's Orders, he bethought himſelf of another Expedient. This was to divide the Clergy, in which the King ſerv'd him effectually, by promiſing ſome Penſions and Preferments, and frightening others by Threats. This way ſucceeded ſo well, that at length each complied to do in particular, what in a Body they had refus'd, the most unwilling being forced to follow the Majority.

The Legate demands a freſh Subſidy, which the Clergy deny.

He finds means to divide them.

The King ſends Juſtices into the Counties to extort Money.

Whilſt the *Clergy* were thus expos'd to the Avarice of the Court of *Rome*, the King ſent *Juſtices-Itinerant*, thro' all the *Counties*, under Pretence of redreſſing *Grievances* and eaſing the People. But it was ſoon perceived, that this was only a Means contriv'd to oppreſs ſeveral private Perſons, by Fines and Confiſcations, which brought in very conſiderable Sums to his Treaſury. This Oppreſſion caus'd loud Murmurs amongſt the *Engliſh*, who found themſelves expos'd at the ſame Time to the Tyranny of the *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil* Powers.

The King's natural Fickleneſs not letting him love or hate the ſame Perſons any long Time, he recall'd, this Year, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who ſet out quickly after for the *Holy Land*, where he made no long Stay. *Gilbert* Earl of *Pembroke* was likewiſe receiv'd into Favour, thro' the powerful Interceſſion of Prince *Richard*. This Prince, having the Year before taken upon him the *Croſs*, departed for *Jeruſalem*, in Company with the Earl of *Salisbury*, and ſeveral other Noblemen. 1240. *The King recalls the Earls of* Leiceſter *and* Pembroke.

Towards the latter End of this Year, the Earl of *Flanders* came to *London*, and did the King *Homage*, for a Penſion of five hundred Marks, which was paid him yearly. There are ſome who queſtion whether it was cuſtomary in thoſe Days to grant Penſions in *Fee*, on condition of ſome *military Service*, and of *Homage*. But this evidently appears, from ſeveral Agreements made between the Kings of *England* and divers Foreign Princes, the Tenour of which is to be ſeen in *the Collection of Publick Acts* (a) *. *The Earl of* Flanders *does Homage to the King for his Penſion.*

In the Beginning of the Year 1241, *England* at length was rid of *Otho* the *Legate*, who was recall'd by an expreſs Order. Hitherto he had found Means to have his *Commiſſion* continued through the King's Interceſſion. But now he did not think fit to get him to ſpeak in his Behalf. He knew the Pope was ſeiz'd by a Diſtemper of which, in all appearance, he wou'd never recover: And therefore he was deſirous of not being in *England*, when the News of his Death ſhou'd come. He had too much reaſon to fear, that during the Vacancy of the *Holy See*, the Money might be ſtopp'd which he had ſcrap'd together. 'Tis affirm'd, that he carried off more than he left to the *Churches* and *Monaſteries*. *Gregory* IX. died quick- 1241. *The Legate is recall'd.* Paris.

(a) See *Act. Pub.* T. I. p. 1, 4, 22, 27, 168, *&c.* * The firſt Volume begins with an Agreement, dated 17. 1101. between *Henry* I. and *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, whereby the King binds himſelf to pay the Earl 400 Marks *per. Ann.* in *Fee*, on condition of his ſending the King 500 Horſe, when he ſhou'd want them. *Rymer* obſerves, that this *Act* is a more antient proof than any the *French* can produce, that the Earls of *Flanders* were Vaſſals to their Kings.

1241. ly after, as the *Legate* had foreseen, and the Emperor gave the King advice of it immediately, that he might seize the Money which had been levied on the Kingdom, for the deceased Pope: But the *Legate* was gone off with it.

He is rifled by the Emperor's People. He was however so unfortunate in his Return to *Italy*, as to fall into the Hands of the Emperor's People, who stripp'd him of all his Riches. This was the Fruits of the numberless Oppressions and Extortions the Cardinal had committed in *England*. Thus, the Money exacted on pretence of employing it against the Emperor, turn'd to the Emperor's own Benefit.

Schism after the Death of Gregory. The Death of *Gregory* IX. caus'd a *Schism* which lasted 'till the next Year. During this Time, *Rossi* and *Pupine*, whom the *Legate* had left behind in *England*, in Quality of *Nuntio*'s, continued their Extortions without any Sense of Shame or Justice. *Pupine* being gone to *Ireland*, with the King's Permission, exacted from the *Clergy* there fifteen hundred Marks, a very large Sum at that Time for a Country where Money was extremely scarce. So that the Death of *Gregory* IX, brought but little Relief to the *English*, tho' they imagin'd they had reason to rejoice at it as a great Deliverance, since none of the Popes his Predecessors had carried their Exactions to that Height as he had done. The following Instance is a clear Evidence of what he was capable of doing. Some Time before his Death he had caus'd to be propos'd to the Abbot of *Peterborough*, that if he wou'd give him, under a borrow'd Name, one of the Monastery's *Livings* of two hundred Pounds * a Year, he wou'd rent it out to him again at an hundred, and by that Means they shou'd share the *Benefice* between them. But the Abbot was too honest a Man to agree to such a Bargain. He even acquainted the King with the Matter; who being made sensible of the ill Consequences of it, hinder'd, by his Authority, the Abbot from being constrain'd to comply. Had the Pope succeeded in his Project, all the *Benefices* in *England* would soon have been in the Hands of the Pope,

The Nuntio's continue their Exactions.

Simoniacal Proposal of Pope Gregory.

* *Marks.* M. Paris.

Pope, Biſhops, and Abbots. At leaſt, 'tis to be preſum'd that *Gregory* wou'd not have been ſatisfied with that, but deſign'd it only as an Eſſay towards rendring his Project more general. 1241.

The King extorts Money from the Jews.

The *Clergy* were not the only Sufferers in *England*. The Reſt of the People were no leſs expos'd to the King's Oppreſſions than the *Clergy* were to the Pope's. The *Jews* in particular were every now and then roughly handled; for out of their Pockets it was that the King uſually rais'd the Money to defray his extraordinary Expences. *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy*, Uncle to the Queen, being come this Year into *England*, the King receiv'd him with ſuch Magnificence, that not knowing how to provide Money for this Charge otherwiſe, he forc'd the *Jews* to preſent him with twenty thouſand Marks, on Pain of being expell'd the Kingdom.

Arrival of the Earl of Savoy.

Henry *gets the Queen's Brother choſen Archbiſhop.*

The King was ſo deſirous of enriching the Queen's Relations, that he was never weary of ſhewing them Marks of his Affection. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dying the laſt Year, as was obſerved, *Henry* us'd ſo many Inſtances, and other leſs lawful Means, that he got *Boniface* the Queen's Brother to be elected to the *Archiepiſcopal See*. Thus was ſeen at the Head of the *Church of England*, a young Man and a Foreigner, ignorant of the Laws, Cuſtoms and Language of the Kingdom, and conſequently incapable of diſcharging the Functions of that Dignity as he ought.

Death of the Earl of Pembroke *who is ſucceeded by his Brother.*

Gilbert, Earl of *Pembroke*, dying this Year *, *Walter* his Brother demanded of the King to be inveſted in the Office of *Grand Marſhal*, which was Hereditary in their Family. *Henry* at firſt in a great Paſſion denied him, alledging that his two Brothers had been Traytors and Rebels, and that he himſelf had been preſent at a Tournament, contrary to his Commands. However this Lord, having found

* He was kill'd by the Unrulineſs of his Horſe, whoſe Reins breaking at a Tournament at *Hertford* he was flung down, and his Foot being hung in the Stirrup, caus'd him to be almoſt kick'd to Death. *M. Paris. Anno* 1241.

1241. found means to make the Queen his Friend, obtain'd at length what he demanded.

The Affairs of Wales. The Affairs of the *Welsh* employ'd the King a good Part of this Year. *Lewellin*, Prince of *Wales*, having departed this Life in a very advanc'd Age, had left Issue two Sons, *David*, and *Griffin*, who were to share his Inheritance: But *David* had seiz'd the Whole, and moreover detain'd his Brother in Prison. Altho', ever since the Homage which *Lewellin* had voluntary submitted to, *Henry* might justly look upon *Wales* as a *Fief* of the Crown, he wou'd not perhaps have concern'd himself in this Matter, had not the Wife of *Griffin* induc'd him to it. This Princess having applied herself to him for Protection, promis'd him, in her Husband's Name, a Present of six hundred Marks, and an annual Tribute of three Hundred, if he wou'd free the Prince out of Prison and put him in Possession of his Right. *Henry* having accepted of this Offer, sent to *David* to release the Prisoner, and satisfy him as to his Claims, threatning him in Case of Refusal, with a fierce War, till he should obey. *David* finding he was not in a Condition to resist at a Time when many of his Subjects were in their Hearts for the Prince his Brother, took a Course which to him seem'd more sure than That of Arms. He out-bid his Sister-in-law, and made more advantagious Proposals, which were accepted. As *Henry* had only a View to his own Interest in granting his Protection to *Griffin*, he espous'd without a Moment's Consideration the contrary Side as soon as he saw he shou'd be a Gainer by it. Accordingly from *Griffin's* Protector, he turn'd his Enemy; and for fear that Prince shou'd escape out of Prison, he took upon him to see him safely confin'd in the *Tower* of *London*. Thus it was that this Prince made no Conscience of selling by Turns his Protection to the two opposite Parties, without troubling himself on which Side Justice lay, or having any Regard to *prior* Engagements.

Brady's App. N. 167.

Death of the Empress, and Eleanor *of* Bretaign. The same Year the Empress *Isabella*, Sister to the King, died in Childbed. Her Death was quickly follow'd by That of *Eleanor* of *Bretaign*, who had been Prisoner forty

forty Years in *Briſtol* Caſtle. This Princeſs, tho' reduc'd to ſo wretched a Condition, cou'd never be brought during her long Impriſonment to recede in the leaſt from her Right, in Order to obtain ſome Favour which ſhe cou'd not expect upon any other Terms. 1241.

Occaſion of a freſh War between England *and* France.

Shortly after, *Henry* was engag'd in a very troubleſom Buſineſs, in which he came off but very badly as uſual, and which entirely made him loſe the little Eſteem his Subjects had ſtill left for him. Before Prince *Richard* ſet out for the *Holy Land*, he had inveſted him with the Earldom of *Poictou*, tho' *France* was in Poſſeſſion of good Part of it, ever ſince the Conqueſts of *Philip Auguſtus*. This Province being thus parted between the two Crowns, *Lewis* thought likewiſe that he had a Right to inveſt with it Earl *Alphonſo* his Brother. The which prov'd the Occaſion of a War between the two Monarchs.

1242. *The Earl of* March *engages* Henry *to carry the War into* Poictou.

Henry being extremely provok'd at this Proceeding of *Lewis* in inveſting the Prince his Brother with *Poictou*, reſolv'd to be reveng'd, with ſo much the more Eagerneſs, as the Queen his Mother was concern'd in the Caſe. This Princeſs, who, ſince the Death of King *John*, had eſpous'd the Earl of *March* her firſt Lover, had kept up all that Haughtineſs which ſhe had aſſum'd whilſt ſhe wore the Crown of *England*. As the Territories of the Earl her Spouſe were in that Part of *Poictou* which was poſſeſs'd by *France*, he had all along done Homage to *Lewis*. But when *Alphonſo* was become Earl of *Poictou*, ſhe cou'd not bear to ſee her Husband kneel to a Brother of the King of *France*. This Piece of Pride was without Queſtion ill-grounded, ſince there was a vaſt Difference between the Sovereign and his Vaſſal. However ſhe ſollicited her Husband ſo earneſtly, that at length ſhe prevail'd with him to refuſe to do Homage to Prince *Alphonſo*, tho' he had before poſitively promiſed to do it. This Refuſal was accompanied with ſome offenſive Words, which put the King of *France* in a Paſſion, and made him reſolve to chaſtiſe the Earl's Inſolence. In the mean time the Earl, willing to ſtand by what he had done,

1242. done, implor'd the Protection of the King of *England*. He gave him to understand, that it wou'd be a very easy Matter to drive the *French* out of all *Poictou*; and that in Case he wou'd defray the Expence of the War, that Province wou'd furnish him with Troops sufficient for a great Army. *Henry*, prevail'd upon by these Hopes, summon'd a Parliament, of whom he demanded an Aid in Proportion to the design'd Expedition. But his Subjects were so tir'd with granting a Prince Money, who made so ill Use of it, that he cou'd obtain nothing. On the contrary, he was sharply upbraided for squandering away his settled Revenues, and the Sums he daily exacted from his Subjects, by unlawful Means. He was told likewise that the Truce made with *France* not being yet expir'd, the Parliament was unwilling to incur the Guilt of the Breach of his Oath. In fine, Complaints were made of his not having perform'd his Promise with regard to the two *Charters* which he had so often sworn to cause to be observ'd.

The Parliament refuses to grant an Aid.

Henry *raises Money by other Means.*

These Reproaches were so much the more grievous, as the King had nothing to reply to them. However he persisted in his Design, and not having been able to prevail with the Parliament to grant him an Aid, he squeez'd what he cou'd from private Persons, by way of Gift or Loan, or other Means, in which he spent the whole Winter. After this he summon'd all Those who ow'd *Military Service* to the Crown, to meet him at *Portsmouth* on a Day appointed. But instead of leading Troops thither, he order'd them to bring Each a certain Sum of Money, depending upon the Earl of *March*'s Word, who had put him in hopes that he shou'd have Soldiers enough in *Poictou*. As soon as the Season was fair, he went and embark'd at *Portsmouth*, attended by the Queen his Mother, and Prince *Richard* his Brother newly arrived from the *Holy Land*. Upon his Departure he committed the Regency of the Kingdom to the Archbishop of *York*. He landed in *Saintoigne*, where some *Poictevin* Noblemen came and join'd him. The Earl of *Marche* met him also, but so thinly attended, that it was very visible he was in no Condition to make good what he had promised. When the

He sets out, having made the Archbishop of York *Regent.*

The Poictevins *join him, not as the Earl*

the Buſineſs was to raiſe an Army in thoſe Parts, the Officers and Soldiers liſted ſo ſlowly under the *Engliſh* Banners, that it was eaſy to foreſee from that Moment, the Enterpriſe wou'd not have a happy Iſſue. In the mean Time the King of *France*, who was advancing with a numerous Army, went and laid Siege to *Fontenay*, one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Poictou*. It was during this Siege that *Henry* ſent Ambaſſadors to him to demand all that *Philip Auguſtus* had taken from the *Engliſh*, and that *Lewis* VIII had promis'd to reſtore; and in Caſe of a Refuſal, to declare War againſt him. *Lewis*, who was *ſainted* after his Death, being of a tender Conſcience, cou'd hardly get over his Scruples on Account of the Oath the King his Father had taken to reſtore theſe Provinces. In this Temper, he gave the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors an honourable Reception, and anſwer'd them with a great deal of Moderation, that he much wondred, the King their Maſter thought of breaking a Truce which he had confirmed by a ſolemn Oath. Adding, that to let him ſee that it was his ſincere Deſire to keep up a good Underſtanding between them, he offer'd to renew the Truce for three Years longer. In fine, he conſented to deliver up Part of *Poictou* and *Normandy*, provided he wou'd withdraw his Protection from his rebellious *Vaſſals*, who, for no manner of Reaſon, refus'd to pay him the Obedience due to him. Theſe Propoſals were as advantagious as *Henry* cou'd have wiſh'd them. He might likewiſe, by accepting them, have procur'd for the Earl of *March* an honourable Accommodation, which *Lewis* in the Diſpoſition he was in, wou'd not douhtleſs have refus'd. But ſuffering himſelf to be carried away by the violent Counſels of the Queen his Mother and the Earl of *March*, he openly rejected theſe Offers. Some days after, he raſhly ſent two *Knights Hoſpitallers* to defie *Lewis*, tho' he was but ill able to ſupport his Haughtineſs. Notwithſtanding this Bravado, *Lewis*, who had much ado to get over his Scruples, ſought to make up Matters. But at length Means were found to remove his Uneaſineſs of Mind, by repreſenting to him that the Oath, the King his Father had taken, was no farther binding than as the

1242. *had promiſed.*

Lewis *beſieges* Fontenay.

Henry *declares War.*

Lewis *makes advantagious Offers which are rejected.*

Henry *defies* Lewis.

1242. King of *England* shou'd perform on his Part what he had promis'd: That the said King had oblig'd himself by Oath not to exact any Ransom from the Prisoners, nor to treat ill such of the *English* as had adher'd to *France*; that he had violated both these Articles, and that this Breach of the Treaty of *London* had rendred void the Engagements of the other Party. In all Appearance *Lewis*, as great a Saint as he was, sought not so much to ease his Conscience entirely, as to satisfy it for the present by some Pretence, since he was prevail'd upon by such poor Reasons. Be this as it will, he continued the Siege which he had begun, and took the City by Storm. A natural Son of the Earl of *March* being made Prisoner with four hundred Knights, some advis'd that Prince to put them all to death: But he replied, that the Son could not help obeying his Father, and the rest their Sovereign; and therefore it was not reasonable that the Innocent shou'd be punished for the Guilty. This first Success was followed by several others, which gain'd *Lewis* the Possession of divers Places in that Part of *Poictou* belonging to the *English*, without *Henry*'s being able to stop his Progress, so ill had he taken his Measures. As *Henry* endeavour'd only to avoid fighting, he went and encamp'd near *Taillebourg*, on the Banks of the *Charente*, with the River between him and the Enemy. As soon as *Lewis* had Notice of it, he came and posted himself on the other Side upon the same River, and by Means of his Engines and Cross-bow Men, compell'd the *English* to remove two thousand Paces further off. Their Retreat gave him an Opportunity of easily becoming Master of *Taillebourg*-Bridge, which was the only way he had to come at the *English*. In the mean time, as the Day was too far spent to pass over his whole Army, he was satisfied with guarding the Bridge, resolving to attack the Enemy at Break of Day. *Henry*, who was not strong enough to stand a Battle, took the Advantage of the Darkness of the Night to retire, whilst Prince *Richard* his Brother endeavour'd to amuse the *French* by Proposals of a Truce, which he cou'd not however obtain, but for the Rest of that

Lewis takes Fontenay.

He gains a Pass over the Charente.

that Night. As ſoon as it was expir'd, *Lewis* purſued the *Engliſh*, and overtaking their Rear, made them ſuffer ſome Loſs. This at leaſt is the Idea the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians give of this Action, which the *French* make much more conſiderable: But on ſuch Occaſions, it is very difficult to diſcover the Truth exactly, becauſe one meets with very few impartial Hiſtorians. However it is very likely that the Matter was quite otherwiſe than the *Engliſh* repreſent it, ſince the *French* give a particular Account of this Battle, wherein they ſay both the Kings were preſent, that *Lewis* was in great Danger, and that four thouſand *Engliſh* were taken Priſoners. Beſides, it is certain that the King of *England* fled as far as *Xaintes*, whither *Lewis* followed him, and that the Earl of *March* having made a Sally was the Occaſion of the two Kings coming to a ſecond Battle, which was no leſs fatal to the *Engliſh* than the former. After this, *Henry* perceiving he was like to be block'd up in *Xaintes*, fled to *Blaye*, where not thinking himſelf ſafe, he went and ſhut himſelf up in *Bourdeaux*. 1242.

The Earl of March *makes his Peace with* Lewis. Wil. de Nangis.

The King of *France*'s extraordinary Succeſs in this War, terrified the Earl of *March*. He found that, the King of *England* not being able to protect him as it plainly appear'd, his holding out any longer wou'd but render his Condition the worſe. Accordingly reſolving, though a little too late, to provide for his ſafety, he ſent his eldeſt Son to the King of *France*, to try to obtain ſome tolerable Terms. The favourable Reception *Lewis* gave the young Lord, induced the Father to go to his Camp, with his Wife and Children, and throw himſelf entirely upon his Mercy, *Lewis*, who was of an extreme generous Temper, very readily pardon'd him, though he had ſufficient Evidence that the Counteſs-Queen had ſuborn'd People to poiſon him. He was content with having three of their Caſtles deliver'd up as a Security for their Fidelity. In all Appearance, he wou'd have carried his Conqueſts farther over the King of *England*, who was not in a Condition to ſtand before him, if the Plague which was got into the Army, and a Diſtemper which he himſelf was ſeiz'd with, had not prevented him from carrying his

1242. *A Truce for five Years.*

Arms as far as *Bourdeaux*. These Reasons, and perhaps some Remains of his old Scruples, caus'd him to consent to a Truce for five Years, after having sufficiently chastis'd his Enemy by the entire Conquest of *Poicton*.

1243. Henry *passes the Winter at* Bourdeaux, *and sends for Money from* England.

Tho' *Henry* had nothing more to do in *France*, he had a Mind to pass the Winter at *Bourdeaux*, where he made an End of his Treasures by squandering his Money away in Feastings and Diversions as if he had come off victorious in the late Campaign. In the mean while his Troops were in want of all Things, the *Gascoigns* not being in the Humour to maintain an *English* Army in Time of Peace and without any Necessity. So that the King found himself oblig'd to send for Cloaths and Provisions for the Soldiers to the Archbishop of *York*, whom he had left *Regent* in *England*. At the same Time, he order'd him to confiscate the Estates of some *English* Barons, who had withdrawn themselves without Leave. The First of these Orders was executed. But the *Regent* prudently declin'd meddling with the Last, for fear of raising Disturbances in the Kingdom during the King's Absence. The Provisions and Cloaths were hardly receiv'd before the King sent fresh Orders to the *Regent* to demand of the *Cistercians* one Year's Profit of their Wool. But the Abbots excus'd themselves in such a manner as plainly made appear that they wou'd not be compell'd to it without downright Force, which the Archbishop, did not care to use. In fine the Archbishop press'd to send Money continually to *Bourdeaux*, obtain'd of the Parliament a Subsidy of twenty Shillings upon every *Knight*'s *Fee*, which wou'd have been sufficient to extricate the King out of the Streights he was in, had it been well managed.

The Parliament grants him an Aid.

Loans *for the King, which cause great Murmurings.*

In the mean Time, *Henry* continued at *Bourdeaux* with his Army, without having any other Business to do but to consume in idle Expences the Money which was sent him from *England*. When his Coffers were empty, he demanded fresh Supplies of the *Regent*, who was hard put to it to answer all his Demands. The only means left was to borrow Money in the King's Name of such private Persons as were reputed rich. This unusual Proceeding caus'd

caus'd great Murmurings among the People, as it has all along done, every Time the Kings have made uſe of it to ſupply their Occaſions. The *Regent* however was willing to expoſe himſelf to thoſe Complaints, believing it wou'd be a Means to get the King from *Bourdeaux*. But at the ſame Time, he ſent him word, that there was no Poſſibility of raiſing any more Money, and that it was Time to think of returning home. This Declaration put the King in good Earneſt upon preparing for his Departure. As ſoon as he was reſolv'd, he ſent Orders to all the Barons then in *England* to be ready at *Portſmouth* to receive him at his Landing. They obey'd; but he made them wait ſo long, that they were extremely diſguſted, by Reaſon of the Expence they were at during their Stay. 1243.

Before he left *Bourdeaux*, *Henry* ratified the five Years Truce he had concluded with *France*; that diſhonourable Truce, whereby, beſides the Places which *Lewis* had conquer'd, *Henry* bound himſelf to pay him yearly five thouſand Pound *Sterling*. This was the Iſſue of his ill-concerted, and ſtill worſe managed Expedition *. However, notwithſtanding the Reaſon he had to be aſham'd of the Succeſs of this Enterprize, he wou'd be receiv'd at *London* with extraordinary Pomp, as if it had been poſſible to deceive the People by theſe outward Appearances, and make them believe that the King was return'd victorious. All the Money which had been ſent him being expended, he was no ſooner at *London*, but he pick'd a Quarrel with the *Jews*, who to appeaſe him, were conſtrain'd to give him a very conſiderable Sum. An Hiſtorian relates, that one *Aaron* a *Jew* of *York* aſſur'd him, that the King had extorted from him alone, four thouſand Marks of Gold, and

Henry *ratifies the Truce, and returns to* England.

Extorts Money from the Jews. M. Paris.

* Whilſt the King was engaged in this War, the Queen his Wife lay-in at *Bourdeaux* of a Daughter call'd *Beatrix*. The chief Noblemen that attended the King in this Expedition were *Simon Monfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, *Roger Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk*, *John de Burg*, with divers others, who ſignaliz'd themſelves in the Battle above-mention'd. Moſt of them left the King at *Bourdeaux*; for which he order'd their Eſtates to be confiſcated as above.

1243. and forty thousand of Silver. But it is to be presum'd that this was done at several Times.

Marriage of Prince Richard. *Henry* was not long in *England*, before he found Means to expend what he had exacted from the *Jews*. The Arrival of the Countess of *Provence* his Mother-in-law, who was come to celebrate the Nuptials of her Daughter *Cincia* with Prince *Richard*, furnish'd him with an Opportunity to consume a greater Sum than he was Master of. The Charge he was at on the Score of this Marriage may be estimated by the Wedding-Dinner only, which consisted, as 'tis said, of thirty thousand Dishes.

Innocent IV. *Pope.* The *Holy See*, which had bern vacant eighteen Months, was fill'd this Year by Cardinal *Senebaldo* of *Genoa*, who took the Name of *Innocent* IV. The new Pope was no sooner consecrated, but he confirm'd the *Excommunication* denounced against the Emperor.

1244. *The Parliament denies the King an Aid.* Since *Henry* had taken into his own Hands the Administration of the Government, there had not a Year pass'd without his demanding Money of the Parliament. At first he generally met with a Denial: but at length the Parliament was prevail'd upon by the King's Assurances that he wou'd cause the *Charters* of the King his Father to be punctually observ'd. He had a mind this Year to play over the same Game: but he found the *Nobility* and *Clergy* so strictly united, that he lost all Hopes of succeeding. He even perceiv'd it was dangerous to suffer them to be assembled too long, knowing they were concerting Measures to deprive him of the Administration of Affairs, which they design'd to commit to four of their Body who were to transact every Thing in his Name. A Project of this Nature cou'd not but alarm him; and therefore having promis'd in general, to reform what was amiss, and tried in vain to set them at Odds, he prorogu'd the Parliament *.

The Parliament's Design against the King.

The Parliament is prorogu'd.

In

* *Matthew Paris* says, this *Great Council* or Parliament had contriv'd a new Method of Government, and intended that four of the most potent and discreet Men of the Kingdom shou'd be chosen by *Common Consent*, who were to transact all Affairs relating to the King

In the mean while, the *Clergy* had to withſtand a vio- 1244.
ent Aſſault from the new Pope, who had ſent into *Eng-* *The Pope vexes the Clergy.*
land one *Martin* as his *Nuntio*, to exact Money from the *Eccleſiaſticks*, with Power to puniſh ſuch as he found refractory to his Commands. The *Nuntio* executed his Orders ſo vigorouſly, that for the leaſt Trifle he ſuſpended Prieſts, Abbots, and Biſhops themſelves; by which means he became extremely odious both to the *Clergy* and *Laity*. But the Matter was much worſe, when he produc'd the *The Pope's Demand of them.*
Pope's *Letter* to demand of the *Clergy* an extraordinary *Subſidy* to diſcharge the Debts which *Gregory* IX had contracted in his Wars with the Emperor. He alledg'd, that theſe Wars were undertaken in Defence of the *Catholick Faith*, and of St. *Peter*'s *Patrimony*, and therefore all *Eccleſiaſticks*, particularly the *Engliſh*, were bound to contribute towards the Expence. Before the *Clergy* had *The King obtains a Subſidy by promiſing to keep the Charters.*
taken any Reſolution in this Matter, the King conven'd the Parliament, and renew'd his Demands of an *Aid*. But as he was very ſenſible he ſhou'd obtain nothing unleſs he ſatisfied the Barons with regard to their *Grievances*, he promis'd them with an Oath to ſee the two *Charters* punctually obſerv'd. He even conſented that the Biſhops ſhou'd *excommunicate* him, in Caſe he violated his Oath. Upon theſe Aſſurances, the Parliament granted him twenty Shillings from every *Knights Fee*. But as no preſſing Neceſſity cou'd be alledg'd for granting him this extraordinary *Subſidy*, it was ſaid that the Money ſhou'd be expended in the Marriage of his eldeſt Daughter, though all knew it was deſign'd for other Uſes.

When

King and Kingdom, and to do Juſtice to all without Reſpect of Perſons. They were to follow the King, and two of them at leaſt were to be always preſent with him, that they might hear and receive the Complaints of Perſons oppreſs'd. The King's Treaſury was to be manag'd by them, and all *Aids* were to be expended as they thought moſt for the Benefit of the Nation. In a word, they were to be the *Conſervators* of the *Publick Liberties*, and as choſen by *common Conſent*, they were not to be remov'd but by the ſame Authority; when one died, another was to be choſen by the three Survivors. And without the Conſent of theſe Four *the Great Council* was not to meet. *M. Paris. Anno.* 1244.

1244. *The* Nuntio *sollicites the Clergy in vain.*

When the *Nuntio* saw that the Parliament had complied with the King's Demand, he press'd the Bishops and Abbots to have the same Regard for their *Spiritual*, as the Parliament had for their *Temporal* Father. But they minded not this frivolous Reason, and alledg'd much stronger ones to justify their Refusal. The Steddiness of the Prelates oblig'd the *Nuntio* at length to desist. But he still continued, by Virtue of the Power he had receiv'd from the Pope, to fill the *Benefices* as they became void, which he dispos'd of in a scandalous Manner *.

Affairs of the Welsh.

Whilst these Things were transacting, an Accident fell out which broke the strict Union which till then had been preserv'd between the King and the Prince of *Wales* ever since the Agreement they had made together. *Griffin*, who was confin'd in the *Tower* of *London*, endeavouring to make his Escape out of the Prison-window, fell into the Ditch and broke his Neck. Whilst he was alive, *David* his Brother never dar'd to do any Thing that might displease the King, for fear he shou'd espouse his Interest. But as soon as *Griffin* was dead, he made an Irruption into the Borders of *England*, under Pretence to be reveng'd for certain Breaches of the late Treaty. The People bordering upon *Wales*, finding the King took no care to repel this Insult, arm'd themselves in Defence of their Country. But as they were too weak, and ill-conducted, they were always worsted.

The King of Scotland *refuses to do Homage to* Henry, *who prepares for War.*

At the same Time, *Alexander* II. King of *Scotland*, who had lately married a *French* Lady *1, sent *Henry* Word, that his Intent was to do him Homage no longer for the Lands he held of the Crown of *England*. However little Inclination soever *Henry* had for War, he cou'd not help on this occasion, exerting himself, so greatly was the *English* incens'd at this Bravado. He summon'd therefore all the *Vassals* of the Crown to meet him at *Newcastle*

* Amongst the Rest he gave one of the richest Prebendaries of *Salisbury* to a little Boy who was the Pope's Nephew, against the Will of the Bishop and the whole *Chapter*.

*1 Daughter to *Engelram de Cussey* a Potent Nobleman of France and mortal Enemy to *Henry*.

Newcaſtle, which Place he appointed for the Rendezvous of the Army deſign'd againſt *Scotland*. When *Alexander* had reſolv'd to refuſe the King the Homage due to him, he did not expect it wou'd have drawn a War upon him. Perſwaded as he was of the Weakneſs and Irreſolution of the Prince he had to deal with, he was in hopes that the Difference wou'd be decided as uſual by a Negotiation which might turn to his Advantage. But when he ſaw the *Engliſh* Army ready to enter his Territories, he abated of his Haughtineſs, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Newcaſtle* to ſue for Peace. *Henry* receiv'd the Propoſal with Joy. Notwithſtanding the Reſolution which he ſeem'd to have taken to puſh the War with Vigour, he readily conſented to a Treaty which afforded him an Excuſe to lay down his Arms. *Alexander* ſubmitted to the ſame Homage that he himſelf and his Anceſtors had paid, and a good Underſtanding between the two Kings was perfectly reſtor'd. Before they parted, a Marriage was agreed upon between *Alexander*'s eldeſt Son of the ſame Name with himſelf, and *Margaret*, *Henry*'s eldeſt Daughter.

1244.

Alexander *ſues for Peace.*

The Army which had been rais'd for the War with *Scotland*, not having had Occaſion to act, the King was adviſ'd to make Uſe of it to reduce the Prince of *Wales* to Obedience. But inſtead of taking the Advantage of ſo favourable a Juncture, he diſmiſs'd the Troops, out of his impatience to go and call a Parliament in order to demand an Aid of Money, which after all he cou'd not obtain. The Prince of *Wales* ſo little queſtion'd *Henry*'s making uſe of the Means he had in his Power to chaſtiſe him, that to free himſelf from the Danger which he imagin'd hung over his Head, he had applied to the Pope, and given him to underſtand that he had been compell'd to declare himſelf *Vaſſal* to the King of *England*, and to pay him Tribute: For which reaſon, he had beſought the Pope to annul the Treaty, offering to become *Vaſſal* to the *Holy See*, and to pay him the ſame yearly Tribute of five thouſand Marks * which he paid the King of *England*. *Innocent*

The Prince of Wales *offers to become Vaſſal to the Pope.*

* *Tyrrel* from *M. Paris* ſays, *five Hundred*. Vol. II. p. 930.

1244. *nocent* IV. being no less greedy of Money than his Predecessors, this Proposal was not disagreeable to him. However, to make appear that he took not upon him to decide the Matter without a Hearing of the Cause, and upon the bare Suggestion of a Petition, he empower'd two *Welsh* Abbots to take Informations concerning the pretended Constraint alledg'd by their Prince. At the same Time he commission'd them to make void the Treaty, and to absolve the Prince of *Wales* from his Oath, in Case it appear'd that any Compulsion had been us'd. It was easy to foresee what Sentence the Judges wou'd pass. The two Abbots, proud of the Power they were intrusted with, had the Insolence to summon the King of *England* to appear before them, just as if he had been some private Person subject to their Jurisdiction. This Proceeding enrag'd to the last Degree the King and his Council as well as the whole Nation. Then they were sorry the Army was disbanded: but as that cou'd not be help'd, it was resolv'd that another shou'd instantly be rais'd in order to go and chastise the Prince of *Wales* as soon as the Season wou'd permit; for it was then in the midst of Winter. At the same Time, the great Men conferr'd together how to find Means to stop the Proceedings of the Court of *Rome*.

The War with Wales *resolv'd upon.*

Whilst these Affairs were transacting, the Court received Intelligence, that the King of *France* had sent out all the *English* which were in his Dominions. Tho' the Truce was far from being yet expir'd, *Lewis* had thought fit to take this Step, in order to prevent the Subjects of the King of *England*, which were in *France*, from having too great an Insight into the Affairs of the Kingdom. To that End, he had order'd all Those who had Estates in *France* to come to him, and having declar'd to them, that he thought it not possible to serve faithfully two Masters at once, he had given them their Choice to prefer which they pleas'd. They who declar'd for *England* were order'd to depart out of *France* within such Time, with Assurance that their Lands shou'd be always reserv'

Lewis *expels the* English *settled in his Dominions.*

reſerv'd for them. *Henry* did not act with the ſame Juſtice. As ſoon as he was inform'd of *Lewis*'s Proceedings, he ſeiz'd all the Lands which the *French* held in *England*, without any regard to the Remonſtrances made him by the King of *France*. However, *Lewis* did not think fit to break the Truce for the ſake of ſome private Perſons *. 1244. Henry *confiſcates the Lands of the* French.

Shortly after, the Emperor *Frederick* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry*, complaining of the Aids of Money he had ſo often given the Pope. He order'd him to be told, that for the future, he wou'd treat all the *Engliſh*, which ſhou'd fall into his Hands as Enemies, ſince he cou'd not but look upon them as ſuch. His Complaints had no other Effect, but to afford the *Clergy* a Handle to oppoſe the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, whoſe continual Pretence was the War againſt the Emperor. *The Emperor complains of the Aids ſent the Pope.*

In the Beginning of the Year 1245, the Queen was brought to Bed of another Son who was chriſtened *Edmund*. I ſhall have frequent Occaſion to ſpeak of this Prince before the End of this Reign. 1245. *Birth of Prince* Edmund.

The War with the *Welſh*, which had been put off till Spring, was accordingly begun at that Time. But the *Engliſh* proceeded with ſo little Vigour, that, far from attacking their Enemies, they were hard put to it to defend themſelves. *The War with the* Welſh.

This was not ſo much owing to their Weakneſs, as to their being taken up with other Matters which to them ſeem'd of greater Moment than the War with *Wales*. They had at length reſolv'd to free themſelves from the Tyranny of the Court of *Rome*. *Martin* the *Nuntio* us'd his Authority in ſuch an indiſcreet Manner, that it was not poſſible to bear it any longer. The Barons, who beheld with Regret all the Money of the Kingdom remitted to *Rome*, and who were very ſenſible that the *Clergy* ever bore way, when the Queſtion was to oppoſe the Pope, *Vigorous Reſolutions of the Barons againſt the Pope.*

* *M. Paris* ſeems to ſay, that the *French* King gave the *Engliſh* his Dominions the Liberty of relinquiſhing either their Eſtates in *France*, or Thoſe in *England*. And that they were forc'd to do the one or t'other. Whereas *Henry* left the *French* in his Kingdom, without choice, but ſeiz'd their Lands to his own uſe. *M. Paris. An.* 1244.

1245. were at last determin'd to exert their utmost to prevent these frequent Exactions. After having often conferr'd together about the Matter, they resolv'd to act by their own Authority. Accordingly, without waiting any longer for the King's Protection, who appear'd very backward to second them, they issued out Orders to the *Wardens* of the Ports to stop all those that should bring any *Bulls* or *Mandates* from the Court of *Rome*. Pursuant to these Orders, which were every where obey'd without regarding whether they were approv'd by the King, a Messenger from *Rome* was seiz'd with several *Bulls* about him, empowering the *Nuntio* to exact Money from the *Clergy* on divers Pretences. The *Nuntio* complain'd to the King, who commanded every Thing to be restor'd which had been taken from him. But the Barons presented to the King strong Remonstrances upon this Occasion, and set before his Eyes the great Prejudice he did his Subjects by countenancing thus the Rapines of the Court of *Rome*. For his Conviction, they laid before him the true Value of the Income which the *Italian Ecclesiasticks* enjoy'd in *England*, the which amounted yearly to above sixty thousand Marks, a Sum exceeding, at that Time, the whole Revenue of the Crown. *Henry*, who had never examin'd these Matters so particularly, could not help showing his Surprise. But as he durst not venture of himself to redress this Grievance, for fear of being expos'd to the Pope's Resentment, he was content with giving the Barons leave to write to the *General Council* which was then assembled at *Lyons*, to set before them the intolerable Oppressions which *England* suffer'd from the Court of *Rome*. Accordingly the Barons wrote a Letter to the *Council* in the Name of the whole Kingdom, and sent it by Ambassadors on Purpose, wherein were inserted all the *Grievances* the *English* complain'd of *. But as they were sensible that on such Occasions the Court of *Rome* never

A Courier from the Pope stopp'd.

The Barons send a Letter to the General Council.

* This bold and elegant Epistle was sent by Earl *Roger Bigot*, *John Fitz-Geoffrey*, *William de Cantilupe*, *Philip Basset*, *Ralph Fitz-Nicholas* and Mr. *William Poweric* their Secretary. See *M. Paris* under the Year, 1245.

never fail'd to make uſe of Delays and Shifts, they reſolv'd among themſelves to take a more ſpeedy and effectual Courſe. To that Purpoſe, they agreed to meet under Pretence of a Tournament, that they might concert neceſſary Meaſures for the executing their Deſign. The King dreading the Conſequences of their aſſembling, forbad them to be preſent at this Tournament; But they did not think proper to obey. They met therefore at the Place appointed, and after ſome Conferences, they diſpatch'd to the *Nuntio* a Knight *, who commanded him in their Name, forthwith to depart the Kingdom. The Knight diſcharged his Commiſſion ſomewhat roughly; and upon the *Nuntio*'s demanding who had given him this Authority? he made anſwer, The whole Nation, and that in Caſe he ſtaid three days in *England*, he ſhou'd infallibly be cut in Pieces. *Martin* fail'd not to carry his Complaints to the King. But *Henry* letting him know that he was not able to protect him, he demanded a *Paſs-port*, and went off immediately, to the great Satisfaction of all People. The Pope, who had never met with ſuch a Check in *England*, was ſo inrag'd at it, that he was heard to ſay: *I ſee plainly I muſt make Peace with the Emperor, that I may humble theſe petty Princes: For the great* Dragon *being once appeas'd, I ſhall with the more eaſe be able to cruſh the ſmaller Serpents.* 1245.

They lay open the Grievances of the Nation,

In the mean while, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors being arriv'd at *Lyons*, preſented their Letter to the *Council*, in which the Pope preſided in Perſon. The Letter having been publickly read, *Innocent* was ſo ſurpriz'd at it, that he ſaid not a Word in his own Vindication. After the Ambaſſadors had waited ſome Time to ſee if he had any Thing to alledge againſt the Contents of the Letter, one of them aſſum'd the Diſcourſe, and gave a particular Narrative of the *Grievances* of their Nation. He dwelt chiefly on two Articles, the Firſt whereof related to the Tribute of the thouſand Marks, which King *John* had oblig'd himſelf to pay every Year to the *Holy See*. He maintain'd

particularly the Tribute,

* *Fulk Fitzwarin.*

1245. maintain'd that King *John* had not the Power to render his Kingdom *Tributary*, and that his Engagement, having never been confirm'd by the Barons, was to be deem'd Null and Void. The other Article was concerning the Clauſe *Non-obſtante*, which the Pope had for ſome Time inſerted in all his *Bulls*, a *Clauſe* which was entirely deſtructive of the Rights of Biſhops, Abbots, Monaſteries and Patrons of Benefices. For inſtance, when the Pope had a Mind to diſpoſe of a *Living*, he inſerted this *Clauſe* in his *Bull*, *Non obſtante* (i. e.) *notwithſtanding the Right of Patronage or other Privilege to the contrary* *. This was in Effect to reduce to nothing all the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the *Church* of *England*. To theſe two *Grievances* the Ambaſſador added many more concerning the perpetual *Extortions* of the *Nuntio*'s and *Legates*, and in general all the Oppreſſions to which the *Engliſh* Nation had for a good while been liable.

and the Clauſe Non-obſtante.

They proteſt againſt the Tribute, and retire.

In vain did the Ambaſſadors expect an Anſwer from the *Council*. The Pope continually hinder'd the Affair from being brought upon the Board. At length, perceiving that he ſought only to amuſe them by theſe Delays, they preſented to the Council a Proteſtation againſt Payment of the Tribute granted by King *John*, and withdrew. During their Stay at *Lyons*, the Pope never made the leaſt Step towards ſatisfying them. But as ſoon as they were gone, he endeavour'd to caſt a Miſt before the Eyes of the *Council*, by making them believe, he had a Deſign to redreſs the *Grievances* which had been complain'd of. To that End, two *Bulls* were drawn up, one whereof gave the *Engliſh* Patrons leave to *preſent* whom they pleas'd to the *Livings* which were in their *Gift*. By the other, it was granted that when a *Benefic'd Italian* died or reſign'd his Preferment, the *Engliſh* ſhou'd not be oblig'd to nominate another *Italian* in his Room. He made a great Flouriſh on theſe two *Bulls*, as if he had granted ſome very ſignal Favours to *England*. But he had

The Pope pretends to give the Engliſh *Satisfaction.*

* This *Clauſe*, though copied from the Court of *Rome*, in a few Years crept into the King's *Charters*, as will be ſeen hereafter.

had ſtaid till the Ambaſſadors were departed, for fear they ſhou'd make appear how little Proportion this ſlight Satisfaction bore to the Oppreſſions they had endur'd. As to the Tribute, againſt which they had proteſted, *Innocent* had not the leaſt thought of giving the *Engliſh* Nation any Satisfaction on that Point. On the contrary, as ſoon as the *Council* broke up, the Pope wrote to the *Engliſh* Prelates thundring Letters expreſſly injoining them to confirm and ſet their Hands to the *Charter* whereby King *John* had made himſelf *Vaſſal* and *Tributary* to the *Holy See*. Tho' the Biſhops had very ſtrong Reaſons to excuſe themſelves from taking ſuch a ſtep, they durſt not however diſobey, for fear of being expos'd to the *Excommunication* they were threatned with. The King ſeem'd at firſt diſpleas'd at the Pope's haughty Proceedings, and made as if he wou'd oppoſe them. But he ſoon return'd to his wonted Complaiſance for whatever iſſued from the Court of *Rome*. 1245.

He forces the Biſhops to ſign the Charter *of Tribute.*

The War with *Wales* was the reaſon this Matter lay dormant for ſome time. The King, who had a long while ſuffer'd the *Welſh* to infeſt his Borders with Impunity, put himſelf at length at the Head of his Army, threatning utterly to deſtroy their Country. But this ſudden Blaze was quickly extinguiſh'd. He was no ſooner enter'd *Wales*, but, not finding the Enemy, who were retir'd to their Mountains, he grew weary of the War, and after he had built the Caſtle [of *Ganoc*] on an advantagious Situation, he return'd to *London*.

War with the Welſh.

Walter Earl of *Pembroke* dying this Year without Male-Iſſue, *Anſelm* his Brother then *Dean* of *Salisbury*, was his Heir, and ſucceeded him in his Office of *Marſhal of England*. But he kept it not long, Death having depriv'd him of it, a few Months after. Thus fail'd the Noble Family of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Striguil*, whereof the five laſt Earls, who were Brothers, had been inveſted with the Dignity of *Earl-Marſhal* which was Hereditary in their Family *.

Extinction of the Family of the Earls-Marſhall.

David

* The vaſt Eſtate in *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales* belonging to this Family, fell among five Siſters, who were married to divers great

1246. *Death of* David *Prince of* Wales.

David Prince of *Wales* died in the Beginning of the Year 1246. As he had left no Children, the Lords of that Country chose for his Successor *Lewellyn* his Nephew, Son of the unfortunate *Griffin* who was kill'd in endeavouring to make his Escape out of the *Tower* of *London*.

Fresh Exaction of the Court of Rome.

The Quarrel which *England* had with the Court of *Rome* was somewhat suppres's'd, when the Pope set it on foot again, by an Imposition upon the *Ecclesiasticks*, greater and more insupportable than all the former ones. The *Clergy* were to such a degree under the Pope's Correction, that they durst not take the least step towards freeing themselves from his Yoke. But it was not so with the *Lay*-Barons who began to consult together and take Measures how to oppose these Opressions. In a Parliament assembled during *Lent*, it was resolv'd that the Nation's *Grievances* shou'd be committed to writing, and that Satisfaction shou'd be demanded of the Pope in a Letter * sign'd by the King, Bishops, and Temporal Lords. The principal *Grievances* were these:

Grievances *of the Nation.*

I. That the Pope, not content with the annual Payment of *Peter-Pence*, exacted from the *Clergy* great Contributions, without the King's Consent, against the Customs, Liberties, and Rights of the *Church* and Realm of *England*.

II. That the *Patrons* of Churches had not the Liberty to *present* fit Persons to the vacant *Livings*, the Pope conferring them generally on *Italians* who understood not the *English* Language, and who carried out of the Kingdom the Money which accru'd from the Income of their *Benefices*.

III. That the Pope oppres's'd the *Churches* by exacting *Pensions* from them.

IV. That

great Noblemen of *England*. The Family fail'd in the Third Generation from *Richard Strongbow* the first Earl of *Striguil*.

* *Matthew Paris* says the *King* wrote by Himself, the *Bishops* by themselves, and so likewise the *Abbots*, and Barons by themselves, of all which Letters there are Copies Extant in *M. Paris*, under the Year 1246.

IV. That when an *Italian Eccleſiaſtick* died, his *Benefice* was immediately beſtow'd on one of the ſame Nation, as if the *Italians* had a Right to poſſeſs ſuch a Number of *Benefices* in the Kingdom. That whereas the *Italians* were inveſted without Trouble or Charge, the *Engliſh* were forced to go and proſecute their Right at *Rome*, contrary to the *Indulgences* granted to *England* by former Popes. 1246.

V. That in Churches fill'd by the *Italians* there were neither Alms, nor Hoſpitality; Neither was there any Preaching, and the Care of Souls was entirely neglected.

VI. That the Clauſe *Non-obſtante*, which was generally inſerted in all *Bulls*, abſolutely deſtroy'd all Laws, Cuſtoms, Statutes, and Privileges of the Church and Kingdom.

Theſe Articles make appear that the *Bulls* granted by *Innocent* at the *Council* of *Lyons*, had not been executed, ſince they were ſtill forced to complain of the ſame *Grievances*, which by them ſeem'd to be redreſs'd.

The Pope continues his Oppreſſions.

The Letter from the King and Barons had a contrary Effect to what was expected. The Pope, accuſing the *Clergy* of having extorted it by their Importunities, took Occaſion from thence to load them with new Taxes, ſuch as had never been heard of before. He not only compell'd the Biſhops to Sign the Emperor's *Excommunication* *, but moreover commanded each of them to find him a certain Number of Men well hors'd and arm'd, to ſerve againſt that Prince, pretending that all *Churches* were equally concern'd in that War. After this, to let the *Engliſh* ſee how little he valued their Murmurs, inſtead of reforming *old Grievances* he introduced a *New* one, by claiming the *Adminiſtration* of the Goods of *Eccleſiaſticks* dying *Inteſtate*. At firſt the King was bent to oppoſe the Execution of all theſe Articles; but Fear of an *Interdict* and *Excommunication*, which he was threatned with, oblig'd him, as uſual, to ſubmit to the Pope's Pleaſure. This Compliance made the Pope ſo imperious, that

He claims the Goods of Inteſtate Clergymen.

He lays a heavy Tax on the Clergy;

* In the *Council* of *Lyons* the Emperor *Frederick* was again *Excommunicated* and *Depoſed*, which *Depoſition* the Pope made the *Engliſh* Biſhops Sign. *M. Paris.* ibid.

1246. adding a fresh Oppression to all the former ones, he impos'd a Tax on such *Clergy-men* as resided on their *Livings*, of one *Third*, and on such as resided not, of one Half of their *Moveables*. This being the Case, it is no Wonder, if the Popes were so unwilling to make Peace with the Emperor, since the War furnish'd them with a Handle to levy such frequent Taxes upon the *Clergy*. The Bishop of *London* was commission'd to execute this new Order, with Power to *excommunicate* and *suspend* those that refus'd to obey. But whilst this Prelate and some others were met upon this Occasion, the King sent them word not to consent to this Imposition, which serv'd them for a Pretence to break up their Meeting. If *Henry* had withstood with the same Vigour all the other Attempts of the Court of *Rome*, he wou'd have had the same Success, since the Pope thought not fit to push this Matter any further, when he found they were resolv'd to oppose him *.

which the King effectually opposes.

Attempt of the Bishop of Lincoln.

The Absolute Power which the Pope claim'd over *Christians*, was attended with fatal Effects among some *English* Bishops, who were of Opinion that the *Church's* Authority was without Bounds. In this Belief, they aim'd at extending it over *Civil* Affairs, on Pretence there was hardly any Case but what *Religion* might be concern'd in. The Bishop of *Lincoln*, prepossess'd with this Notion, took upon him this Year to make strict Inquiry concerning the *Life* and *Manners* of every particular Person in his *Diocese*. It may be he did this with a good Intent; but the Danger was that this Incroachment wou'd be imitated by others, and at length turn to downright Tyranny. Accordingly it was deem'd a manifest Usurpation to which the King put a stop by his own Authority *1.

Isabella,

* So likewise in the Case of *Administring* to the *Clergy* that died *Intestate*, upon the King's *Prohibition* and the Mediation of the Cardinals, the Pope revok'd the Order. *M. Paris.*

*1 He sent a *Writ* to *the Sheriff* to hinder any Person from making Inquiry, unless in *Matrimonial* and *Testamentary* Causes. Which *Tyrrel* observes is an Evidence of the Antiquity of the King's Prerogative to grant *Prohibition*, to stop the Proceedings of Bishops in Matters which belong'd not to them. Vol. II. p. 941.

Isabella, Counteſs of *March* and Queen-Dowager of *England*, Mother to the King, died this Year, after having liv'd in no great Reputation, if we may believe certain Hiſtorians. 1246. *Death of the King's Mother.*

The Year 1247, like the foregoing one, was ſpent almoſt wholly in Conteſts between the *Pope* and the *Clergy*; the firſt increaſing his Oppreſſions, in proportion as the others ſtrove in vain to guard againſt them. In the Beginning of this Year, the Biſhops and Abbots were forced to make a Preſent of a thouſand Marks to a new *Legate* whom the Pope ſent into *England*, upon no other Account but to exact Money from the *Clergy*. At the ſame time and for the ſame Reaſon, there was a *Nuntio* in *Ireland*, who got a Preſent of five hundred Marks. As the King was ever ready to countenance the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, the Pope was willing in his Turn, to ſhow him ſome Mark of his Gratitude. With this View, he ſent him a *Bull*, whereby he ordain'd, that for the future, no *Italian*, not even the Nephew of a Cardinal or of the Pope himſelf ſhou'd be admitted to any *Benefice* in *England* without the King's Conſent: Ample Recompenſe, for the vaſt Sums, the Pope ſqueez'd every Year out of the Kingdom! A Privilege, beſides, which ſignified Nothing, ſeeing the Pope was very ſure of obtaining the King's Conſent, whenever he ſhou'd be pleas'd to ſtoop ſo low as to ask it. 1247. *The Pope's Exactions.* *Inſignificant Privilege granted the King.*

To complete the Misfortunes of the *Engliſh*, the King's three Brothers by the Mother's Side, namely, *Guy de Luſignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar*, Sons of the Earl of *March*, came into *England*. The Earl their Father ſent them to the King, to get rid of the Charge of keeping them, and in hopes he wou'd provide for them. So that, upon their Arrival at *London*, they were deſtitute of all things, and had Nothing to ſubſiſt upon but the Favours of the King their Brother. *Henry* was forced therefore not only to maintain them, but likewiſe to ſatisfy their Avarice and Ambition, with *Preſents*, *Places*, and *Benefices*, to the Detriment of the *Engliſh*. *The King's 3 half Brothers arrive in* England.

1247. *Earl of* Holland *elected King of the* Romans.

This same Year *William* Earl of *Holland*, a young Prince of twenty Years of Age, was elected *King of the Romans*, by the Intrigues of the Pope, who had *depos'd Frederick* in the *Council* of *Lyons*. But the Pope did not find it so easy to put him in Possession of the Empire, as he had done to procure him the *Votes* of Part of the *Electors*.

1248. Henry *receives a mortifying Answer from the Parliament.*

What fair Promises soever the King had made the Parliament, upon their granting him the last *Subsidy*, he had however done Nothing towards the Performance of his Word. Accordingly, when he wou'd have demanded a fresh Supply of the Parliament assembled in the Beginning of the Year 1248, he met with a very mortifying Answer. He was ask'd, how he cou'd without blushing renew his Demands after having so often broke his Word. He was upbraided for his immoderate Kindness, and excessive Liberalities to Foreigners; for his Contempt of his Native Subjects, his Negligence in encouraging Trade and protecting Merchants, of whom he even exacted Impositions which were not due. Very lively Complaints were made of his keeping in his own Hands, the vacant *Benefices*, and of his conferring the Prime Offices of the State, such as those of *Chancellor*, *Treasurer*, *Justiciary*, on Persons not qualified for them, and without ever vouchsafing to consult his Parliament. *Henry*, perceiving by the Boldness of these Reproaches, that it wou'd be a very hard Matter to bring the Barons to any Temper, prorogu'd the Parliament, in order to gain time to consider what was to be done.

He is entirely guided by Foreigners.

During the Prorogation, the pernicious Advice of his *Ministers* set him more and more against his Subjects, and induced him to be entirely govern'd by *Foreigners*. Of this there quickly appeared a clear Evidence by the extraordinary Courage they inspir'd him with, of which he was not naturally capable. When the Parliament met again, he upbraided the Barons, for endeavouring to impose upon him Laws, to which they themselves would think it hard to be liable: That every one of them was Master in his own Family; that he made use of what

He speaks roughly to the Barons.

Coun

Counſellors he pleas'd; that he put in and turn'd out his Domeſticks without Controul; but that he alone was treated like a Slave by his own Subjects *. In fine, He declar'd to them, that, far from changing his *Miniſtry* at their Pleaſure, he meant to be Maſter in his own Kingdom, and that it was their Duty to obey. As for the other *Grievances*, which were complain'd of, he was contented, with returning general Anſwers to them, without ſpecifying any thing. After which, he told them that he expected from them a ſpeedy Aid of Money to enable him to recover the *French* Provinces. This unſeaſonable Reſoluteneſs ſerv'd only to exaſperate the Barons the more. They boldly replied, That ſince he deſign'd not to reform what was amiſs, they were not ſo mad as to continue to impoveriſh themſelves for the ſake of Foreigners, under Pretence of an *imaginary* War. This Anſwer leaving the King no Hopes, he choſe to diſſolve the Parliament, for fear they ſhou'd proceed to more vigorous Reſolutions. In the mean time, as his Treaſury was quite exhauſted, he was reduc'd to a Neceſſity of ſelling his *Plate* and *Jewels*, which were quickly bought up by the Citizens of *London*. He was extremely incens'd to ſee that the Burghers ſo readily found Money to purchaſe his Jewels, and yet continually pleaded Poverty, when the Queſtion was to grant him an *Aid*. This Conſideration put him ſo out of Humour, that he eſtabliſh'd a new Fair at *Weſtminſter*, during which all Trading was prohibited in *London* *1. So far was he from hearkening to the Complaints made him by the Merchants on this Occaſion, that he gave them freſh Marks of his Diſpleaſure by going and keeping his *Chriſtmas* in the City, and compelling them to preſent him with

1248.

Their Anſwer.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

The King ſells his Jewels.

A Fair at Weſtminſter *to vex the* Londoners.

of whom he extorts Preſents.

* This Reaſoning is very fallacious, though it has all along been uſed by thoſe, who don't conſider that a Perſon's Miſmanagement of his own private Affairs affected none but himſelf; whereas the Male-Adminiſtration of a *Publick Miniſter* is detrimental to the whole Kingdom, and conſequently it highly concerns a Nation that the Great Offices of the State be fill'd with *good* and *able* Men.

*1 It was to laſt Fifteen Days; and all *Fairs* that us'd to be kept at that time were prohibited all over *England*. *M. Paris.*

1248. with very large New-Years Gifts. Shortly after, he demanded also a Supply of Money, and in Spite of their Endeavours to the contrary, they were constrain'd to give him two thousand Pound *Sterling*.

1249. *He makes use in vain of other Means to raise Money.*

But so trifling a Sum wou'd not satisfy the King's Wants, therefore he bethought himself to borrow Money of his *Great Men*, Bishops, Abbots, Merchants, and the richer sort of Citizens in the Kingdom. But as he found he was unable to force People to do as he desired, he applied to them, in so submissive and abject a Manner, that one wou'd have thought he had been begging an Alms. Notwithstanding his Cringings, he cou'd get from the most Part nothing but Excuses and Denials on the Score of their Poverty, though he pretended to be under an indispensable Necessity of waging War with *France*. But he cou'd not possibly have us'd a worse Pretence. Every one knew that the Pope had strictly forbidden him to disturb the Territories of the *French* King, during his Absence, he being gone this very Year to *the Holy Land*. The true Reason which oblig'd him thus to try to get Money from all Hands, was, his being over Head and Ears in Debt, without having wherewithal to pay. Besides his Brothers, to whom he had not the Power to deny any thing, never minded his Wants, but continually put him to Streights by their unreasonable Demands. His Fondness for them was such, that he omitted no Opportunity of heaping Favours on them, though he cou'd not but know that every time he did so, he gave fresh Subject of Disgust to the *English* Barons.

He tries in vain to make his Brother Bishop of Durham.

Quickly after the Bishoprick of *Durham* becoming void, *Henry* earnestly recommended *Athelmar* the youngest of his Brothers, though he was far from being of a sufficient Age and Capacity to govern so large a *Diocese*. Accordingly that Objection was made to him by the Monks of *Durham*. They moreover represented to him, that he had often promis'd to leave to the *Churches* the Freedom of Elections, and therefore humbly intreated him to let them enjoy the Fruits of his Promises. *Henry*, offended at these Remonstrances, return'd in Answer, that

since

ſince they thought his Brother too young, he wou'd keep the Biſhoprick in his own Hands till he ſhould be of a fit Age for it. 1249.

Alexander II. King of *Scotland* died this Year, leaving *Alexander* III. his Son of eight Years of Age, to ſucceed him.

About this time, the King having been inform'd that certain *Gaſcon* Lords were revolted, ſent into *Guienne Simon de Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, who reduced the Rebels to Obedience, and gain'd a great Reputation. *Earl of Leiceſter ſent into Guienne.*

In the Beginning of the next Year, Prince *Richard*, Brother to the King, ſet out with a magnificent Retinue in order to go and have an Interview with the Pope who was ſtill at *Lyons*. This Journey and the Extraordinary Honours paid him by the Pope, afforded Matter for divers Speculations which exercis'd the Wits of the *Politicians*. But the real Motive of it was not known till ſome Years after. 1250. *Prince Richard confers with the Pope at Lyons.*

How preſſing ſoever the King's Neceſſities were, he took the *Croſs* from the Hands of the *Legate*, and vow'd to go and war againſt the *Saracens* of *Paleſtin*. His Example was followed by above five hundred Knights, and an incredible Number of Eſquires and People of an inferiour Condition. After all the Denials *Henry* had met with from the Parliament, he muſt needs foreſee how difficult it wou'd be for him to obtain an Aid ſuitable to an Undertaking of this Nature. And therefore his Deſign was not to go the Voyage, but to try to get out of the Parliament a large *Subſidy* upon this Occaſion, in a Belief they durſt not deny him. At leaſt, he was perſwaded that the Methods he ſhou'd take to exact Money from his Subjects, wou'd be authoris'd by ſo plauſible a Reaſon. Beſides he was very ſenſible that with Part of the Money he ſhou'd ſcrape together, he cou'd eaſily procure a Diſpenſation of his Vow. His Conduct afterwards confirms this Conjecture. Henry *takes the Croſs.*

Be this as it will, thoſe that had undertaken the *Cruſade* with the King, made themſelves ready with all Expedition; and perceiving he had made no Preparations, they offer'd *The Pope forbids the Croſſes to ſet out before the King.*

1250. offer'd to ſet out without him. Their Haſte was very diſpleaſing to him, as it too plainly diſcover'd his Backwardneſs in a Cauſe, wherein all the World ſtrove to ſhew Marks of their Zeal. To remedy this Inconvenience, he deſir'd the Pope to hinder his Subjects from going, before he ſhou'd be ready to put himſelf at their Head. This Favour was granted him without any Difficulty, and the Intereſts of the King of *France*, who might have taken the Advantage of this Reinforcement, were ſacrificed on this Occaſion to the Pope's Deſire of contenting the King of *England*. *Innocent* forbad the *Engliſh*, under Pain of *Excommunication*, to ſet out before the King; and by that Means, all the Charges they had been at for their Voyage became of no Effect. If this Prohibition caus'd great Murmuring in *England*, it was not look'd upon with a more favourable Eye in *France*. Every one ſaid there openly, that it was a plain Caſe, the Pope did not much trouble himſelf whether *Lewis* ſucceeded in his Expedition, ſince he depriv'd him of the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh Croiſes*.

Inquiſitions touching the Foreſts.

In the mean Time, *Henry* not daring to demand Money of the Parliament, put in Practice all other Methods to raiſe ſome elſewhere. One of his moſt effectual Ways was to commiſſion a Judge entirely devoted to him, to go and make Inquiſition in all the *Counties*, concerning Treſpaſſes committed in the Royal Foreſts. This Commiſſion was in itſelf very odious, ſince it included all the Caſes excepted in King *John*'s *Charter*. But the Manner in which the Inquiſitor executed it render'd it ſtill more intolerable: for he puniſh'd the leaſt Fault by exceſſive *Fines*, or Confiſcation of Eſtate. By theſe violent Proceedings he got together prodigious Sums, which ſerv'd to fill the King's Coffers; but at the ſame Time they drew on the King the Hatred and Curſes of the People *.

Amid

* This Inquiſitor's Name was *Geoffrey de Langly*; he made nothing of ruining divers of the beſt Quality (eſpecially in the North) for killing but a Deer, or a Hare, though it were in the very High-way, and clapp'd up ſeveral Gentlemen in Priſon for but muttering againſt his unjuſt Proceedings. *M. Paris.*

Amidſt all theſe Doings, *Henry* was not unmindful of his Relations. The Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, the richeſt in the Kingdom, being vacant, the King ſtrenuouſly recommended *Athelmar* his Brother, whom the *Chapter* of *Durham* had refus'd to elect the laſt Year. He was not ſatisfied with ſending *recommendatory* Letters, but wou'd go in Perſon to *Wincheſter*, to back his Intereſts by his Preſence. On the Day of Election, he came into the *Chapter-Houſe*, and made a ſhort *Sermon* upon this Text, *Righteouſneſs and Peace have kiſſed each other*, which he applied as well as he cou'd to the Buſineſs in Hand. Although he met at firſt with great Oppoſition, by Reaſon of the Age and Inſufficiency of the Perſon recommended, yet by his Promiſes and Threats he obtain'd at length what he deſir'd. The Pope fail'd not to confirm the Election to do the King a Pleaſure, intending to ask him another Favour in his Turn. 1250. Henry *cauſes his Half-Brother to be elected Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

The ſad News had already reach'd *Europe* of the King of *France*'s Misfortune of falling into the Hands of the *Saracens*, who detain'd him in Priſon. All *France* openly charg'd the Pope with having been the Cauſe of their Monarch's Diſgrace, by abſolving for Money thoſe that had taken *the Croſs*, from performing their Vow. Amidſt theſe Murmurings, *Innocent* paſs'd his Time very uneaſy at *Lyons*, dreading ſome Attempt upon his Perſon. Even *Charles* and *Alphonſo*, Brothers to St. *Lewis*, were gone thither on Purpoſe to upbraid him in an outragious Manner, and proceeded ſo far as to threaten him. To free himſelf from this troubleſome State, and to be out of the hearing of the Complaints which perpetually ſounded in his Ears, he deſir'd Leave of the King of *England* to go and reſide at *Bourdeaux*. *Henry* was willing enough to gratify him: but was prevented from doing it by the Remonſtrances of the *Clergy* and Barons. They were apprehenſive that the Pope wou'd take it in his Head to paſs over from *Bourdeaux* into *England*, where his Company was not at all deſir'd. So that the King delay'd ſending an Anſwer, which the Pope interpreted as a civil Denial, as indeed it was in reality. *The King of* France *taken Priſoner by the* Saracens *which the Pope is blam'd for.* *He asks* Henry *to reſide at* Bourdeaux. *The King returns no Anſwer.*

1251. *The Affairs of* Sicily.

As I am very quickly to enter upon an Affair which kept *Henry* wholly employ'd during ſeveral Years, I think my ſelf oblig'd to make a Digreſſion in order to clear up the Riſe and Progreſs of it. I mean the *Donation* which the Pope made of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, to Prince *Edmund*, Son of our *Henry*. But in order to give an Idea of this Matter which may ſerve for the better Underſtanding what ſhall be related hereafter, it will be neceſſary not only to ſee what was doing in *Italy* at the Time of this *Donation*, but alſo to take the Thing from its firſt Riſe. This Digreſſion will not ſeem impertinent, when it ſhall be ſeen in the Sequel, that this unhappy Affair was a fertile Source of the Oppreſſions which the *Engliſh* endur'd as well from their King as the *Roman* Pontiffs. Beſides, it ſerves to diſcover three Things equally remarkable in the Hiſtory of this Reign. *Firſt*, The Character of *Henry*, and his Indiſcretion in embarking in the moſt difficult Undertakings without foreſeeing the Obſtacles in his Way. *Secondly*, The Authority which the Popes aſſum'd in *England*, and the manifeſt Abuſe they made of it. *Laſtly*, We ſhall ſee that this ſame Affair was the chief Occaſion of the Troubles towards the End of this Reign. Though the Events which I am going to relate, made formerly a great Noiſe in the World, and are very well worth Notice, yet as they belong not properly to the Hiſtory of *England*, I ſhall abridge them as much as poſſible, that nothing may be ſaid but what is abſolutely neceſſary for the Sequel of his Reign.

Every one, that is acquainted with any Thing at all of the Hiſtory of *Europe*, knows that towards the Cloſe of the *Eleventh Century*, ſome *Norman* Nobles, Sons of *Trancred de Hauteville*, conquer'd the Iſland of *Sicily* from the *Saracens*, and *Apulia*, *Calabria* and ſeveral other *Southern* Provinces of *Italy*, from the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*. Theſe firſt Conquerors, out of a Religious Principle, or from ſome other Motive, did Homage to the Pope for their Conqueſts, and made themſelves *Vaſſals* and *Feudataries* to the *Church of Rome*, though She had given them nothing, neither had She ſo much as contributed

tributed towards their Undertakings. Whatever their *Policy* might be in thus ſubmitting themſelves voluntarily to *the Holy See*, it is Matter of Fact beyond all Diſpute. The Conqueſts of the *Normans* were at firſt divided into ſeveral Parts, whereof *Sicily beyond the Fare*, or *the Iſland of Sicily* made a Kingdom of it ſelf. The Reſt was cant'on'd out into Dukedoms or Principalities, under the Name of *Sicily on this Side the Fare*, of which *Calabria* and *Apulia* were the Chief. This is what was afterwards ſtil'd *the Kingdom of Naples*. All theſe ſeveral Parts, I mean the two *Sicilies*, were at length reduced into one Kingdom, under *Roger* I. the youngeſt of the Sons of *Tancred*, who aſſum'd the Title of *King of Sicily*. He had for his Succeſſor *William* I. his Son, ſirnam'd *the Bad*, to whom ſucceeded *William* II. his Son, who was call'd *the Good*, to diſtinguiſh him from his Father. *William the Good* dying without Iſſue, the *Sicilians* thought fit to place on the Throne *Tancred*, baſe Son of *Roger* I. who added to the Title of his Predeceſſors, *that* of *King of Naples* or *Sicily on this Side the Fare*. It is neceſſary to obſerve that by *Sicily* is meant ſometimes the *Iſland of Sicily* alone, ſometimes both the *Sicilies* together as making but one Kingdom.

Clement III, who ſat in the *Papal* Chair in the Time of *Tancred*, look'd upon the Proceedings of the *Sicilians* as an Incroachment upon his Rights. He pretended that by the Death of *William the Good* without Heirs, the two *Sicilies* were devolv'd to *the Holy See*, and that it belong'd to him, as Sovereign Lord, to diſpoſe of them as he pleas'd. In the mean time, as *Spiritual* Weapons were incapable of dethroning a Prince in Poſſeſſion, *Clement* ſent into *Apulia* and *Calabria*, an Army which at firſt made ſome Progreſs. But Death which ſeiz'd him preſently after, prevented him from puſhing his Enterpriſe any further. *Celeſtine* III, his Succeſſor, reſolv'd to proſecute what his Predeceſſor had begun. But perceiving he ſhou'd not be able to compaſs his Ends with his own Forces alone, he deem'd it neceſſary to engage in his Quarrel ſome Prince who ſhou'd be capable of maintain-

ing it. With this View, he inveſted the Emperor *Henry* VI with the two *Sicilies*, on Condition of *Homage*, to which the firſt *Norman* Kings had oblig'd themſelves, to the *Roman Church*. However it was to be fear'd, that ſo arbitrary an Act, eſpecially in Favour of a Foreigner, wou'd exaſperate the *Sicilians*, and make them adhere the more firmly to *Tancred*. To prevent this Inconvenience, and to give at the ſame time ſome Colour of Juſtice to what he had done, he caus'd *Conſtantia*, Daughter of *Roger* I. to be taken out of the Monaſtery of St. *Saviour's* of *Palermo*, of which ſhe was Abbeſs (*a*). This Princeſs, who was then fifty Years of Age, being brought to *Rome*, the Pope abſolv'd her from all her Vows, and gave her in Marriage to *Henry*, that he might add by that Means a more plauſible Right to the *Grant* he had made that Monarch. Beſides, by the Help of this Marriage, he was in hopes he ſhou'd ſow among the *Sicilians* the Seeds of Diſſenſion, from whence He himſelf and the Emperor might reap ſome Advantage. *Henry*, back'd by this additional Right, immediately headed his Army and march'd into *Apulia*, where however he made no Progreſs, by Reaſon of the Peſtilence which rag'd among his Troops, and of ſome other Affairs which conſtrain'd him to return to *Germany*. So that *Tancred* kept the Crown of *Sicily* till his Death which happen'd in 1145. *William* III his Son ſucceeded him.

Henry had no ſooner Intelligence of *Tancred*'s Death, but he march'd back into *Italy*, and beſieg'd the City of *Naples*, which bravely defended it ſelf. The Reſiſtance of *the Neopolitans* having made the Emperor deſpair of ſucceeding in his Undertaking by *Force*, he reſolv'd to make uſe of *Cunning*. To that End, he propos'd to the King of *Sicily* to decide their Quarrel by way of Treaty. The Apprehenſion *William* was in of loſing all his Dominions made him readily conſent to yield up Part, in order to

(*a*) *Mezeray* ſays that *Conſtantia* was never a *Nun*: but *Giannone Summonte* Hiſtorian of *Naples*, aſſures us ſhe was Abbeſs of St. *Saviour's*. *Fazellus*, Hiſtorian of *Sicily*, ſays that Pope *Celeſtine* abſolv'd her from her Vows, and that this appears even from the Decrees of that Pope now in the *Archives* at *Rome*.

to purchaſe Peace of a Competitor who was much more powerful than himſelf. By the Treaty it was agreed that the Emperor ſhou'd have for his Share the Iſland of *Sicily*, and that *William* ſhou'd keep *Sicily on this Side the Fare*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*. Purſuant to this Agreement, *Henry* came to *Palermo* where the Crown was ſet on his Head. But whilſt *William* was making ready to retire to the Kingdom, which he was to have by the Treaty, *Henry* ſeiz'd his Perſon, and order'd him to be conducted to *Germany*, where this unfortunate Prince was depriv'd of his Sight and caſtrated. *Henry* being thus rid of his Rival, took Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in Spite of the Endeavours of certain Lords of *Norman* Race to the contrary.

The Emperor's Affairs being in this proſperous Situation, he ſent for the Empreſs his Wife, who was big with Child though fifty two Years old. Her Time of Delivery being come whilſt ſhe was on the Road, ſhe ſtaid at *Geſſi* a little Town on the Frontiers of *Ancona*, where ſhe order'd all the Women of the Town, that had the Curioſity, to be Eye-Witneſſes of her being brought to Bed. To that Purpoſe, ſhe caus'd a *Pavilion* to be erected in the Middle of the Market-Place, wherein ſhe was deliver'd of a Prince who was called *Frederick*. From that Time, *Henry* kept Poſſeſſion of the two *Sicilies* till his Death which happen'd not before the Year 1199.

This Monarch left his Son *Frederick* aged eleven Years, under the Guardianſhip of *Conſtantia* his Mother, who immediately caus'd him to be acknowledg'd King of the two *Sicilies* and to be crown'd two Years after at *Palermo*. After which, he was inveſted by the Hands of *Innocent* III, who was then Pope. *Conſtantia* his Mother dying three Years after, left the Guardianſhip of her Son to *Innocent* who govern'd the two *Sicilies* by a Cardinal during *Frederick*'s Minority. This young Prince being arriv'd at fourteen Years of Age, married *Conſtantia* Daughter of *Alphonſo* IV. King of *Caſtile*, and two Years after he was elected Emperor, by the oppoſite Party to *Otho* of *Saxony* whom the Pope had *excomuunicated*.

nicated. He cou'd not however prevail with *Innocent* to ſet the *Imperial* Crown on his Head, the Pope dreading it might be of dangerous Conſequence to *the Holy See*, to raiſe to the Empire a Prince of the Houſe of *Suabia*, which had been the Cauſe of ſo much Trouble to ſome of his Predeceſſors. It was not till the Year 1220, and after the Death of *Otho*, that *Frederick* was crown'd by the Hands of *Honorius* III. *Conſtantia* his Wife died two Years after, leaving him a Son called *Henry*, who in 1223 was elected King of the *Romans*. Afterwards he married *Yolante* Daughter of *John de Brienne* Titular King of *Jeruſalem*, who dying in 1228, left him a Son nam'd *Conrade*. At length, in 1235, *Frederick* took for his third Wife *Iſabella* of *England*, who died in 1241, after having brought him two Princes, *Jordan* and *Henry*, the firſt of which died a Child.

Having given an Account of the Emperor's ſeveral Marriages, the Knowledge of which is abſolutely neceſſary, it is time to ſpeak of his Conteſts with the Popes. Ever ſince *Richard* King of *England* had quitted *Paleſtine*, the Affairs of the *Chriſtians* in thoſe Parts were in a very ill Situation. The *Saracens* having taken Advantage of the Backwardneſs of the *Europeans*, with regard to *Cruſadoes*, had made great Progreſs, whilſt the *Chriſtians* had no Thoughts of undertaking any freſh Expeditions againſt them. *Honorius* III, who ſat in the *Papal Chair* in the Beginning of the Reign of *Frederick* II, deſiring to retrieve the Loſſes which the *Chriſtians* had ſuffer'd in *the Holy Land*, publiſh'd in the Year 1224, a *Cruſado*, in which infinite Numbers of People of all Conditions ingag'd themſelves. An Hiſtorian aſſures us that above threeſcore thouſand *Engliſh* took the *Croſs* for this Expedition, of which *Frederick* was to be Head, both as Emperor, and as Son-in-law to *John de Brienne* Titular King of *Jeruſalem*.

Whilſt all *Europe* was preparing for this Undertaking, ſome Diſputes unexpectedly happening between the Emperor and certain Cities of *Italy*, retarded that *Prince*'s Preparations, he being willing to ſee an End of theſe Conteſts

before

before his Departure. *Gregory* IX, Succeſſor to *Honorius*, finding that *Frederick* proceeded but ſlowly, in Compariſon of the other *Croiſes*, wrote him a Letter exhorting him to perſevere in his *pious* Reſolution. He repreſented to him that the Succeſs of the *Cruſado* depended on him, ſince the Conduct of it was committed to him. In the mean time, the *Croiſes* of the ſeveral States of *Europe* repair'd in Shoals to the *Holy Land*, expecting to be quickly follow'd by their General. But *Frederick* choſe rather to employ his Forces againſt the revolted Cities of *Italy*, than in warring with the *Saracens*. Nevertheleſs, as he was earneſtly preſs'd by the Pope, he pretended to get ready, and even went and embark'd at *Brindes*. But after he had been three Days at Sea, he ſail'd back to land again, on Pretence of a ſudden Illneſs, which he feign'd to be ſeiz'd with, as moſt Hiſtorians affirm. News of this having reach'd *Paleſtine*, above forty Thouſand of the *Croiſes* which were gone before, return'd in the ſame Ships, which had carried them thither. The Pope at his Wit's End to ſee ſo fair an Opportunity loſt, by the Emperor's Fault, as he pretended, publickly *excommunicated* him, and ſent the *Bull* of *Excommunication* to all the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, to have it publiſh'd in their Dominions. But after all, every one does not agree that Zeal for Religion was the ſole Motive which induced the Pope to deal thus rigorouſly with *Frederick*. Some affirm that it was only a Pretence to break the Emperor's Meaſures in *Italy*, in Favour of the revolted Cities, whom the Court of *Rome* countenanc'd underhand. Be this as it will, it gave Birth to a Quarrel which occaſion'd innumerable Calamities to *Europe*, and particularly to *Italy*. *Frederick*, incens'd at the Pope's Proceedings, took care to juſtify his Conduct to all the Potentates of *Europe*, by Letters wherein the Pope was ſeverely handled. But he was not ſatisfied with ſo ſlight a Revenge. By Means of a powerful Party he had at *Rome*, he expell'd *Gregory* thence, and forced him to take Refuge at *Perouſe*. However, to ſhew the World ſee that his Illneſs had been the ſole Cauſe of his Delay, and that conſequently the *Excommunication*

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tion denounc'd againſt him was unjuſt and raſh, he ſet out the next Year for *Paleſtin*. The Progreſs of his Arms in that Country was ſo Great and Rapid, that in a little Time he compell'd the *Sultan* of *Egypt* to yield him up *Jeruſalem*. He wou'd have puſh'd his Conqueſts further, if the *Knights Hoſpitallers*, who were gain'd by the Pope, had not laid Obſtacles in his Way by their Plots which they were daily contriving againſt him. On the other Side, *Gregory*, offended at the Emperor's making ſo light of his *Cenſures* as to dare to undertake this Expedition before he was reconcil'd to the *Church*, and before he had made, as he charg'd him, Preparations ſuitable to ſo great an Undertaking, renew'd his *Excommunication*, for two Faults directly contrary to one another. *Firſt*, for having too long deferr'd his Going. *Secondly*, for going too ſoon. But the Pope not content with attacking him with *Spritual* Weapons, employ'd likewiſe *Temporal* Arms. He put *John de Brienne*, Father-in-law to *Frederick*, at the Head of an Army, and ſent him into the Kingdom of *Naples*, with the Title of *Vicar of the Holy See*, in order to wreſt from his Son-in-law that Part of his Dominions.

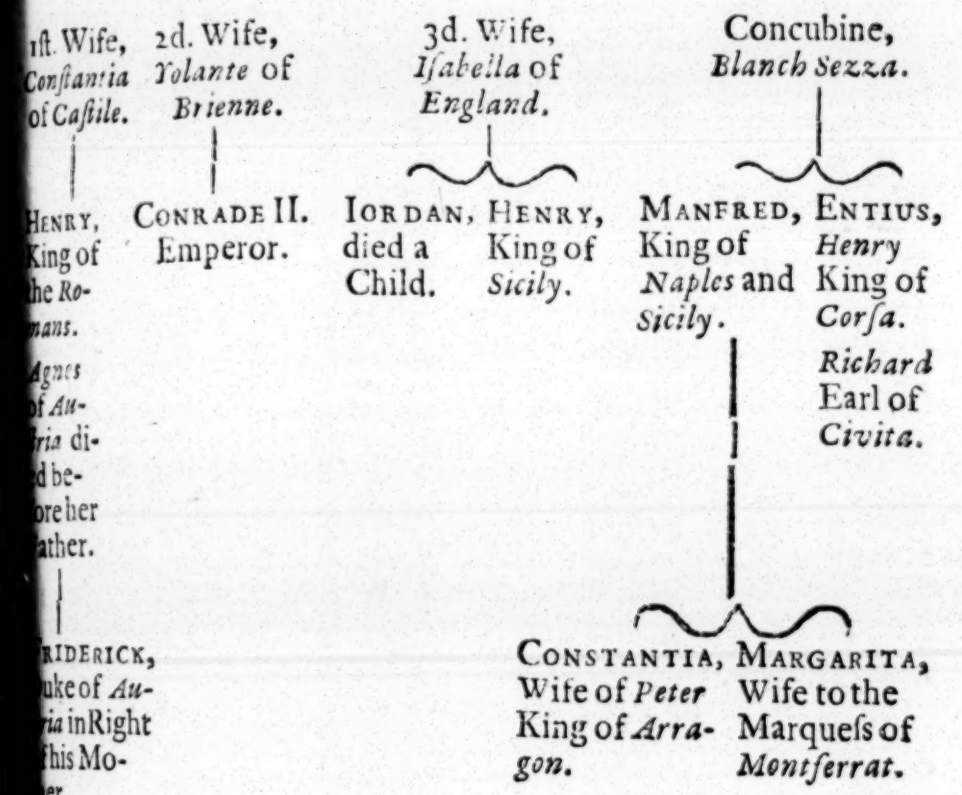
The Quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope growing ſtill wider, all the Cities of *Italy* ſided with the one or t'other. Then were formed the two *Factions* of the *Guelfs* and *Gibelines*, which harraſs'd that Country for ſo long a Time, the former for the Pope, the latter for the Emperor. It will be needleſs to relate here the bloody Wars that enſu'd. Wars, which frequently gave Room to think, that Zeal for Religion was not the principal Motive which ſway'd the *Roman Pontiffs*. It is ſufficient to ſay in two Words, that *Gregory*'s Succeſſors purſu'd with Ardor his Project of wreſting not only the *Sicilies*, but all *Italy*, and the Empire it ſelf out of the Hands of *Frederick*. In fine, *Innocent* IV. having publickly *depos'd* him in the *Council* of *Lyons*, caus'd *William* Earl of *Holland* to be elected Emperor in his Place. But maugre this pretended *Depoſition*, *Frederick* kept himſelf on the

Throne

Throne till his Death which fell out about the End of the Year 1250.

To give a distinct Notion of the Affairs of *Sicily* wherein *England* will speedily have a Hand, it may not be amiss to add here Part of the *Genealogy* of the Family of *Frederick* II. extracted from the History of *Naples*, by *Gio. Summonte*.

FRIDERICK II. Emperor.



The same day *Frederick* died, he made a Will, wherein he left *Frederick* his Grandson *Austria*, of which the young Prince was already in Possession in right of his Mother. To *Conrade* his second Son he gave the Kingdom of *Naples* or *Sicily on this Side the Lake*, on Condition that if *Conrade* died without Issue, *Henry* his Brother, Son of *Isabella* of *England*, shou'd succeed him, and that in Case he died also without Heirs, *Manfred* his Bastard Son shou'd inherit. His Will was that this same *Henry* Son of his third Wife shou'd be King

of the Island of *Sicily*, and gave to *Manfred* his natural Son the Principality of *Tarentum*, with the *Regency* of the two Kingdoms, namely of the First, in the Absence of *Conrade*, and of the Second during the Minority of *Henry*.

As soon as *Frederick* was in his Grave, *Manfred* wou'd have taken Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples* in the Name of *Conrade*. But the Pope's Party were so powerful, now that they had Nothing to fear from the Emperor, that the principal Cities, as *Naples* and *Capua*, shut their Gates against him. This Resistance put him under the Necessity of calling into *Italy Conrade* his Brother, who since *Frederick*'s Death, had assum'd the Title of Emperor, tho' *William* Earl of *Holland* was acknowledg'd as such by the Pope and his Party. Upon the Arrival of this Prince, things had another Face, and he made the *Neopolitans* repent of espousing the Pope's Quarrel. In the mean time, *Innocent* us'd all possible Means to put a stop to his Progress. He thundred out his *Censures* against *Conrade*, as he had done against *Frederick* his Father, and by aiding the *Guelfs* his Partisans, he kept up the War in *Italy*, till a more favourable Juncture shou'd offer. Here I shall end this long Digression, which, as I hope, will not be deem'd needless, when we come to see, how far *England* was concern'd in this Quarrel. But to return to our History.

1251. *First Instance of the Clause* Non-obstante *in the King's Orders.*

The Year 1251 was usher'd in with the first Instance of the Clause *Non-obstante* in the *Orders* of the King, in imitation of the Pope, who made use of it long since in his *Bulls*. The Bishop of *Carlisle* having a *Law-Suit* with a certain Baron of his *Diocese*, and being oblig'd to go to *France*, obtain'd an *Order* from the King that the Suit shou'd be stopt till his Return. But during his Absence his Adversary found Means to obtain a Second *Order* with this *Clause*, *Non-obstante*, or *Notwithstanding the first Order, the Baron's Cause shou'd not be delay'd* *. Besi

* After this those *Writs* or *Orders* with that detestable Addition of *Non-obstante* became very frequent, which being observ'd

Beſides the Principles of *Arbitrary Power* which *Hubert de Burgh* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had infus'd into *Henry* in his Youth, and by which he uſually ſquar'd his Conduct, he had moreover another Reaſon, which induced him to have but little Regard for his Subjects. This was the Conſideration of the Advantages which the Earl of *Leiceſter* had gain'd over the Rebels of *Guienne*. Ever ſince that Earl had been Governour of that Province, he had ſerv'd his Maſter ſo faithfully that, in all appearance, he wou'd have nothing to fear, for a good while, from the Inconſtancy of the *Gaſcoons*. As a ſmall, Matter was ſufficient to ſink *Henry*'s Courage, ſo on the contrary his Heart was elevated upon the leaſt Trifle. The chaſtizing of the *Gaſcoons*, making him imagine that their Example wou'd be a Curb to the *Engliſh*, he fancied that for the time to come he need not keep any Meaſures with them. Accordingly, without ever minding the continual Murmurings of the Barons, on account of the Preference he gave the *Foreigners*, he affected to receive, with exceſſive Honours, *Guy de Luſignan* his half-Brother, whom the Earl of *Leiceſter* brought back with him, when he came to acquaint him with what he had done in *Guienne*. He made him ſuch conſiderable Preſents, that they wou'd have appear'd extravagant, though he had abounded in Riches. Theſe things cauſed the Barons to redouble their Complaints. They cou'd not bear that the King ſhou'd ſhew ſuch Marks of Affection to *Foreigners*, whilſt he affected to ſlight his own Native Subjects.

1251.

Henry *ſlights the* Engliſh.

Return of Guy de Luſignan *the King's half-Brother, whom he loads with Preſents.*

Henry's Wants, and the little Hopes he had of having them ſupplied by the Parliament, quite drove out of his Head the thoughts of his Expedition to *the Holy Land*. But on a ſudden a Letter from the Pope put him in Mind that it was high time to perform his Vow. He was then

Interview of the King's of England *and* Scotland.

ger de Thurkeby one of the King's Juſtices, he ſaid with a deep *h, Alas! what Times are we fallen into! Behold, the Civil Court orrupted in imitation of the Eccleſiaſtical, and the River is poiſon'd m that Fountain.* This is the Original and Riſe of *Non-obnte*'s in the King's *Writs* and *Charters*. *Tyrrel* obſerves that this omitted by Dr. *Brady*.

1251. Alexander *marries the Princess* Margaret.

at *York*, celebrating the Nuptials of the Princess *Margaret* his Daughter with the young King of *Scotland*. The solemnizing the Wedding was not the sole Motive which had brought him to *York*. As the Prince his Son-in-law was very young, he was in hopes he shou'd be able to perswade him to do him *Homage* for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*. He was very urgent with him to do it; but the young Prince excus'd himself in a handsom Manner. He represented to him that he was come to *York* in order to be married, and not to debate an Affair of that Nature, liable to a great many Difficulties, and in which he cou'd determine nothing, without consulting the *States* of his Kingdom. In the mean time, he did the customary *Homage* for the Lands which he held of the Crown of *England*. Whether *Henry* thought his Pretensions were not well-grounded, or whether he was unwilling to disturb the Mirth of the Nuptial Feast, by insisting on his Demand, the Affair stopp'd there. We shall see in the next Reign, that these same Pretensions were made the Foundation of a Bloody War between *England* and *Scotland*.

Henry *presses him to do Homage for all* Scotland. *which he refuses.*

1252. *The King extorts Money from the* Jews.

This Interview being over to the Satisfaction of the two Kings, *Henry* seem'd willing to prepare in good earnest for his Expedition to *the Holy Land*. As Money was the main thing wanting, he made this Voyage a Handle to extort vast Sums from the *Jews*, which done, his *Christian* Subjects far'd but little better. But what he cou'd scrape together by these Means was not sufficient to enable him to make an Expedition to the *East* in a manner becoming a Successor of *Richard* whose Memory was still fresh among the *Saracens*.

The Gascoons *complain of the Earl of* Leicester; *who vindicates himself.*

Whilst the King was taken up in Preparations for his pretended Voyage, there came to him *Deputies* from the *Gascoons*, complaining of having been unjustly oppress'd by the Earl of *Leicester*. The Earl hearing this, went to the King to justify himself, and denied All that was laid to his Charge. Adding. he cou'd not but wonder, that the King shou'd give Ear to the frivolous Complaints of the rebellious *Gascoons*, against one that had serv'd him so faithfully, and had spent all his Estate in a Post wherein

others were wont to inrich themſelves. *Henry* replied, that he gave no Credit to theſe Accuſations; on the contrary, to make his Innocence the more conſpicuous he was reſolv'd to ſend Commiſſioners into *Guienne*, to take Informations concerning the Behaviour of the *Gaſcoons*. In the mean time, to convince him that their Accuſations had made no ill Impreſſions on his Mind, he furniſh'd him with ſome Money, and order'd him to be in a readineſs to return to *Guienne*. 1252. *But the King ſends Commiſſioners into* Guienne.

Before the Earl was prepared to ſet out, the *Gaſcoons* having been inform'd of the King's Deſign to ſend him again into their Country, deputed the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, to renew their Complaints. Whilſt the Archbiſhop was at *London*, the Commiſſioners, which had been diſpatch'd to *Guienne*, return'd. They reported, that indeed the Earl of *Leiceſter* had treated a little ſeverely ſome Lords of that Country; but in ſo doing he had only us'd them according to their Deſerts. Though *Leiceſter* was fully clear'd by this Report, yet the King was made believe by the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, that if the Earl return'd to *Guienne*, nay if he was not puniſh'd, that Province wou'd be loſt to the Crown of *England* paſt all Redemption. This Notion was ſo deeply imprinted in the King's Mind, that to ſecure the Allegiance of the *Gaſcoons* he reſolv'd to ſacrifice their Governor to their Reſentment. With this View, he order'd, that their Accuſation ſhou'd be brought before the *Peers*, not queſtioning but he ſhou'd have Intereſt enough to get him condemn'd. In the mean time, *Leiceſter*, though ſurpriz'd at the King's ſudden Change, was not idle. He found Means to gain to his ſide Prince *Richard*, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and ſeveral other Lords of great Credit, who promis'd to ſtand by him. Upon this Aſſurance, he appear'd in Court and ſpoke in his Defence with ſuch ſtrength of Reaſon and Evidence, that the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* was hard put to it to maintain his Accuſation. Beſides, whenever he offer'd to ſpeak, in order to make good what he had advanced, he ſaw the principal Lords always ready to ſet off to the beſt advantage the Reaſons of their Friend. The King, perceiving

The Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux *renews the Charge againſt* Leiceſter.

The King reſolves to ſacrifice him.

Has him tried by the Peers.

1252. ceiving the Affair was like to end very differently from what he expected, cou'd not help ſhowing his Uneaſineſs, and even dropping ſome Expreſſions very injurious to the Party accus'd. As the Earl of *Leiceſter*, not content with juſtifying his Actions, boaſted moreover of his *Services*, and boldly call'd upon the King to be as good as his Word, in giving him the Rewards he had often promis'd him, *Henry* ſharply replied to him, *That he did not think himſelf oblig'd to keep his Word with a* Traytor. This Anſwer had ſuch an Effect on the Earl, who was in a Paſſion before, that not conſidering he was ſpeaking to his Sovereign, he told him, *He lied: and were he not a King he wou'd make him eat his Words.* Then, after ſome inſolent Expreſſions, he added, *That it was hard to believe ſuch a Prince was a Chriſtian, or had ever been at Confeſſion.* *Yes*, anſwer'd the King, *I am a Chriſtan, and have often been at Confeſſion. What ſignifies Confeſſion*, replied the Earl, *without Repentance? I never repented any thing ſo much*, ſaid the King, *as the having been ſo liberal of my Favours to one that has ſo little Gratitude, and ſo much Brutiſhneſs.* After this, he wou'd have apprehended him; but finding the Earl's Friends were ready to oppoſe it, he was ſeiz'd with Fear, and durſt not execute his Deſign. He even ſuffer'd them to ſpeak in the Earl's Behalf, and without being reveng'd for the Affront he had receiv'd, he was contented with a ſlight Satisfaction, and was in outward appearance, reconciled to him. However, the Earl's Inſolence made ſo deep an Impreſſion upon his Mind, that he cou'd never look upon him without Horrour, which is the leſs to be wonder'd at, becauſe this doubtleſs was the firſt time that a Subject had taken the Liberty to give his Sovereign the Lie to his Face. For which reaſon one ſhou'd hardly believe it to be Fact, did not all the Hiſtorians unanimouſly atteſt it.

The King calls him Traytor.

He gives the King the Lie.

The King durſt not apprehend him, and is reconciled to him.

The Earl is ſent to Guienne.

How great ſoever might be the Hatred which the King had conceiv'd againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter*, he ſent him however Governour again to *Guienne* *. This he did not ſo

* *Matthew Paris* ſays the King told him upon going off, That if

ſo much with deſign to do him a Favour, as to remove him at a Diſtance from *England*, where his Credit was too great. Beſides, he was apprehenſive that the Earl wou'd obſtruct a Deſign he had form'd of conferring *Guienne* on Prince *Edward* his eldeſt Son, the which he did immediately after his Departure. The *Gaſcoons* were overjoy'd at this Change. As they had no longer the ſame Reaſon to ſtand in fear of *Leiceſter* who wou'd quickly be recall'd, they laid ſo many Snares for him, that he had like to have fallen into ſome of them. For his Part, he made them often feel the Effects of his Reſentment before he left the Province. 1252. *Prince* Edward *inveſted with* Guienne.

The Uneaſineſs which the Affair of the Earl of *Leiceſter* had juſt given the King, was not the only thing that diſturb'd him. He was ſtill more ſenſibly touch'd with a Denial which he had met with from the *Clergy* on the ſcore of a *Subſidy*. As he was convinced that a bare Demand wou'd be to no Purpoſe, he had taken care to have it back'd by an expreſs Order from the Court of *Rome*. *Innocent* alledging for a Pretence, that the King cou'd not poſſibly do without an extraordinary Aid towards his Voyage to *the Holy Land*, had commanded all *Eccleſiaſticks* to pay him the *Tenths* of their Revenues for three Years. The *Clergy* having been aſſembled upon this Occaſion, three or four Biſhops *[1] gain'd by the King, and particularly the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his half-Brother, gave their Vote for him. But the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and got the Majority to agree to petition the King and intreat him, for his Soul's Health, to deſiſt from his Demand. The *Petition* of the Biſhops ſerv'd only to exaſperate the King. He ſent them word that they ſhou'd take care what they did, ſince they not only oppos'd their *Temporal* Henry *demands a Subſidy of the* Clergy. *They petition him.* *The King threatens them.*

if he was ſuch a Lover of War he might There find Employment enough, and alſo a Reward anſwerable to his Merits, as his Father had done before him. To which the Earl boldly replied. That *he wou'd go over and never return, till he had entirely ſubdued the Enemies, and reduced the Rebellious Subjects of an Ungrateful Prince.* M. Paris. Ann. 1252.

[1] *London, Chicheſter,* and *Worceſter.*

1252. *Temporal Sovereign*, but likewise their *Spiritual*, *the Universal Church*, and *Jesus Christ* himself. But without being concern'd at these Menaces, the *Clergy* return'd him a very offensive Answer, by which it seem'd they desir'd no longer to keep any Measures with him. They upbraided him, in very hard Terms, for his Extortions, Tyranny, Breach of Promises and Oaths. Which done, they broke up, without staying for a Reply, on Pretence that both the Archbishops being absent they cou'd do nothing without their *Primates* *. *Henry* perceiving he cou'd get nothing from this Assembly, tried to gain the principal Members by Caresses. With this View, he sent for the Bishop of *Ely* and causing him to be brought into his Closet, receiv'd him in a very obliging Manner, in order to extort some Promise from him. But this Prelate, who had but little of the Courtier in him, far from having any Complaisance for the King, express'd himself in a very rough Manner: He told him roundly, 'twas a Folly to ingage himself in an Expedition to *the Holy-Land*, and that he ought to take warning by the unfortunate Example of the King of *France*, who lay languishing in the Hands of the *Infidels*. *Henry* finding that, contrary to his Expectation, the Bishop assum'd the Air of an Adviser, had not patience to hear him any longer, and commanded him to be gone out of his Presence *1.

Their Reply.

The King tries to gain them in private, but in vain.

Mutual Animosity between the King and his Subjects.

As the firm Persistence of the *English* in refusing Money, provok'd the King and made him place still greater Confidence in the *Poictevins*, so on the other hand, the continual Favours he heap'd on the *Foreigners* quite alienated the Barons from him. It was therefore impossible but these mutual Discontents shou'd be attended with very fatal Effects, as it actually happen'd in the Sequel. It

* The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was beyond Sea, and the Archbishop of *York* was absent for a Reason then unknown. *Matthew Paris* has given the Bishop's Representation of the *Grievances* committed by the King, at length, which the Curious Reader may see under the Year 1252.

*1 The King ordered his Officers to turn him out of Doors for an *Ill-bred Fellow* as he was. *M. Paris.*

It is even a Wonder that the Rupture between the King and the Barons was so long in breaking out. Animosity on both sides was come to that Height, that as he had no Regard left for his Subjects, they on their Side, hardly kept any Measures in their Complaints against his Male-Administration. The *Londoners* were of all the Kingdom the most incens'd, by reason of the frequent Exactions they had been liable to. But they had quickly a fresh Subject of Complaint on account of a Tax of twenty Marks of Gold * which the King impos'd on the City. This Imposition was inconsiderable, and regarded the City of *London* only. However, the whole Kingdom murmur'd at it, as proceeding from *Arbitrary* Power, of which they dreaded the Consequences. But for all this, a few days after, the King, without giving himself any Trouble about the *Londoners*, commanded them to shut up their Shops, during the Fair at *Westminster* which lasted fifteen Days. This Innovation, which was look'd upon as a manifest Breach of the Privileges of the City, caus'd loud Murmurs among the Citizens, and a Resentment, the Effects whereof became visible upon the first Opportunity. 1252.

The King oppresses the Londoners.

Never did Prince time all his Undertakings so ill, as *Henry*. Whereas every one endeavours to make use of Junctures which seem favorable, *Henry* had a very particular Talent at forming his Projects at the most improper Seasons. He was not ignorant that the Nobles were dissatisfied, and that there was a sort of Confederacy among them to protect the Earl of *Leicester*. He had just given a fresh Subject of Disgust to the *Clergy*, by procuring a *Bull* to absolve him from his Oath, and had entirely alienated the Hearts of the *Londoners* by the Violation of their Privileges. At this Juncture however it was that he took in hand once more to have the Earl of *Leicester* tried by the *Peers*, whom he had conven'd upon that Account. Accordingly this Affair ended greatly to his Dissatisfaction. Far from condemning the Earl, the Barons said openly,

He attacks Leicester again but in vain.

* Equal to 200 Marks of Silver, a pretty large Sum in those days.

1252. that the King had done him very great Injuſtice, in giving *Guienne* to Prince *Edward*, before the Term of his Government was expir'd, and without making him any Amends. This Declaration which, in all likelihood, wou'd ſoon be follow'd by ſome Reſolve offenſive to the King, made him diſſolve an Aſſembly which ſeem'd ſo little idclinable to favour his Deſign.

1253. *He is intirely governed by Foreigners.* Thus this weak Prince, by an unſteddy and fickle Conduct, increas'd the Hatred of his Barons, which he ought to have dreaded of all Things, had he been wiſe enough to take warning by the unhappy Example of the King his Father. Continually beſet with a Company of indiſcreet and greedy *Foreigners*, who minded only their own Intereſts, he ſaw Nothing but as repreſented by his *Miniſters*, who made him believe, that as long as he was ſupported by the Court of *Rome*, he need not fear the vain Efforts of his Subjects. This Notion induced him perpetually to countenance the Extortions of the Pope, and the Avariciouſneſs of his Relations and *Miniſters*, to whom he was always making Preſents with incredible Profuſeneſs. It was thus he ſpent the clear Revenues of the Crown. By this Management, ſo little conſiſtent with his own Intereſt, he kept himſelf always poor, whilſt his Relations, his Counſellors, and the Pope's Creatures were inriching themſelves at the Expence of his Subjects. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* willing to open his Eyes, cauſed an exact account be taken this Year of the annual Income which *Foreigners* enjoy'd in *England*. It was found to amount to above Seventy thouſand Marks, when the Revenue of the Crown at the ſame time ſcarce exceeded a Third Part of that Sum. To this we may add another Particular to ſhew the Eaſineſs of this Prince and Greedineſs of his *Miniſters*. *Manſel*, one of his Favorites, a *Clergy-man*, enjoy'd no leſs than Seven hundred *Eccleſiaſtical* Preferments at once, which brought him in Yearly four thouſand Marks.

The Revenue of Foreigners exceeds that of the Crown.

Affairs of Sicily. Whilſt theſe Matters paſs'd in *England*, the Emperor *Conrade* and Pope *Innocent* IV continued their Wars in *Sicily*. But the laſt had much the worſt on't, his *Spiritual Arms* being of little Force againſt a Prince that deſpis'd

ſpis'd them. As the Pope found he was too weak to compaſs his Ends, he imagin'd that by offering the Crown of *Sicily* to a Prince who had Money by him, he ſhould eaſily bring him to furniſh all Things neceſſary for the Work in hand. Of all the Princes in *Europe* on whom he caſt his Eyes, he ſaw none better qualified to embark in this Undertaking than *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, Brother to the King of *England*. Beſides that this Prince was Maſter of a large Eſtate which he knew how to manage better than the King his Brother, it was very likely he wou'd be dazled with the Luſtre of a Crown, That of *England* ſeeming to be at too great a Diſtance from him, becauſe the King had two Sons. Having taken this Reſolution, *Innocent* diſpatch'd one *Albert* as his *Nuntio*, to make him an Offer of the Crown of *Sicily*, on Condition he wou'd wreſt it out of the Hands of the Sons of *Frederick*. *Richard* rejected not the Propoſal: but inſiſted on certain previous Articles, which the Pope did not reliſh. I. That the Conqueſt of *Sicily* ſhould be carried on at the joint Charges of him and the Pope. II. That *Innocent* ſhou'd deliver him up certain Places in the Kingdom of *Naples* as well for his Security, as to ſerve for Magazines. III. That he ſhou'd give him Hoſtages for the Performance of his Word. Theſe Terms ſquar'd not at all with the Pope's Deſigns. He was in Hopes *Richard* deeming the bare Grant of *Sicily* as a ſingular Favour wou'd ingage to furniſh what Money was neceſſary for the Conqueſt of it, and wou'd rely on the Word of One that had made him ſo noble a Preſent. But when he ſaw that the Prince was not in a Humour to be his Bubble, and that he appear'd to underſtand his own Intereſt too well, he dropp'd the Project and recall'd his *Nuntio*. This Negotiation not having had the Effect he expected, he found himſelf oblig'd to continue the War at his own Expence, till he ſhou'd be able to ingage in the Undertaking ſome Prince of greater Eaſineſs and leſs Foreſight.

1253.

Act. Pub. I. 476.

Innocent *offers* Sicily *to Prince* Richard. M. Paris.

Richard's *Terms not reliſh'd by the Pope.*

Negotiation is broke up.

1253. *Secret Practices of the* Gascoons.

Henry thought he had taken away all Occasion of Revolt from the *Gascoons* by removing the Earl of *Leicester* from the Government of *Guienne*. But it was not long before he perceiv'd that the Vigilance of the Earl, which they look'd upon as an insuperable Obstacle to their pernicious Designs, was the real Motive of their Complaints.

The King of Castile *pretends to* Guienne.

Leicester had no sooner resign'd his *Patent* but a Plot was discover'd in *Guienne* to deliver that Province to the King of *Castile*. Though that Prince had never before made known that he pretended to *Guienne*, as soon as he saw his Party grown strong by the going off of the Earl of *Leicester*, he began openly to declare his Mind. He affirm'd he had *Charters* in Form sign'd by *Henry* II. *Richard* and *John*, who had made him a Grant of that Dukedom. It is true indeed, these *Charters* were never produced. But he had manag'd so as to perswade some discontented Lords that he had them in his Hands. Upon this Foundation, he had form'd in *Guienne* a powerful Party, of which *Gaston de Moncade* Viscount of *Bearn* was Head. It is very likely that *Henry*'s Want of Courage had inspir'd the King of *Castile* with the Thoughts of becoming Master of *Guienne* upon this frivolous Title. At least, he believ'd he had reason to hope, that, either by Arms, or by way of Treaty, he shou'd be able to procure some Part of that Province. Be this as it will, his Claim, though apparently very weak, rais'd however in *Guienne* Commotions, which made *Henry* often repent of having removed the Earl of *Leicester*.

Henry *is forced to go thither.*

The Male-contents, aided by the King of *Castile*, push'd Matters so far, that *Henry* was fain to go thither in Person in order to save the Country from being lost. But to that End Money must be had, and it wou'd have been in vain to alledge the War in *Guienne*, to procure any from Subjects, too much dissatisfied with all his former warlike Expeditions to be prevail'd upon by that Consideration. It seem'd therefore more expedient to keep to his old Pretence, namely, his Voyage to *the Holy Land*, because *Religion* was concern'd in it. As soon as the Parliament, which had been call'd upon that Account, was met, the King demanded a large

He demands an Aid to go to the Holy-Land.

Subsidy

Sudſidy which might enable him to accompliſh his Vow. 1253.
He repreſented, that having been hitherto unavoidably prevented from undertaking the Voyage, the *Chriſtians* of *Paleſtine* muſt needs have been great Sufferers by theſe Delays.

The Aid is granted on Condition the Charters are kept.

Although the Barons were fully convinced that the King had no Deſign to go to *the Holy Land*, they were afraid however of giving him ſome Advantage over them, in Caſe they refus'd the *Aid* which was demanded on ſo plauſible a Pretence. They reſolv'd then to grant a *Subſidy*, but by tacking to it at the ſame time Conditions, from whence they hop'd to reap ſome Benefit, whether the King ſhould go on with his Expedition, or whether, as they ſuſpected, he ſhould employ the Money otherwiſe. This Reſolution being taken, they ſent *Deputies* to him with their Anſwer, the Subſtance of which was, That in Caſe he would leave to the *Churches* the Freedom of Elections, and cauſe in good earneſt the *Charters* of the King his Father to be obſerv'd, they wou'd exert their utmoſt to content him. *Henry*, who expected this Meſſage, was prepared with an Anſwer. He told the *Deputies*, he cou'd not deny but on certain Occaſions he had carried the *Prerogative Royal* a little too far: but that he was firmly reſolv'd never to be guilty of the like Fault again. He added, they might be aſſur'd that the *Charters* of King *John* ſhou'd be punctually kept. Then, addreſſing himſelf to ſuch of the *Deputies* as were of the *Clergy*, he bid them conſider that among the Prelates which then govern'd the *Church of England*, there were but few that had not been promoted to the *Dignities* they enjoy'd, by the Means of that *Prerogative Royal* they complain'd of. He ask'd then whether they themſelves, at the time of their being elected, wou'd have wiſh'd that there had been that Freedom in Elections which they now demanded with ſo much Earneſtneſs. He continued to ſay, that ſince they deſir'd him to correct what was done amiſs in the Government, they themſelves ought to ſet him a good Example: That they had nothing to do but to reſign their *Biſhoprics* and *Abbies* acquir'd by unjuſt Ways, and he gave them

The King's Reply to the Deputies of the Parliament.

1253. them his Word their Places ſhou'd be ſupplied by none but Perſons of known Worth and Probity. The Prelates being confounded at this Home-Diſcourſe, had nothing to reply, but *that the Buſineſs at preſent was not to undo what was paſt, but to prevent the like Evils for the Future.* As the King's ſole Aim was to get Money of the Parliament, he did not puſh Matters any farther. Content with having mortified the *Clergy*, he ſaid to the *Deputies*, that he was ready to join with the Parliament in all neceſſary Meaſures for reforming *Grievances*. Upon theſe Aſſurances the *Clergy* granted him the *Tenths* of their Revenue for three Years, and the Barons, three Marks of every *Knight*'s *Fee* held *immediately* of the Crown.

Excommunication ſolemnly denounc'd againſt the Violators of the Charters.

The Ingagement the King had enter'd into on Account of the *Charters*, was too expreſs for him to recede from it. Accordingly, without being ſollicited to it, he conven'd, in the great Hall of the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, an Aſſembly, at which were preſent all the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, each with a lighted Taper in his Hand. The King wou'd not hold one, becauſe, as he ſaid, he wou'd lay his Hand upon his Heart, during the whole Ceremony, the better to ſhow that he ſincerely gave his Conſent to what was going to be pronounced. Then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſtanding up, before all the People, denounced a terrible Curſe againſt all Thoſe that for the Time to come, ſhou'd oppoſe directly or indirectly the Obſervance of the two *Charters*; then againſt Thoſe that ſhou'd violate, diminiſh or alter, in any Manner whatſoever, the *Laws* and *Conſtitutions* of the Kingdom. The *Anathema* being denounced, the two *Charters* were read aloud, and confirm'd by the King, who kept his Hand all the while upon his Breaſt *. This done, every one of the Barons, threw down his Taper upon the Ground, and wiſh'd that Thoſe who violated the *Charters* might thus ſmoke in Hell.

Who

* And ſaid after all was perform'd, *So may GOD help me as I inviolably obſerve all theſe Things.* *M. Paris* ſeems to ſay only the Biſhops had Tapers in their Hands, for he makes the King ſay he wou'd not hold one *becauſe he was no Prieſt.*

Who wou'd not have thought but that the King's Aſſent to a *Curſe* denounced with ſuch Solemnity, was an undoubted Proof of his Intent *religiouſly* to keep his Promiſe? Perhaps it was his real Deſign when he laid his Hand upon his Heart. However the Parliament was no ſooner diſſolv'd but he fell to contriving all poſſible Means to break through it. Beſides that he was naturally of a fickle Temper, and not over-conſcientious, 'tis ſaid, that he was perſwaded to This, by ſome of his Favourites, who told him that he wou'd be but the Shadow of a King, as long as theſe *Charters* were in Force. But as they perceived that his Oath laid a Reſtraint upon him, they advis'd him to apply to the Pope, intimating that for two or three hundred Marks he might with eaſe get it annull'd. This weak Prince, who generally follow'd the moſt pernicious Counſels, made no Scruple to cloſe with This. It was agreeable to his Inclinations, and that was ſufficient to recommend it above all Conſiderations of *Honour* and *Conſcience*, and to hinder him from reflecting on the Calamities which from thence might befall him. But, if it be ſtrange, that this Prince ſhou'd ſo little regard his *Word* and his *Oath*, there is no leſs Reaſon to ſtand amazed to ſee ſuch *Principles* authoris'd by the *common* Practice of him who ſtiles himſelf *the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt*.

1253. Henry *contrives to break thro' his Engagement.*

In the mean time, *Henry* laid out, in his Preparations for the War in *Guienne*, the *Subſidy* granted by the Parliament for the Expedition to *the Holy Land*. When All was ready, he came to *Portſmouth*, where his Troops had been order'd to meet him. Then having left the *Regency* to the Queen and Prince *Richard*, he ſet ſail, attended by a great Number of Lords, who being his *Military-Tenants* had not been able to get themſelves excus'd from this *Service*. Upon his Arrival at *Bourdeaux*, he headed his Army in order to go and beſiege *Reole-Caſtle* then in the Hands of the Rebels. As they had depended upon the King's uſual Indolence, they had neglected to fortify the Places which they had ſeiz'd. By which Means he eaſily became Maſter, not only of This, but of all the other Caſtles which were in their Power. The King of *Caſtile* not

He ſets out for Guienne.

1254. not having all this while, made any Step towards relieving his Party, *Henry* imagin'd that he waited for his Departure in order to raise fresh Commotions in the Province, and was afraid, that wou'd be always the Case. This Belief made him very uneasy, because, to prevent his Enemy's Designs, he found he shou'd be oblig'd to keep a standing Army in *Guienne* without having wherewithal to maintain them. To extricate himself out of this Difficulty, he dispatch'd an Ambassador to *Spain*, with Orders to propose a Marriage between *Edward* his eldest Son, and *Eleanor* Daughter * of *Alphonso* King of *Castile*. *Alphonso* found there was no Likelihood of his becoming Master of *Guienne*, since the Arrival of the *English* Succours. Besides, he consider'd the Marriage propos'd was very advantagious for the Princess his Daughter. Accordingly, without much Sollicitation, he agreed to it, and upon that Score, resign'd to Prince *Edward* all his Pretensions to *Guienne* *1. This Affair was transacted with great Secrecy, *Henry* having a Design to get a fresh *Subsidy* from the Parliament under Colour of the War. Whilst this was doing, the Earl of *Leicester*, who had retir'd into *France* *2, finding *Henry* engaged in a War with the *Gascoons*, levied some Troops at his own Charge, and came and made an Offer of his Service. The Arrival of the Earl, and the Report of a private Treaty in hand, between *Alphonso* and the King, struck Terrour into the Rebels, and caus'd them to return to their Allegiance.

Demands Eleanor *of* Castile *in Marriage for Prince* Edward.

The Match is concluded.

* *Sister.*

Arrival of Leicester *with Offers of Service.*

The Gascoons *submit.*

Henry *tries in vain to get Money from the Parliament on pretence of the War in* Guienne.

In the mean time, *Henry* pretending to be apprehensive of being attack'd by the *Castilians*, had sent Orders to the Queen to summon a Parliament and demand an *Aid*. But this Attempt did not answer his Expectation. The Parliament, having had some Intimation of the Treaty, which was negotiating in *Spain*, replied, that All the Barons would

*1 The Bishop of *Bath* and *John Mansel*, his special Chaplains were the Agents in this Affair, and brought back a *Charter* seal'd with a Golden Seal. The which is now to be seen in the King's *Archives*, in the old *Chapter-House* at *Westminster*.

*2 Where it is said he generously refus'd the Offer of being *High Steward of France*. M. Paris.

would be in a Readineſs to ſerve the King with their Lives and Fortunes, on the firſt News of his being invaded by the *Caſtilians*. This was not what the King wanted. However, as he thought they had no manner of Knowledge of the Treaty of *Burgos*, he wrote to the Queen and Prince *Richard* that he was in great Perplexity, having receiv'd certain Advice of the King of *Caſtile*'s preparing to invade *Guienne* with a numerous Army of *Moors*. For which reaſon, he commanded them to preſs the Parliament to grant an *Aid* anſwerable to his Neceſſities. But in the Interim the News of the Treaty made with *Alphonſo* having been confirm'd by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was return'd into *England*, the Queen durſt not preſs the Parliament upon ſo frivolous a Pretence. *Henry*, not having been able to carry his Point, was forced to ſend Orders to the Prince his Brother to extort Money from the *Jews* at any rate. *Richard* diſcharg'd his Commiſſion with ſuch Rigour, that by his Oppreſſions he reduced the miſerable Wretches to deſire Leave to depart the Kingdom. But even that being refus'd them, they ſaw themſelves conſtrain'd to pay the King a greater Sum than ever they had paid before. 1254. *He extorts Money from the* Jews.

As ſoon as the Queen had Notice that her Son's Marriage was concluded, ſhe haſted with all Speed to *Bourdeaux* with *Edward* and *Edmund* her Sons, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Immediately after her Arrival, Prince *Edward* was ſent, in great State to *Burgos*, where he married the Infanta *Eleonora*, and in a few Days ſet out again with his Bride for *Bourdeaux*, where the King and Queen waited for them. During their Stay in that City, the King confirm'd by a new *Patent*, the Grant of *Guienne* to the Prince his Son, to which was added *Ireland*, and the Sovereignty of *Wales* *. *Henry* having nothing more to do in *Marriage of Prince* Edward.

* And likewiſe the City and Towns of *Briſtol*, *Stamford*, and *Grantham*. M. Paris. Before the King's Return, upon ſtating his Accounts, it appear'd that the Expences of his Expeditions amounted to 20,700*l*. beſides *Lands*, *Wardſhips*, &c. given to Foreigners, and 30,00*l* Marks ſpent upon his *Poictevin* Brothers. Being

1254. in *Gascony*, prepar'd for his Departure. But in order to avoid the Fatigue of a Sea-Voyage, he ask'd of the King of *France*, who had been happily freed out of the hands of the *Infidels* by a great Ranſom *, leave to paſs through his Dominions, in order to go and embark at *Bulloign*. *Lewis* not only very courteouſly granted his Requeſt, but went and receiv'd him at *Chartres* *1, from whence he conducted him to *Paris*, where he entertain'd him eight Days.

He exacts Money from London.

Henry made his Entry into *London* with extraordinary Pomp, and receiv'd from the City a Preſent of a hundred Pounds *Sterling*, which the *Londoners* had been wont to give on the like Occaſions. But as he did not ſeem ſatisfied, they gave him moreover, a Piece of Plate of exquiſite Workmanſhip, with which he was content. This did not hinder him however from laying hold, a few Days after, of an Opportunity which offer'd, to get from the City a more conſiderable Sum. A certain Prieſt accus'd of Murder, having made his Eſcape out of *Newgate*, where the Biſhop had confin'd him, the City was ſentenc'd to pay the King three hundred *2 Marks as a Puniſhment for its Neglect. This Sentence was deem'd the more unjuſt, as it had been prov'd by good Evidence, that the Biſhop's Officers themſelves had favour'd his Eſcape.

Affairs of Sicily.

I left the Emperor *Conrade* and Pope *Innocent* very hotly engag'd in War. The Pope at length departed from *Lyons* in order for *Genoua*, from whence he deſign'd to go and relieve the City of *Naples* which *Conrade* held cloſely beſieg'd. But this Reſolution being taken too late, the

Conrade takes Naples.

Emperor

told, ſays *Matthew Paris*, of this great Expence by one about him, he reply'd, *Oh, for the Head of* God, *ſay no more of it, leſt the very Relation make Men ſtand amaz'd.*

* Four hundred thouſand *Livres*.

*1 *Henry* was attended by a thouſand brave Horſe with Noble Riders, and there were with him his own Queen and his Siſter the Counteſs of *Cornwal*, who were met by the Queen of *France* and her Siſter the Counteſs of *Anjou*. Thither came alſo the old Counteſs of *Provence*, Mother to all theſe Ladies. *M. Paris.*

*2 Three Thouſand.

Emperor had time to make himſelf Maſter of the Capital, and afterwards of all the reſt of the Kingdom. This fortunate Succeſs inſpir'd him with the Thoughts of getting likewiſe the Iſland of *Sicily*; and if certain Hiſtorians may be credited, he compaſs'd his Deſign by a notorious Piece of Treachery. 'Tis ſaid that having allur'd to *Melphi* young *Henry* his Brother, to whom *Frederick* II had bequeath'd *Sicily*, he caus'd him to be aſſaſſinated. This Prince, ſays an Hiſtorian of *Naples*, of all *Frederick*'s Sons, was the worthieſt and moſt hopeful. 1254. *Murders his Brother* Henry.

Before the Death of the young Prince, the Pope who ſaw his Affairs in great Confuſion by reaſon of the Progreſs of *Conrade*'s Arms, had diſpatch'd to *England*, *Albert* mention'd above, to make an Offer to the King of the Crown of the two *Sicilies*. But *Henry* had rejected his Offer on the ſcore of his Nephew whom he was unwilling to depoſe. *Innocent* not having been able to ſucceed in his Project, took Occaſion from the Death of the King of *Sicily*, to renew *Conrade*'s *Excommunication*, whom he charg'd with the Murder of his Brother. But the Emperor publickly denied it, whether he was innocent, or whether he thought it wou'd be a hard matter to convict him of it. He even writ to the King of *England* to notify to him the Death of the young Prince, and to expreſs his extreme Grief on that Occaſion. This is not a proper Place to examine whether his Sorrow was ſincere. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that in caſe he were guilty of the Murder, he did not enjoy long the Fruits of his Treachery. He died five Months after, poiſon'd, as was given out, by a Phyſician brib'd by *Manfred* his baſtard Brother. Far from ſuſpecting the Hand which gave him his Death, he left the Guardianſhip of *Conradin* his Son, to the ſame *Manfred*. *Henry refuſes the Offer of the two* Sicilies. *Conrade accus'd of his Brother's Death.* *He is poiſon'd by* Manfred.

The Death of *Conrade* which happen'd in 1253, entirely chang'd the Face of Affairs in the two *Sicilies*. *Manfred*, under Colour of acting for his *Pupil*, who was in *Germany*, form'd the Project of becoming Maſter of the two Kingdoms. But he found ſo many Difficulties in his Way, that he was fain to conceal it till a fitter Innocent IV. *becomes Maſter of the Kingdom of* Naples.

1254. Opportunity. In the mean time *Innocent*, who kept his Court then at *Perouſe*, having put himſelf at the Head of an Army, march'd into the Kingdom of *Naples*, where the People declar'd in his Favour. *Manfred* himſelf, finding there was no oppoſing the Torrent, went to him at *Naples*. As ſoon as he came there, he acted with ſuch deep Diſſimulation, that the Pope, ſeeing him really in his Intereſts, admitted him to all his Councils, and confirm'd to him the Grant of the Principality of *Tarentum*, which the Emperor his Father had left him in his Will.

He is outwitted by Manfred.

Manfred, finding himſelf thus in the Pope's good Graces, began to contrive how to make it ſubſervient to his Deſigns. With this View, he adviſ'd him to diſperſe his Troops over all the Kingdom, and back'd his Advice with two Reaſons, by which *Innocent* ſuffer'd himſelf to be enſnar'd. The firſt was, that there was a Neceſſity to eaſe the Citizens of *Naples*, leaſt being too much burthen'd, they ſhou'd think of revolting. His other Reaſon was grounded upon its being no leſs important to keep in Awe the *Germans* which *Conrade* had left behind in the Country under the Command of two *Bavarian* Princes. This Stratagem having ſucceeded according to his Wiſh, he turn'd to the two *German* Princes, who, in all likelihood, were not more difficult to be impos'd upon than the Pope. By Means of ſome ſecret Emiſſaries, he let them know that he had very much at heart the Intereſt of *Conradin*, and that it was only out of Policy that he had feign'd to be a Friend to the Pope. Then, he magnified to them the Forces the Pope had in the Kingdom, and adviſ'd them to go to *Germany* for Recruits. What induced the more theſe two Princes to follow his Advice, was the Aſſurance he gave them, that in their Abſence he wou'd take care of their Troops. He gave them to underſtand, that he wou'd take upon him to engage the Pope to furniſh them with Neceſſaries, by putting him in hopes, that he ſhou'd be able to ſend them back to *Germany*, and that in the mean time he wou'd ſpin out the Negotiation till they ſhou'd return. By this double-dealing, *Manfred* weaken'd the Pope's Forces, by

cauſing

causing him to disperse them, and got rid of the troublesome Company of the two *German* Princes, reserving to himself their Troops, to be made use of upon Occasion. 1254.

The Army, *Innocent* had brought into the Kingdom of *Naples*, cou'd not be maintain'd without a very great Expence, which the Pope cou'd not bear for any time. His Apprehensions that his Troops wou'd quickly disband themselves, if he did not find Money to pay them, set him upon making a fresh Attempt upon the King of *England*, which succeeded better than the former. Under Pretence of informing *Henry* of the Circumstances of the Death of the King of *Sicily* his Nephew, he sent a *Nuntio*, who had Orders to offer him in his Name the Crown of the two *Sicilies* for Prince *Edmund* his second Son. He caus'd it to be represented to him, that there was no longer Room for any Scruples since the Death of the young King his Nephew: That besides he ought to deem the Offer which he made him, a very particular Mark of his Esteem and Affection, which there was not a Prince in *Europe* but what wou'd think a great Honour. In fine, that a Crown was a Present which requir'd no long Time to consider whether it was worth Acceptance. These tempting Offers had the desir'd Effect. *Henry*, without consulting the Prince his Brother or the Parliament from whom he was to expect the *Aids* necessary for this Undertaking, accepted this imaginary Present, with all Thankfulness. From thenceforward, he caus'd Prince *Edmund* to assume the Title of King of *Sicily*. From the Time that this ill-advis'd Prince had inconsiderately embark'd himself in this Affair, he had never either the Power or Prudence to get clear of the Snares which the Pope laid for him on that Pretence. The Pope sent him word, that by the help of an inconsiderable Sum of Money, he wou'd have the Satisfaction to see in a little time, his second Son on the Throne, and that a Crown like that of *Sicily*, was well worth taking some Pains to obtain. Pleas'd with these flattering Hopes, *Henry* made no Scruple to send to the Pope all the ready Money he had by him, All that the Prince

Innocent *offers* Sicily *for Prince* Edmund. Act. Pub. I. *p.* 513.

Henry *accepts the Offer.*

1254. Prince his Brother wou'd lend him, and all that he cou'd extort from the *Jews* or his other Subjects by Means of *Judges* ſent into every *County*, whom he once more made uſe of. But this not being enough to ſatisfy the Pope, he was carried to that Degree of Indiſcretion, as to oblige himſelf, under Pain of being *excommunicated* and *depriv'd* of the Royal Dignity, to pay all ſuch Sums as the Pope ſhou'd borrow towards carrying on their Enterprize. *Innocent*, impower'd in this unlimited Manner, ſpar'd not his Friend's Pocket. By *Loans* real or pretended, he engag'd him ſo deeply, that his ordinary Revenue cou'd not poſſibly anſwer the Expence. This put him frequently under a Neceſſity of making ſuch Demands of the Parliament as render'd him more and more odious to his Subjects. But he was ſo fond of this Affair, that he regarded not the Complaints and Murmurings of the People, provided he thought he cou'd get the Money neceſſary for the compaſſing his Ends.

The Pope uſes ſeveral Means to get the King Money.

Innocent was very ſenſible that it was not in the King's Power to perform his Ingagements. But he hop'd, that by exerting to the utmoſt his *Apoſtolical* Authority, he ſhou'd be able to furniſh him with Means ſufficient to ſqueeze Money out of his Subjects. The firſt of theſe Means was a *Bull* directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *Cheſter*, impowering them to borrow Money of Perſons of all Conditions, in the Name of *the Church of Rome*, with Orders to pay what Sums ſhou'd be thus rais'd into the King's Hands. It is eaſy to ſee the Reaſon why the Pope made uſe of the Name of *the Church of Rome*, becauſe he knew very well that not a Soul wou'd lend the King Money. And becauſe the *Church* had it in her Power to compel People, *Eccleſiaſticks* at leaſt, to lend their Money, which the King cou'd not do.

Act. Pub. T. I. 511.

ibid.

The Voyage to *the Holy Land* furniſh'd the Pope with a Handle to grant the King two *Tenths* from the *Clergy*. But at the ſame time he order'd the Money to be depoſited in a ſafe Place, from whence it cou'd not be taken but by his Orders. He pretended that it was to prevent the King

King from putting it to any other uſe than the Expedition to *Paleſtin*. But in reality theſe Sums were deſign'd for the intended Conqueſt of *Sicily*. By a third *Bull*, he granted the King a Twentieth Part of the Church's Revenue in *Scotland*, provided the Money might be rais'd without giving Offence. In the mean time, as he had oblig'd himſelf to contribute towards the Charges of this projected Conqueſt, he promis'd to pay to Prince *Edmund*, a hundred thouſand *Livres*, Half whereof ſhou'd be paid down upon his Arrival at *Lyons*. A mighty Contribution towards an Enterpriſe of this Nature! However the *Obligation* was clogg'd with this *Clauſe*, unleſs the Pope ſhou'd have Occaſion for the Money himſelf for the Defence of *the Holy See*. 1254. ibid. ibid.

What Methods ſoever the Pope took to procure the King Money, he was afraid that all wou'd not do, or that the King wou'd idly ſquander away the Treaſure he ſhou'd get together. For this Reaſon it was that he admoniſh'd him by a Letter to retrench all ſuperfluous Expences, not excepting thoſe which were deſign'd for *Pious Uſes*, becauſe the Conqueſt of *Sicily* was above all Works of *Charity*. Though *Edmund* as yet enjoy'd only an empty Title, the King his Father, blinded by the Hopes inſpir'd into him by the Pope, conſider'd this young Prince, as the Real Monarch of the two *Sicilies*. In this Belief, he wou'd have him give, by an authentick *Patent*, to *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy* Uncle to the Queen, the Principality of *Capoua*, which, like the reſt of the Kingdom, was ſtill in Diſpute between the Pope and *Conradin*. Notwithſtanding the Pope thought fit to diveſt himſelf of this Kingdom in Favour of *Edmund*, he wou'd not however ſuffer him to diſpoſe of any thing belonging to it, without his Leave. One ſees, *in the Collection of Publick Acts*, ſeveral Grants made by the Pope, in this ſame Kingdom, to the *Marquiſs* of *Hoemburch* his General, and to ſome others. ibid. ibid.

Manfred *aims at being King of* Sicily.

Whilſt the Pope continued his Negotiations in *England* with all poſſible Secrecy, for fear of alarming the *Sicilians*, *Manfred* the Baſtard was taking at *Naples* Meaſures to procure

1254. Gio. Sum.

procure the Crown of the *Sicilies*. He tamper'd with the *German* Troops which the Emperor *Conrade* had led thither, and made sure of the Assistance of the *Saracens* who were very numerous in the two Kingdoms. As soon as Matters were in the Posture he wish'd them, he waited for an Opportunity to declare himself openly; and it was not long before he had one. A Quarrel, which he had at the Court of *Rome*, wherein he kill'd a Man who had affronted him, having oblig'd him to abscond, he was summon'd to appear and take his Tryal. Upon his Refusal, *Innocent* order'd his Troops to march towards the little City of *Nocera*, inhabited by *Saracens*, whither the Murderer was fled. This was enough for *Manfred* to draw his Friends together, who were all in a Readiness. With the Succours which flock'd to him from several Parts, he went out to meet the Troops which were marching against him, and having attack'd them at an Advantage, between *Troya* and *Foggia*, he kill'd Part of them, and put the rest to Flight. *Innocent* was not a little surpriz'd at the Defeat of his Army, and to find upon his Hands a fresh Enemy on whom he depended to clear the Kingdom of the *Germans*. This Incident having convinced him that *Manfred* had only amus'd him, he perceiv'd, that since the *Germans* had sided with the *Bastard*, it wou'd be a hard Matter to keep his Footing in the Kingdom with only his own Forces. In this Belief, he repeated his Instances to the King of *England*, for Troops and Money, with an *English* General, threatning him in case of Refusal, to give the Crown of *Sicily* to some other Prince. But as these Succours were at a great Distance, the Vexation he was under to see his Affairs in so ill a Situation, threw him into a Fit of Sickness which laid him in his Grave. Although most Historians make it more than a Year between the Death of *Innocent* IV. and the Election of *Alexander* IV. his Successor, *the new Collection of the Publick Acts of* England, plainly evince that *Alexander* IV. was elected a few Months after *Innocent*'s Decease. And indeed, we find there *Bulls* of these two Popes bearing Date towards the End of the same Year 1254.

He quits the Pope's Court for murder. He is cited, but appears not.

He beats the Pope.

Innocent *dies, succeeded by* Alexander IV.

Alexander

Alexander, following the Steps of his Predeceſſor, reſolv'd to proſecute the War againſt *Manfred*, who, having a Mind ſtill to keep his Deſigns ſecret, had declar'd for *Conradin*, for fear of offending the *Germans*, of whom he ſtood in great Need. As the Pope was in no leſs Want of the Succours from *England*, inſtead of menacing *Henry*, as *Innocent* had done, he diſpatch'd to him the Biſhop of *Bononia*, on whoſe Hands he put a Ring to inveſt, by that Mark, Prince *Edmund* with the Kingdom of *Sicily*. But whilſt *the Legate* was on the Road, *Alexander*'s Affairs were intirely ruin'd. The Pope having borrow'd Money from all Hands, on the King of *England*'s Account, had found Means to draw together an Army of Sixty thouſand Men, of whom he had given the Command to Cardinal *Octavian Ubaldini Florentinus*, with orders to beſiege *Manfred* in *Nocera*. The Cardinal had for his Lieutenant-General the *Marqueſs* of *Hoemburch* a *German*, who had a long time ſerv'd *Innocent* IV, but who, ſome time ſince, had been corrupted by *Manfred*. Upon the Approach of this Army to *Nocera*, the *Marqueſs*, who watch'd for an Opportunity to cauſe *Octavian* to take ſome falſe Step, repreſented to him, that it was not only needleſs, but a leſſening to his Honour to employ ſo great an Army againſt a Paltry Town. He told him that the Country adjoining afforded no Forage, and that beſides it was evident that *Manfred* was in no Condition to do any great Matters, ſince he had ſhut himſelf up within Walls. The *Eccleſiaſtical* General, who had but little Experience in the Art of War, looking upon the *Marqueſs* as an able and faithful Soldier, was eaſily perſwaded to divide his Army, on the falſe Notion of his Enemy's being afraid of him. He had no ſooner committed this Blunder, but *Manfred* ſallied out of *Nocera*, and falling on a ſudden upon the Army which was coming to beſiege him, entirely put them to Rout. The Pope's Loſs, in this Action, was ſo great, that he cou'd no longer keep his Footing in that Country. Accordingly *Manfred* without any Difficulty became Maſter of the two *Sicilies*, and was crown'd at *Palermo*, after he had

1255. Alexander *levies a great Army againſt* Manfred. Act. Pub. T. I. *p.* 532.

M. Paris. Act. Pub. T. I. 541. Gio Sum.

Manfred *defeats the Pope's Army.*

is crown'd King of Sicily.

1255. spread a Report that young *Conradin* was dead in *Germany*.

The Legate inveſts Edmund *with the* Sicilies.

Though *Alexander* had Nothing to depend upon in *Italy*, yet he did not deſpair of reſtoring his Affairs by Means of the King of *England*, who little knew what a Turn had happen'd in the Country, which he was ſo much concern'd in. The Truth is, the Biſhop of *Bononia* came to *London*, where, without ſaying a Word of what had happen'd in the Kingdom of *Naples*, or of the Coronation of *Manfred*, he inveſted Prince *Edmund* with the two *Sicilies*. This was done with great Solemnity, which was a freſh Satisfaction to *Henry*. This weak Prince was as much pleas'd with the Ceremony as if *Edmund* had actually been put in Poſſeſſion of a Crown. But if there were Flatterers who congratulated him upon this Augmentation of Glory, there were wiſer People who were griev'd to ſee their King become more and more a Tool to the Pope. Indeed it was no very hard matter to perceive that he was embarking in an Undertaking which all the Ready-Money in the Kingdom wou'd not ſuffice to bring about.

The King demands an Aid of the Parliament.

Henry had little Grounds to expect any great *Aids* from his People, to whom he had given but too much Cauſe of Diſcontent. Much leſs ſtill cou'd he hope to get the Barons to approve of a Project which he had raſhly engag'd in, without conſulting thoſe who alone cou'd furniſh him with Means to come off honourably. Notwithſtanding this, he demanded of a Parliament which he ſummon'd this Year, an *Aid* of Money, with the ſame Aſſurance as if he had been labouring purely for the Good of the Publick. Though the Parliament concern'd themſelves but little about the Succeſs of the Affairs of *Sicily*, they imagin'd however they ſhou'd be able to procure ſome Advantage from the King's Neceſſities, by laying hold of this Opportunity to get the two *Charters* obſerv'd after a more ſolid Manner. With this View, they return'd in Anſwer to the King, that they wou'd grant him a *Subſidy*, upon theſe two Conditions; that the *Charters* ſhou'd be obſerv'd, and that *the Treaſurer, the Juſticiary*, and

Two Conditions requir'd.

and *the Chancellour* ſhou'd be nominated by the Parliament, without being liable to be turn'd out but by the ſame Authority. The King not thinking fit to agree to theſe Terms, prorogu'd the Parliament till *Michaelmas*. 1255.

The Parliament prorogued.

In the Interim, *Henry* was oblig'd to take a Journey to *Scotland* on Account of the Queen his Daughter, who complain'd of her hard Uſage from thoſe that govern'd the Kingdom, during the King her Husband's Minority*. The Preſence of the King of *England*, contributed very much to the ſettling the Affairs of that Kingdom, which began to feel the Effects which uſually attend a *Minority*. He made but a very ſhort Stay in *Scotland*, being in great Haſte to return into *England*, where the Affairs of *Sicily* call'd him.

The King's Journey to Scotland.

The Sums which this and the former Pope pretended to have borrow'd on the ſcore of the Affair of *Sicily* were ſo exceſſive, that the King ſaw it impoſſible for him to ſatisfy the Creditors real or feign'd. *Alexander* knew this very well; but reckoning that the *Engliſh*, and particularly the *Clergy*, were reſponſible for their Sovereign, he us'd all poſſible Means to ſqueeze Money out of the unfortunate Kingdom which was already ſo much drain'd. His firſt Attempts were made by a *Nuntio*, one *Ruſtand*, whom he furniſh'd with ſeveral *Bulls*, all tending to exact Money from the *Clergy*. The firſt, which the *Nuntio* produced, was an Order to gather a *Tenth* in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland* it ſelf, as well to the Uſe of the Pope as of the King. This *Bull* was expreſs'd in Terms which left the *Clergy* no Room to cavil. The Pope laid this Impoſition on them, *Notwithſtanding* *1 *any former Letters, Indulgences, Privileges, Exemptions or other Grants, under any Form, and for what Cauſe ſoever, and notwithſtanding all Objections which cou'd be devis'd.* A ſecond *Bull* gave the *Nuntio* Power to change the *Vow* the King had made

Ruſtand the Pope's Nuntio *comes into* England *with ſeveral* Bulls.

*1 Non-obſtante.

* Sir *Robert de Roſs* and Sir *John Baliol* the Regents were accus'd of keeping the Queen like a Priſoner, and of not permitting the King to enjoy her Embraces. But *Henry* having fined the Governours, brought the King and Queen together again and put them in such a Condition as they lik'd.

1255. to go to *the Holy Land*, into *That* of undertaking the Conqueſt of *Sicily*; a Conqueſt which the Pope wou'd have thought much more important than *That* of *Jeruſalem*. *Henry* engag'd himſelf in this new Vow, by a ſolemn Oath on the *Relicks* of St. *Edward*, as he had done with regard to his firſt *Vow*. Moreover the *Nuntio* order'd a *Cruſado* to be preach'd up againſt *Manfred*, as an Enemy to the *Chriſtian* Name, and promis'd Pardon of their Sins to all Thoſe that ſhould aſſiſt *the Holy See* againſt that *excommunicated* Prince. The publiſhing this *Cruſado* had but little Effect in *England*. But it had a very great one in *Paleſtine*, as it oblig'd the *Chriſtians* there, when they found the Succours which were intended for them, diverted to other Uſes, to conclude with the *Saracens* a Truce for ten Years.

The Parliament meets. The Parliament, which had been prorogu'd, being met, the King ſollicited in vain for a *Subſidy*. He had taken Care not to ſummon ſuch of the Lords as had ſhewn the moſt Reſolution in the laſt *Seſſion*. But this was the very Thing from whence the Parliament took Occaſion to refuſe his Demand. They alledg'd that, according to the *Tenor* of *the great Charter*, they were not oblig'd to debate any Buſineſs, unleſs All that had a Right to ſit in Parliament were ſummon'd. *Henry*, ſeeing little Hopes of getting any Money from this Aſſembly, diſſolv'd them, and took other Courſes to obtain his Ends. He would fain have borrow'd once more of the Prince his Brother: But he was not to be prevail'd upon. *Richard* was diſpleas'd that the King ſhou'd raſhly engage in this Affair without vouchſafing to conſult either him or the Barons of the Realm.

Refuſes to give the King an Anſwer; is diſſolv'd.

Richard will not lend the King Money.

1256. But what *Henry* could not do by his own Authority he tried to effect by the Pope's Help, who was the more ready to aſſiſt him as his own Intereſt was concern'd in the Caſe. One may boldly ſay that in thoſe unfortunate Days the Court of *Rome* had no Senſe of Shame left: Of This, what I am going to relate is a clear Evidence; the Truth of which is not built upon the Teſtimony of a ſingle Hiſtorian, whoſe Fidelity ſome have endeavour'

Divers Bulls to get Money from England.

M. Paris.

to call in Queſtion, but upon the very *Bulls* of *Alexander* IV. extant among the *Records* of *England*, and printed in *the Collection of Publick Acts*. By the way, nothing can be more proper to confute all that has been alledged to weaken the Authority of *Matthew Paris*, than the Harmony which appears between the *Bulls* and his *Hiſtory*. What is more to be wondered at in the Conduct of *Alexander*, is, that he did not expend in the War againſt *Manfred*, the extravagant Sums he inceſſantly drew from *England*, under that Pretence. If we compare together the Hiſtories of *England* and *Sicily*, we ſhall find that at the very Time the Pope was draining *England* of Money for the projected Conqueſt, he ſuffer'd *Manfred* quietly to enjoy his Crown without making ſcarce any Effort to dethrone him. Thus the Conqueſt of *Sicily* was only a *Decoy* made uſe of by the Pope, to get large Sums from *Henry*, upon the ſorry Hopes he gave him of placing his Son *Edmund* on the Throne. In *the Collection of Publick Acts*, we find under the Year 1255 divers *Bulls* which plainly make appear with what Greedineſs the *Roman Pontiff* ſucked the very Heart's Blood of wretched *England*. 1255.

In one of theſe *Bulls*, he orders *Henry* to pay four thouſand Pounds to the Biſhop of *Bononia*, for the Charges of his *Legateſhip*, as if the Court of *Rome* had no manner of Concern in the Affair. Act. Pub. T. I. 547.

In another dated the ſame Month, he confirms the Change of the King's *Vow* to go to *the Holy Land* into *That* of an Expedition into *Sicily*, to the End the Money deſign'd for the War againſt the *Saracens*, might ſerve to pay the Debts contracted for the Conqueſt of that Kingdom. ibid.

By the Fellow to This directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he makes, by his Authority, the ſame Change with regard to the *Vow* of the King of *Norway* and of his Subjects. Then he commands them to ſend into *England*, for the pretended Expedition to *Sicily*, the Money which they had rais'd for the Voyage to *the Holy Land*. p. 549.

A third

1255. A third *Bull* enjoins all the *English*, who have receiv'd
p. 551. any Money towards their Journey to *Palestine*, to pay it into the Hands of certain Commissioners, to be employ'd in the *Sicilian* Expedition.

ibid. Although he had before confirm'd the Change of *Henry*'s Vow, he granted him however by a *Bull*, the twentieth Part of the *Clergy*'s Revenue in *Scotland*, to be expended in the Expedition to *the Holy Land*. This *Bull* bearing Date after *That* whereby the King's *Vow* was changed, one can't look upon it but as a downright Cheat, to make the *Scots* believe that their Money should be laid out in the War against the *Infidels*.

ibid. After This, by a subsequent *Bull*, he absolves the *Scots* from their *Vow* of going to *the Holy Land*, on Condition they would send into *England* a certain Sum to be employ'd in the Conquest of *Sicily*.

p. 556. He granted the same Favour to the *English*, by a *Bull* dated in *August* the same Year.

Lastly, By another in *October*, he commanded his *Nuntio* to compel the *English* Prelates, to pay the *Tenths* which had been granted to the King, for the Payment of the Debts contracted since his Ingagements with *Innocent* IV.

If the *Originals* of all these *Bulls* were not among the *Records* of *England*, one should hardly be persuaded that *Christ*'s *Vicar* was so little of a *Christian* as to prefer his own private Quarrel before *the Cause* of God; for so the *Crusadoes* against the *Infidels* were reckon'd in those Days. One can't see moreover, without Astonishment, that *Alexander* should take it in his Head to make the *Scots* and *Norwegians*, who live in the utmost Bounds of the *North*, contribute to the Charges of his Quarrel with the House of *Swabia*, about a Kingdom situated in the most
M. Paris. *Southern* Parts of *Europe*. But if what the Historian adds be true, of which there is scarce any Room to doubt, it will be very easy to perceive that in order to get Money, there was no Means, though never so unjust, but what was approv'd of by this Pope.

The

The Sums taken up in the King's Name amounted, according to the Pope's Account, to one hundred thirty five thouſand five hundred and forty Marks, Principal Money, beſides *Intereſt* *. *Alexander* was not ignorant that the King's Revenue ſcarce ſufficed for his neceſſary Expences, and that conſequently it was impoſſible to take any thing from thence to ſatisfy the pretended *Creditors*. To give the King a Lift at this Juncture, he thought fit, that all the extraordinary *Levies* of Money made in the Kingdom ſhould be applied to this Uſe, for which he took upon him to find Means himſelf to raiſe what Sums ſhould be neceſſary. It was not ſo much the Purſes of the People or Barons, as of the *Clergy*, that were to be plunder'd. Beſides that the *Clergy* had the moſt Money by them, they more tamely ſubmitted to the Pope than the People wou'd to the King. Accordingly, in order to oblige the *Clergy* to pay the greateſt Share of this Debt, *Alexander* made uſe of a very extraordinary Means, ſuggeſted to him by the Biſhop of *Hereford* **. He caus'd a great many *obligatory Notes* to be drawn up, whereby each Biſhop in *England* acknowledg'd to have receiv'd of ſuch a Merchant 1256.

A ſtrange Means us'd by the Pope to get Money of the Clergy. Paris.

* Beſides fifty Thouſand more in which the Prelates ſtood bound to the Pope. though without their own Knowledge and Conſent. The Words of *M. Paris* upon this Occaſion are Theſe: "The *ſacred* Privileges of *Churches* ſignifie nothing, and though "the Pope has a Power only for *Edification* and not for *Deſtruction*, yet the Tax upon the *Clergy*, which was granted at "firſt but for three, is now changed into five Years; and formerly "*Laymen* paid *Tithes* to the *Clergy*, but now even the Prelates are "compell'd to pay *Tenths* to the *Laity*; An *Aid* was granted in "Succour of the *Holy Land*, and we are compell'd to pay it, to "fight againſt the *Chriſtians* of *Apulia*; A *Tenth* was alſo granted "by us to the King for the Obſervation of *the Great Charter*, "which notwithſtanding is not kept; beſides many other *Grievances* then done to the *Clergy* and Church of *England* by the "Pope's Means, though with the Privity and Connivance of the "King himſelf, too long to be here repeated," which, as *Tyrrel* obſerves, though omitted by Dr. *Brady*, yet may ſerve to let us ſee the ſad Condition of the People, where the Prince inſtead of defending them, gives them up for a Prey to a *Foreign* Power. See *M. Paris* towards the Cloſe of the Year. 1255.

** *Peter Egueblank* a Foreigner.

1255. Merchant of *Sienna* or *Florence*, or some other Place in *Italy*, the Sum of ——* for the Occasions of his *Church*, and bound himself to repay it at such a Time. This done, Endeavours were used to constrain each Man to sign one of these *Notes*, as if he had actually borrow'd the Money, therein mention'd. An Oppression, of such a Nature, as would puzzle one to find an Instance of the Like among the most famous Tyrants.

1256. To put this Design in Execution, *Rustand* assembled all the Prelates of the Kingdom, and acquainted them with the Pope's Pleasure, that each of them shou'd sign one of these *Notes*, and bind himself to pay the Sum, mentioned therein, in a short Time under Pain of *Excommunication*. This Proposal surpriz'd the Bishops to such a Degree, that the Bishop of *London* could not forbear saying aloud, *That he would lose his Life rather than submit to so tyrannical an Oppression*. The Bishop of *Worcester* said as much, and in fine, *Rustand* had for Answer, *That the Clergy of* England *wou'd not be Slaves to the Pope*. The *Nuntio* complained to the King of this bold Answer, and intimated to him that the Bishop of *London* was the Author of the *Clergy*'s Disobedience. *Henry*, who was no less nettled than the *Nuntio*, fell into a great Passion with the Bishop, and told him, that since he was afraid neither of His nor the Pope's Indignation, he shou'd quickly be made to feel the Effects of it. This Threat not being capable of daunting the Prelate, he replied, *That he was very sensible, the King and the Pope were more powerful than He, but in Case his Mitre were taken from him, he would clap a Helmet in its Place*. However all this Firmness and Resolution con'd not make the *Nuntio* drop his Design. By the Help of the Bishop of *Hereford*, he sow'd Discord among the Chief of the *Clergy*, by caressing some, frightning others, and entering against some the Accusations, which he made a Handle to *excommunicate* them. His *Censures* were so much the more terrible, because if within forty Days they sued not for *Absolution*, which cou'd not be obtain'd but

* Five, six or seven hundred Marks a-piece, or more. *M. Paris.*

but by ſubmitting to the Pope's Will, all their Revenues were confiſcated. 1256.

But what the King and Pope could extort from private Perſons by theſe violent Ways, could not riſe to a Sum large enough to anſwer their Occaſions. There was a Neceſſity of getting all the *Clergy* to conſent to ſign the *Notes*, otherwiſe it was not worth the while to commit ſuch flagrant Acts of Injuſtice. *Ruſtand* once more ſummon'd the Prelates upon this Occaſion. But the Abſence of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was out of the Kingdom, and the Vacancy of the *See* of *York** furniſh'd the *Clergy* with an Excuſe to ask a longer Time, which cou'd not be refus'd them. They were in hopes that Time wou'd bring along with it ſome favourable Turn which ſhould exempt them from paying the Money demanded. But the Conduct of the *Nuntio* quite put them out of all Hopes. He fell into a Rage againſt Thoſe who rais'd any Difficulties in this Affair, and thought it very ſtrange that the leaſt Oppoſition in the World ſhould be made to the Pope's Pleaſure. *Leonard*, a Deputy for the *Clergy*, having inſiſted on the Injuſtice of the Pope's Demand, *Ruſtand* order'd him to tell him whether he ſpoke for himſelf or in the Name of the Biſhops. After which he wrote down the Deputy's Words, ſaying he would inform the Pope of the inſolent Manner, wherein he had expreſs'd himſelf. Another *Clergy-man* willing likewiſe to ſpeak a little freely of this Matter, the *Nuntio* told him in a furious Tone, that were it not for his Reſpect for the Biſhops, he would not leave him a Hair upon his Head.

The Time granted the *Clergy* being expired, all the Prelates with the Archdeacons, who were the *Repreſentatives* of the inferior *Clergy*, aſſembled at *London*. As they met purely upon this Affair, *Ruſtand* renew'd his Inſtances the very firſt Day. The *Clergy* replied, by *Leonard* their *Prolocuor*, that their Poverty hindred them from conſenting to the Pope's Demand, conſidering it was founded

* *Walter de Grey* who had been Archbiſhop near forty years, died the laſt year, and was ſucceeded by *Sewal* Dean of the Church of *York*.

1256. neither upon *Reason* nor *Justice*. The *Nuntio* made answer, there was no Injustice in what the Pope claim'd, *since as all the Churches belong'd to him, he could dispose of their Incomes as he pleas'd*. This extraordinary Pretension was taken up by *Leonard*, who replied, "That indeed it "might be said in some Sense that all the *Churches* be- "long'd to the Pope, for him to protect and defend them, "but not to appropriate them to his own Use. In like "manner, *continued he*, as we say in *England*, that All "Things are the King's: Yet no Man ever took it in "his Head to say the King was *Proprietor* of all the "Estates of his Subjects: So with Regard to the Lands "of the *Church*, it can never be prov'd that it was the "Intention of the Founders to give them to the Pope." This Reply did but exasperate the *Nuntio* the more, who however thought not fit to argue and dispute the Matter any longer. He contented himself, with crying in a menacing Tone, Let every one speak for himself that the Pope may know who is *for* and who *against* him. This he said to frighten them: But his violent Behaviour had a quite contrary Effect. The Bishops, full of Indignation at this Treatment, unanimously replied, that they neither could nor would submit to so unjust an Exaction; that this was their last Resolve; and that they were ready to suffer Death in a *Cause* much more Just than *that* for which *the Blessed St. Thomas Becket* endur'd *Martyrdom*. The *Nuntio* finding there was no Good to be done by Threats, grew more calm, and said, he would go himself and talk with the Pope about the Difficulties which occurr'd in the executing his Orders. The *Clergy* dispatch'd likewise, in their Name, the *Dean* of St. *Paul*'s to acquaint *his Holiness* with the Reasons of their Denial. To finish this Affair; which I have no design to return to, I shall relate here what Terms the *Clergy* cou'd obtain at length from the Court of *Rome*, after long Sollicitations. As the Pope affirm'd that the Sums in Question were really taken up for the Service of the King and *Church*, he order'd that each Prelate shou'd pay his Share in Proportion to his Revenue: But that the Money thus paid, should be deducted out of the *Tenths* which shou'd

ſhou'd hereafter be granted to the King. After this Deciſion, he wou'd not hearken to any Thing further. So the *Clergy* ſaw themſelves forced to pay Money which they had not borrow'd, and to the Payment of which they had been bound without knowing any Thing of the Matter. 1256.

The Nuntio *attacks the* Ciſtercian *Abbots.*

Some time after, the ſame *Nuntio* conven'd all the Abbots of the *Ciſtercian Order*, and demanded one Year's Revenue of their Wool to ſupply the Occaſions of the Pope and King. They made Anſwer, that they could not aſſent to any ſuch Demand, unleſs debated in a *General Chapter* of their *Order*. This Reply not ſatisfying the *Italian* Prelate, he fell into a Paſſion, and ſwore that if he could not prevail with them in a *Body*, he would ſo handle them *ſingly*, that they ſhould be conſtrain'd to comply. He was quickly as good as his Word. For *ſlight* or *imaginary* Faults, he attacked them one after another, and got them to be grievouſly *fin'd*. But this *Order* had ſuch powerful Protectors about the Pope's Perſon, that the *Nuntio* was commanded to let them alone. Act. Pub. T. I.

Bull of Alexander IV. *which verifies what has been ſaid about the Notes.* M. Paris.

The Tyranny which the Court of *Rome* exerciſed over the *Clergy* of *England*, was of ſo ſtrange a Nature, that the Hiſtorian, who relates all theſe Facts, ſeems to fear he ſhou'd be ſuſpected of Invention, unleſs he produced an authentick Proof of them. This doubtleſs was his View in inſerting at large in his Hiſtory one of *Alexander's Bulls*, which ſhews that nothing was done in the Buſineſs of the *Notes* but by his expreſs Orders. This *Bull*, directed to *Ruſtand*, concludes with theſe Words: *You ſhall take take care to let the King know that all This is our Will and Pleaſure. Wherefore I ſet down in theſe Preſents, what each Abbot and Prior ſhall be bound to pay. The* PRIOR *and* MONASTERY *of* DURHAM, *five hundred Marks; of* BATH, *four hundred; of* THORNEY, *four hundred,* &c.----*Dated at* Anagnia *the X of the Calends of* July, *in the ſecond Year of our Pontificate.*

The Parliament refuſes the King Money.

Let us return now to the King, who was ſollicising with no leſs Earneſtneſs for the *Aids* he had demanded of the Barons, to place the Prince his Son on the

1256. Throne of *Sicily*. The Archbishop of *Messina* was lately come from *Rome* on Purpose to back the King's Demand, with the Pope's Letters to the Lords, exhorting them to give the King Content. But the Eagerness of the Pope, and the pressing Instances of the Archbishop of *Messina*, had an Effect entirely opposite to their Designs. For it was very visible, that the *Subsidy* was to be put into the Hands of the Pope, otherwise he wou'd not have stirred so much in the Matter. Besides the Parliament could not resolve to suffer Troops to be sent into *Italy*, as the Pope and King desired, perswaded as they were that it was exposing them to certain Ruin. These Considerations induced them to refuse the King the *Aid* he demanded. To justify their Denial, they presented an *Address* to him, wherein they exhibited their Reasons. I. The Difficulty of the projected Undertaking. II. The Poverty of the Nation. III. The Dread of an Invasion from the neighbouring States, if the Forces of the Kingdom were sent at a Distance. IV. That this Project was form'd without the Consent of Parliament. V. *Lastly*, That the Conditions annexed to the Grant of *Sicily*, left the Pope at Liberty to revoke it whenever he shou'd think fit.

Reasons for so doing.

Henry *will have the Clergy bound for him.*

The King was not satisfied with demanding of his Parliament an extraordinary *Aid*. He wou'd have moreover the *Clergy* in particular stand bound for the Sums which the Pope pretended were still due to him, and give their Consent that the *Tenths* granted for three Years shou'd be continued for five more. These Demands were so extravagant, that the *Clergy* could not resolve to comply with them. But there was not the same Regard had for the *Spiritual* as for the *Temporal* Lords. The Pope had no sooner spoken with an imperious Tone, by the Mouth of his *Nuntio*, but the *Clergy* tamely submitted, and gave the King the greatest Part of what he had demanded.

The Clergy refuse;

but yield at last.

War with the Welsh.

How large Sums soever had been lately drawn out of the Kingdom, *Henry* still continued his Exactions, as well upon the Citizens of *London*, as upon the rest of the Kingdom. He made even the *Welsh*, whom he consider'd as his Subjects, ever since they had been his *Vassals*, feel the

the Effects of his Greedineſs. The Oppreſſions they had endured on divers Pretences, having at length put them beyond all Patience, they had recourſe to Arms, and made Irruptions into the Frontiers of *England*, from whence they carried off a great Booty. Prince *Edward* had a Mind to go and chaſtiſe them; but it was not poſſible for him to raiſe a ſufficient Number of Troops to ſtop their Progreſs. The King's Treaſury was ſo exhauſted, what by the Pope's and what by his own Favourites, that not being able to furniſh Money for this War, he was forced to ſit ſtill, and ſuffer the *Welſh* unpuniſh'd to plunder his Borders. His Fondneſs for his Half-Brothers and the Queen's Relations was prodigious. He was not ſatisfied with loading them with immenſe Preſents, which render'd him unable to defend his Kingdom, but permitted them to oppreſs his own Subjects, by forbidding the *Chancellor* to iſſue out any *Writs* which might prove to their Prejudice *. 1256.

The King's Profuſeneſs to his Half-Brothers, and the Queen's Relations.

In the mean Time the Pope was not yet contented with the vaſt Sums he had drawn from *England*. He preſs'd the King continually to ſend him Money, threatning to revoke the Grant of *Sicily*, if he did not ſpeedily perform what he had promis'd. *Henry* excus'd his not being able yet to ſend Troops to *Italy*, with an *Engliſh* General, becauſe, far from being in a Condition to defray this freſh Expence, he cou'd not yet accompliſh the Payment of the Sums which the Pope demanded of him. But to ſatisfy him in ſome Meaſure, he remitted to him five thouſand Marks, and order'd Prince *Edward* his Son, who was to ſucceed him, to ratify his Agreements relating to *Sicily*. In another Letter which he wrote to him on this Occaſion, he acquainted him that the Barons of the Realm refus'd to ſubſcribe to the Terms which had been exacted of him, thinking them ſomewhat unreaſonable (*a*), eſpecially ſince the Affairs of *Sicily* had taken a new Turn by the Treachery

The Pope preſſes the King for Money.

Prince Edward *ratifies the Contracts relating to* Sicily.

* Which, ſays *Matthew Paris*, was contrary to *the Law* and *Peace* of the Kingdom.

(*a*) Theſe Terms or Agreements are to be ſeen at the End of *Tome* I. of the *Publick Acts* among Thoſe that were omitted,

1256. Treachery of the Marquiſs of *Hoemburch*. As ſoon as the Pope heard that the *Great Men* began to murmur, he thought it time to get all he cou'd hope for from *England*, plainly foreſeeing that the Game he was at cou'd not laſt long. With this View he ſent into *England* a *Nuntio* one *John de Die*, with ſeveral *Bulls*, all tending to procure Money of the King in order to pay the Pope's pretended Debts. By the firſt, he enjoin'd the Biſhops punctually to pay the *Tenths* granted to the King, *notwithſtanding all Letters, Indulgences, or Privileges whatſoever*. In all Appearance, the *Deduction*, which they were before allow'd to make, was render'd of no Effect by this *Clauſe*. Another *Bull* granted to the King for his Voyage to *the Holy Land*, from which he had already excus'd him, all the Revenues of the vacant *Benefices*. By a third, he gave him the Incomes of ſuch *Eccleſiaſticks*, as reſided not on their *Livings*. A fourth, granted him the *Tenths* of all the *Eccleſiaſtical* Revenues of the Kingdom, according to their extended Value, whereas they were wont to be rated according to the antient Taxes. A fifth, order'd *Ruſtand* to adjudge to the King the *Chattels* of *Clergymen* who died *Inteſtate*. By a ſixth, he commanded the ſame *Nuntio*, to tax himſelf all the *Eccleſiaſticks* of the Kingdom, for the *Aid* they were to give the King, *notwithſtanding all Privileges granted by his Predeceſſors, and all Exemptions or Objections whatever*. A ſeventh, *excommunicated* all the Prelates who ſhou'd not pay their *Tenths* within ſuch a Time. There were ſeveral others which it is needleſs to mention, ſeeing they all aim'd at the ſame Thing. The Importunity of the Creditors of *Sienna* and *Florence* was always made the Pretence for theſe Oppreſſions. Altho' theſe Debts ſhou'd have been over-paid by all the Levies of Money which were made in *England* on that Score, they were like the *Hydra*, whoſe Heads ſprung up afreſh continually.

The Pope ſends a Nuntio *with divers Bulls.*
Act. Pub. I. p. 595.
p. 597.
ibid.
p. 591.
ibid.
p. 600.
p. 607.

1257. One would think that in this unfortunate Reign, a Concourſe of malignant Influences were met in *England*, to reduce the Nation to Beggary. Every Thing contributed to its Miſery, and Events which ſeem'd the fartheſt

theſt from it, were found at length to tend to the ſame End. *William*, Earl of *Holland* and King of the *Romans*, having been kill'd in a Skirmiſh with the *Friſons*, the *Electors* of the Empire were divided in chuſing a new King of the *Romans*. Some, who were the *Majority*, gave their *Votes* for *Richard* Brother to the King of *England*, and the reſt elected *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*. *Richard*, more diligent than his Competitor, forthwith went and caus'd himſelf to be crown'd at *Aix la Chapelle* and kept up his Right by his Preſence in *Germany*, whilſt *Alphonſo* acted only by Ambaſſadors. However *Richard* had no other Advantage over his Rival but *That* of being crown'd: An Honour, which coſt him ſo dear, that *Alphonſo* would have been very ſorry to purchaſe it at that Rate. 'Tis affirm'd that *Richard* carried over into *Germany* ſeven hundred thouſand Pound *Sterling* in ready Money *, an immenſe Sum in thoſe Days, which join'd to all Thoſe the Pope had ſqueez'd out of the Nation, made a very great Scarcity of Money. The meaner Sort of People were great Sufferers by it, becauſe, the Harveſt not having been very plentiful, they were not able to buy Proviſions which were grown very dear *1. All theſe Evils touch'd not the King's Heart. Infatuated with his *Sicilian* Project, he preſs'd the Clergy a-new for a *Subſidy*, that of the laſt Year not having even ſuffic'd, as he aſſured them, to pay his Debts. As he expected to meet with great Oppoſition from the Biſhops, he brought to the Aſſembly Prince *Edmund* his Son, dreſs'd in a *Sicilian* Habit, imagining that charm'd like him with the Sight, they wou'd not be able to help granting what he demanded. But this Artifice wou'd have been but of little Force, had not

1257. *Prince* Richard *choſen King of the* Romans.

Carries over into Germany *a vaſt Sum of Monoy.*

The King extorts an Aid from the Clergy. M. Paris.

* *M. Paris*, ſays he was ſo rich, as to be able to ſpend 100 Marks a Day for 10 Years together.

*1 The Author of *Walter of Coventry*'s *Julius* ſays, Proviſions were ſo ſcarce that he himſelf ſaw the People fighting for the Carkaſſes of dead Dogs and other Carrion, and to eat the Waſh that was for the Hogs. But *M. Paris* obſerves that this was owing not ſo much to the Scarcity of Corn as to the Want of Money, Corn having ſeveral Times been dearer than it was now, and yet none died with Hunger, as many did at this Time.

1257. not the Prelates been again aw'd by the *Nuntio*, who conſtrain'd them by his Threats to grant the King fourty two thouſand Pound *Sterling*.

Continuation of the Welſh *War.*

To all the Calamities which *England* labour'd under during the Courſe of this Year, muſt be added the War with *Wales*, which was vigorouſly carried on by the *Welſh*, but very faintly on the Part of *England*. Prince *Edward*, who had undertaken to chaſtiſe theſe turbulent People, had been forced to retreat before them with ſome Loſs. The Progreſs which they made daily, oblig'd the King at laſt to march againſt them. But upon his Approach, they retir'd to their Mountains, after having themſelves laid waſte their Borders, and by that Means *Henry* was forced to halt, not being able to proceed any further. But this was not all. When he imagin'd the *Welſh* at a Diſtance and ſeiz'd with Fear, they knew ſo well how to take this Advantage of his Negligence, as to ſurprize him and cut in Pieces a good Part of his Army; after which he thought of nothing but retiring.

Henry *is beaten.*

The King demands of France *the Reſtitution of* Normandy.

One can't help wondering that, at ſuch a Juncture, *Henry* ſhou'd take it in his Head to try to frighten the King of *France*. However, without conſidering the weak Eſtate he was in, he ſent Embaſſadors * to him, to demand the Reſtitution of *Normandy* and the other Provinces in *France* taken from the *Engliſh*. It is not known, with what View or from what Motive he renew'd his Claim in ſo proud and haughty a Manner, that one wou'd have thought his Affairs had been in the moſt flouriſhing Condition, and that he found himſelf able to ſupport this Bravado. *Lewis*, who had a greater Inſight into his Affairs than He himſelf, forbore however to inſult him, contenting himſelf with roughly denying a Demand made ſo unſeaſonably.

In

* They were no leſs than the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, and *Winchester*, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk* lately made *Earl Marſhal*, *Peter of Savoy*, and *Robert Waleran*. It ſeems as if he did this on the Account of the King of *France*'s Scruples.

In the mean time, *Ruſtand* the *Nuntio*, who was gone to *Rome* for new Inſtructions, return'd very quickly into *England*, with Power to *excommunicate* the King, if, purſuant to his Ingagements, he did not ſpeedily take in hand the projected Conqueſt. *Henry* ſurpriz'd at theſe Menaces, and not knowing which way to turn, in order to ſatisfy the Pope, caus'd *Edmund* his Son humbly to intreat the Pope that he wou'd be pleas'd to ſoften the Terms on which he had accepted the Grant of *Sicily*. This Petition proving of no great Effect, *Henry* ſaw himſelf at length under a Neceſſity of appointing Ambaſſadors to go to *Rome* and renounce, in the Name of the Prince his Son, the Grant of this *Imaginary* Crown which had already coſt him ſo dear. But this was not what the Pope wanted. Far from receiving this Renunciation, he ſent a new *Nuntio*, one *Arlot*, to whom he gave Power to make ſome Alterations in the Articles relating to this Affair. But at the ſame time, he order'd him to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to engage the King more and more, by procuring him ſome freſh Grants, which coſt him Nothing ſince they were made at the Expence of the *Clergy*. With this View, he charg'd his *Nuntio* to publiſh a new *Bull*, whereby he commanded the Biſhops to pay the *Tenths* granted to the King, under Pain of *Excommunication*; *notwithſtanding all Objections, all Appeals, and all Letters obtain'd or to be obtain'd, to the contrary*. What is the more ſtrange, and hardly conceivable, is, that the vaſt Sums ſent to the Pope, not only had not promoted at all the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, but alſo that not the leaſt Part of the Money had been put to that Uſe, ſince after the Defeat at *Nocera*, the Pope had no Army on Foot. Beſides the *Tenths* which the *Clergy* had frequently paid, and the other *Subſidies* granted to the King on this Account, the Parliament had furniſh'd conſiderable *Aids*; and yet there appear'd no Bottom to this Gulf, which ſwallow'd up all the Riches of the Kingdom. The *Clergy* groan'd to ſee themſelves thus grievouſly oppreſſed. The People for their part murmur'd no leſs, when they conſider'd, that ſo much Money rais'd in *England* and which, 'tis affirm'd,

1257. *The King petitions the Pope to ſoften the Terms relating to* Sicily. Act. Pub. I. *p.* 624.

He wou'd renounce that Crown.

A new Nuntio *with freſh* Bulls. *p.* 628.

Bull *for Money from the* Clergy. *p.* 640.

1257. amounted to above Nine-hundred and fifty Thousand Marks, was not capable of satisfying the Avarice of the Pope, who still craved for more.

1258. It was not possible but so many Oppressions wou'd at length tire out the Patience of the *English*. The Barons were still more aggriev'd than the People, as the most considerable Posts, to which they look'd upon themselves alone to have a Right, were enjoy'd by *Foreigners*. This usually is the Motive which stirrs up the Zeal of the *Great-Men*. This is what makes them such mighty Sticklers for the *Good* of the *Publick*. If their own private Interest was not join'd to *That* of the Kingdom, in vain wou'd it be expected that *the Nobles* wou'd expose their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, in Defense of the *Liberties* of an injur'd *People*. This is a Remark, which no Nation in particular ought to take offence at, since it agrees with all *Times* and with all *Places*. The *Great-Men*, who were then alive in *England*, were not of a different Character. The Credit *Foreigners* were in, and the Riches they possess'd, were the chief Grievance of the Barons, and the real Motive of their Complaints. If they insisted on some other Abuses, it was because they were not Gainers by them themselves, or to bring the People over to their Side. They had hitherto imagin'd they shou'd be able to oblige the King to alter his Conduct, by tying him up by the most solemn Oaths. But they perceiv'd at length there was no taking hold of this *Proteus*, as an Historian stiles him, unless they made use of more violent Means than had been hitherto employ'd. In this Belief, they began to hold secret Conferences together, wherein they consulted about proper Expedients to reform the Government, and especially, to exclude the *Foreigners*. The King quickly furnish'd them with an Opportunity to put their Designs in Execution, by calling a Parliament, of whom he demanded, according to Custom, a powerful *Aid* for the Affair of *Sicily*, for as to the Voyage to *the Holy-Land*, it was no longer mention'd. The Parliament, pursuant to the Resolution which the principal Barons had taken before among themselves, instead of granting

The Barons began to take measures against the King.

M. Paris.

M. Paris.

The King demands Money of the Parliament who complain of his Conduct.

granting his Demand, grievouſly complain'd to him of the Breach of his Promiſes, and of all the *Grievances* in general which we have had Occaſion to ſpeak of in the Courſe of this Reign. *Henry*, perceiving that carrying it high wou'd be to no purpoſe on this Occaſion, fell to his old Artifice of appeaſing the Lords, by acknowledging himſelf guilty, and promiſing to reform what was amiſs. But for once they were not ſo eaſy of Belief. They told him roundly, that, without leaving it to him, they deſign'd to reform the Government themſelves in ſuch a manner as they ſhou'd have no more reaſon to fear his Breach of Faith. Accordingly, under Pretence of the Difficulties which occurr'd in this Affair, the Parliament was prorogu'd, and the City of *Oxford* appointed for the Place of the next *Seſſion*. And as he was apprehenſive, that, in the mean time, the Barons wou'd make Preparations, which he found he cou'd not prevent, he gave them a poſitive Promiſe that as ſoon as they ſhou'd meet, he wou'd join with them in redreſſing all Abuſes. He ſign'd likewiſe a *Writing*, whereby he conſented, that the Articles to be reform'd, ſhou'd be drawn up by Four and twenty Lords, of whom he wou'd chuſe Twelve, and promis'd to ſtand to whatever ſhou'd be ſettled by theſe Commiſſioners. To give the greater Authority to this *Writing*, he order'd Prince *Edward* his Son to ſign it with him, that they might be convinc'd of his good Intentions. They had been ſo often deceiv'd by the like Promiſes, that they cou'd hardly believe this to be more ſincere. Without relying on the King's Proteſtations, the Barons ſummon'd all that ow'd them *Military-Service*, and at the Day appointed came to *Oxford*, well-attended and reſolutely bent to compel the King to ſtand to his Word. The firſt thing they did was the electing of the Four and Twenty Commiſſioners, who were to draw the Articles of the intended Reformation. The King choſe Twelve *, and the other Twelve were elected by the Barons,

1258.

The Barons form the Project of reforming the Government.

Parliament adjourn'd to Oxford.

The King agrees to the Reformation.

Four and twenty choſen to ſettle Matters.

* The Biſhops of *London* and *Wincheſter*; *Henry* Son to the King of the *Romans*; *John* Earl of *Warren*; *Guido de Luſignan* and *William de Valence*, the King's Half-Brothers; *John* Earl of *Warwick*;

1258. Barons *, who placed *Simon de Monfort* of *Leiceſter* Preſident of this *Counci*. The Election being over, the *Four and Twenty* drew up ſome Articles, to which the Parliament reſerv'd to themſelves a Power to add, from time to time, ſuch others as ſhou'd be deem'd neceſſary for the *Good* of the *State*. They were in Subſtance as follows.

I. That the King ſhou'd confirm *the Great Charter* which he had ſworn ſo many times to obſerve without any Effect.

II. That the Office of *Chief Juſticiary* ſhou'd be given to a Perſon of fit Capacity and Integrity, that wou'd do Juſtice as well to the Poor as the Rich, without Diſtinction.

III. That the *Chancellor*, *Treaſurer*, *Juſtices*, and other Officers and publick *Miniſters* ſhou'd be choſen by the *Four and Twenty*.

IV. That the Cuſtody of the King's Caſtles and of all ſtrong-Holds ſhou'd be left to the Care of the *Four and Twenty*, who ſhou'd intruſt them with ſuch as were well-affected to the *State*.

V. That it ſhou'd be Death, for any Perſon of what Degree or Order ſoever, to oppoſe directly or indirectly what ſhou'd be enacted by *the Four and Twenty*.

VI. That the Parliament ſhou'd meet at leaſt once every Year, to make ſuch *Statutes* as ſhou'd be judg'd neceſſary for the Welfare of the Kingdom *'.

It

John Manſel, Friar; *J de Derlington*, Abbot of *Weſtminſter*; *Henry de Wengham* Dean of St. *Martin's London*; the Twelfth is omitted, but ſuppos'd to be either *Peter of Savoy* or *James Audley*.

* The Biſhop of *Worceſter*; The Earls, *Simon* of *Leiceſter*, *Richard* of *Gloceſter*, *Humphry* of *Hereford*, Roger of *Norfolk* Earl-Marſhal; The Lords, *Roger Mortimer*, *John Fitz-Geoffrey*, *Hugh Bigod*, *Richard de Gray*, *William Bardolf*, *Peter de Monfort*, and *Hugh de Eſpenſer*. M. Paris.

*' The *Annals of Burton*, where *the Order* is drawn up in Form, ſay, *The Four and Twenty* ordain'd, that there ſhou'd be *three Parliaments* in the Year; the *firſt*, eight Days after *Michaelmas*; the *ſecond*, the Morrow after *Candlemaſs-day*; and the *third*, on the firſt of *June*. *p.* 415.

It is certain that twelve *Deputies* or *Repreſentatives* of the *Commons* were preſent in this Parliament: But whether This was by *Permiſſion*, or *Right*, I mean, whether This was a new Regulation, or whether the *Commons* had their *Repreſentatives* in the former Parliaments, is what I dare not take upon me to determine, ſince the *Engliſh* are not agreed in this Point among themſelves. However as in a Diſpute of this Nature it is difficult to help leaning towards one Side, I ſhall, make no Scruple to own my ſelf of their Opinion who believe that this is the firſt time that the *Repreſentatives* of the *Commons* were admitted to ſit in Parliament. And indeed, if the *Commons* had a Right to ſit there at the time we are ſpeaking of, it wou'd be a very ſtrange thing, that they ſhou'd nominate but twelve *Repreſentatives* for the whole Kingdom. And what is more, All the Hiſtorians agree that theſe *Twelve* were not *Commoners* [as now reputed] but all Barons ſtil'd *Immediate Tenents* of the Crown *. Add to this, that it wou'd be very ſurprizing, if the *Commons* enjoy'd this *Privilege* before, that Hiſtorians ſhou'd never have diſtinguiſh'd them from the *Nobility*. And yet, among ſo many Writers, who from *the Conqueſt* to the End of the Reign of *Henry* III, have ſpoken of *Parliaments*, there is not ſo much as One which has diſtinguiſh'd the *Commons* as making 1258

* In the ſame *Annals* is the Act for the *Election* of the *Twelve*, which was drawn up in *French* in this Form: "Be it remember'd, that the *Community* have choſen *Twelve Wiſemen-Men*, who ſhall come to Parliaments, as alſo at other times, when there ſhall be need, and the King or his Council ſhall command or ſend to them to treat of the Buſineſs of the King and Realm; and the *Community* will hold for eſtabliſh'd what theſe *Twelve* ſhall do; and this ſhall be done to ſpare the Coſt and Charges of the *Community*." The Names of the *Twelve* are enter'd in the ſaid *Annals* thus: "Theſe are the Twelve who are choſen by the Barons to treat in the three Parliaments every Year with the King's *Council*, for the whole *Community* of the Land, upon the common Buſineſs, namely, The Biſhop of *London*, The Earl of *Wincheſter*, The Earl of *Hereford*, *Philip Baſſet*, *John de Baliol*, *John de Verdun*, *John de Gray*, *Roger de Sumerie*, *Roger de Montalt*, *Hugh de Eſpenſer*, *Thomas de Greſley*, and *Ægidius de Argentun*." *An. Burt.* p. 415. Now all theſe were Barons and *Tenants in Capite*.

1258. making a distinct Body, or separate *House* from the Barons. In fine, it may be added, as a *Precedent* which by no means favours the Antiquity of the Right of the *Commons*, that in *France* it was not till the Reign of *Philip the Fair*, that the *Third Estate* was admitted to sit in the General Assembly of the *States*, as *Pasquier* assures us. However this Matter be, as it is from this Assembly and another which I shall mention presently, that some have dated the Original of the Privilege of the *Commons*, it was necessary to acquaint the Reader with it.

The Parliament having approv'd of the *Articles* drawn up by *the Four and Twenty*, the King saw himself oblig'd to give his *Assent* to them, and cause all necessary Orders for putting them in Execution to be dispatch'd. Prince *Edward* likewise solemnly swore that he wou'd observe them and cause them to be observ'd to the utmost of his Power. Thus *Henry*, for his too great Neglect of his Subjects, found himself at last forced to divide with them the Government of his Kingdom, or rather to give up the whole into their Hands. Perhaps he wou'd have avoided this Misfortune, had he been less obsequious to the Court of *Rome*, which certainly was the principal Cause of his being reduced to this Condition. But at that time, it was very difficult to keep in that Respect a just Medium. King *John* lost himself by too vigorously opposing the Pope, and *Henry* by making himself a Slave to him.

Opposition to these Articles.

The *Articles* agreed upon, which were call'd the *Statutes* or *Provisions* of *Oxford*, met at first with some Opposition. The Earl of *Warren* refus'd to sign them. Prince *Edward*, who had sworn to them against his Will, wanted to go from them. *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, openly protested, that they were of no Force, till the King his Father, who was then in *Germany*, had consented to them. This Protestation drew a very home Reply from the Earl of *Leicester*. Without regarding his Quality, the Earl roundly told him, that *if the King his Father refus'd to join with the Barons, in the Regulation just made, he shou'd not enjoy one Foot of Land in* England. But the greatest Opposition was from the *Foreigners*

The Foreigners expell'd the Kingdom.

and especially the King's Half-Brothers and the Queen's Relations. Particularly *William*, Bishop elect of *Valence*, was chiefly concern'd in this Affair, because the whole Royal Authority, which they had taken care to reduce within narrow Bounds by these *Statutes*, was properly in his Hands. Accordingly he publickly declar'd, he wou'd not deliver up the Castles of which he had the Custody. But the Earl of *Leicester*, who was naturally of an impetuous Temper, immediately replied, that he shou'd part either with the Castles or his Head. This Threat having been back'd by the rest of the Barons, the *Poictevins* resolv'd to go and shut themselves up in *Wincheſter*, plainly seeing they were not able to stand against the Torrent. Their going off * was no sooner known, but the Barons mounted their Horses and pursued them, but there was no overtaking them. However, as at such a Juncture, it was a hard matter for *Foreigners*, so universally hated as they were, to procure a Protection powerful enough to screen them, they consented to depart the Kingdom, provided they might have a *Safe-Conduct*. This Condition being readily complied with, they were brought to *London*, till they cou'd be shipp'd off. 'Tis affirm'd, that during their stay in the City, they invited to an Entertainment several Lords, some of whom died presently after; the which made it suspected that they were poison'd. But, it may be, the Hatred which the *English* bore these *Foreigners*, was the chief Ground of this Suspicion. Be that as it will, a few Days after, they went and embark'd at *Dover* in order to return into their own Country.

1258. M. Paris.

The Barons, being thus rid of the *Foreigners*, agreed, before they broke up upon an Oath of *Association*, whereby they obliged themselves to stand by the *Provisions* of *Oxford* with their Lives and Fortunes *1, If we may believe

The Barons enter into an Association. M. Paris.

* They stole away privately while the Barons were at Dinner, in order to take Refuge with their Brother the Bishop of *Wincheſter*. M Paris.

*1 You may see the Form of the *Association* in the *Annals* of *Burton*. *p.* 413. and likewise of the Oath the *Four and Twenty* were to take, *ibid.* As also of the Oaths of the *Chief Justiciary* and *Chancellor*, ibid.

1258. lieve an Historian who has given us the Particulars of this Affair, the *Four and Twenty* were not long before they abus'd their Power, by giving all the Places and Offices to their Relations and Friends. He accuses them also of holding frequent Parliaments, without the King's Consent, whom they look'd upon but as the mere Shadow of a Sovereign.

London *enters into the Association.*

In a Parliament assembled at *Wincheſter*, the Barons resolv'd to send *Deputies* to the City of *London*, to invite them to join in their *Association*. They were at no great Pains to get them to do this, the *Londoners* having still more reason to complain of the King than all the rest of the Kingdom.

The Foreigners baniſh'd.

This Affair being ended, and the Parliaments judging it necessary to proceed in a legal Way against the *Foreigners* who had been expell'd the Kingdom, pass'd an *Act* for their perpetual Banishment.

The Barons Letter to the Pope to justify what was done. Act. Pub. I. *p.* 660.

In the mean time, as *Athelmar*, Bishop of *Wincheſter* was in the Number of the Banished, there was a Necessity of making some Excuse to the Pope, since, for a long time, the Bishops were not subject to the *Civil* Jurisdiction. There was Occasion likewise to justify, to the Pope, the Conduct of the Parliament, as well with regard to the Affair of *Sicily*, as to the Alterations lately made in the Government of the Kingdom. It was resolv'd therefore, that the Barons shou'd write to the Pope, to inform him of what had pass'd. The Substance of their Letter was, that they had been prevented for several good Reasons from yielding to the Instances made them in his Name, on the score of the Conquest of *Sicily*. *First*, because the King had engag'd in that Undertaking, without consulting them, and without considering the State of the Kingdom, which was by no means able to bear the Expence of such an Expedition. *Secondly*, because the Conditions on which the King had accepted the Grant of *Sicily*, for the Prince his Son, were too hard and impracticable. Nevertheless, that if the Pope wou'd mitigate them, they were ready to prosecute that Affair to the utmost of their Power. Then, they vindicated the *Oxford Provisions*, by alledging the King's Incapacity and his Easiness to give himself

to the Guidance of such as had no manner of Concern for the Good of the Kingdom: They insisted chiefly upon this, making it appear by strong Reasons that it was not proper the Kingdom shou'd be govern'd by *Foreigners*. They mention'd the Bishop of *Wincheſter* in particular, as the principal Author of the Evils *England* labour'd under. They affirm'd, that this Prelate had been guilty of divers enormous Crimes, which had induced him to demand leave to depart the Kingdom, being very sensible that it wou'd not be possible for him to render a good Account of his Actions, more especially they accus'd him of having advis'd the King to break his Word and Oath, the which cou'd not but be construed as a settled Design to disturb the *Peace* of the Kingdom. In fine, they added, that they wou'd never suffer him to return again, and supposing they shou'd agree to it, the People were bent to oppose it. To give the greater weight to their Apology, they sent their Letter to the Pope by the Hands of some of their own Body, who were commission'd to display more fully the Outrages of the Bishop of *Wincheſter* and the rest of the Relations of the King and Queen *. 1258.

The Pope was not satisfied with these Reasons. He had a mind to continue to draw Money from the King, on the old Pretence of the Business of *Sicily*, and what the Barons had done laid an insuperable Obstacle in the way of his Designs. However, not to exasperate them, he delay'd sending an Answer, and contented himself with privately assuring the King of his Protection. But at the same time, as if *Henry* had been in a Condition to go on supplying him with Money, he press'd him to pay the Arrears due to the *Italian* Merchants, of which he pretended that the Interest alone amounted to a vast Sum. He was willing however to give him some short time, which was

The Pope continues to press the King on the Sicily *Affair.*

Gives him some time.

* To this Letter Eleven Great Men put their Seals, and witness'd it in the Name of the whole *Community*. Eight of them were of the Number of *the Four and Twenty*, and the other Three were *William de Forz* Earl of *Albemarle*, *Peter of Savoy* Earl of *Richmond*, and *James Audley*.

1258. no sooner expir'd, but the Bishop of *London* receiv'd an express Order to excommunicate all the Debtors of the *Italian* Merchants of what Quality soever. But Times being alter'd, his Orders, which were no longer countenanced by the Government, remain'd unexecuted. For the same Reason the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Sicily* was now look'd upon as a chimerical Project which only tended to the Ruin of *England*.

The King shews his Resentment for the Earl of Leicester.

In the mean time, the unfortunate *Henry*, stript of all his Authority, saw himself constrain'd to assent to every Thing the Governours were pleas'd to prescribe him, and to sign all the Orders that were brought him for the causing the *Statutes*, which depriv'd him of all his *Prerogatives*, to be observ'd. Though the Earl of *Leicester* was his Brother-in law, yet of all the Barons he look'd upon him as his greatest Enemy, and as the chief Author of his Disgrace. The Constraint he was under, did not hinder him from letting the Earl himself know what he thought of him. One day as he was going to the Tower by Water, a sudden Storm [of Thunder and Lightning] having oblig'd him to land at the first *Stairs*, it happen'd to be *Durham-House*, where the Earl of *Leicester* then lay. He was receiv'd at his coming out of the Boat by the Earl himself, who, willing to hearten him after his Fright, told him, *He need not be afraid, for the Storm was over. No, Monfort*, replied the King with a severe Look, *by God's Head, the Storm is not yet over; and I see none that I fear so much as I do thee.*

1260. *The King of the* Romans *declares against the* Oxford-Provisions

It was not without reason that the King stood in fear of the Earl of *Leicester*. This Earl, who was the Head of the Confederates, took with them all possible Measures to hinder him from throwing off the Yoke his Indiscretion had laid upon his Neck. The Resolution they had taken to hold fast their Authority, manifestly appear'd in their Answer to the King of the *Romans*. This Prince having communicated to them by Letter his Design of returning to *England*, to assist them in appeasing the Troubles of the Kingdom, receiv'd this mortifying Answer: That they wou'd not suffer him to enter the

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ſions. *Richard* receiv'd the Deputies which were ſent on this Occaſion, in a very haughty manner. He told them, that it was very ſtrange to him, that the Barons ſhou'd take upon them to alter the Government in his Abſence, and without his Knowledge, and proteſted that he wou'd not take the Oath, they wou'd extort from him, but however was reſolv'd to return to *England*. This Anſwer being brought back to the Governours, they fitted out with all ſpeed a Fleet and rais'd an Army, in order to diſpute his Paſſage and Landing. But theſe Precautions were to no purpoſe. As this Prince was in no Condition *but is conſtrain'd to ſwear to them.*
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held the Reins of the Government made it a Rule to keep Peace with the neighbouring Princes, leſt a Foreign War ſhou'd deſtroy the Work they had ſo happily begun. They were apprehenſive above all Things, that the King of *France* wou'd take Advantage of the ill State *England* was in, to puſh his Conqueſts in *Guienne*. The Fear of this made them reſolve to conclude a firm and laſting Peace with *France*, by making him a Sacrifice of all the

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Here ye, all People, that I *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwal*, do here ſwear upon the Holy Goſpels, that I will be faithful and diligent, together with you the Barons, to reform the Kingdom of *England*, hitherto too much out of Order by the Counſel of Evil Men; and I will be your effectual Helper to expel all Rebels and Diſturbers of this Kingdom, and will obſerve this Oath inviolably, under Pain of loſing all the Lands I hold in *England*. M. Paris.

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1269. Claims which the King had to *Normandy* and *Anjou*. Beſides they were in hopes that by this Means, they ſhou'd be ſure of *Lewis*'s Aſſiſtance, ſeeing it wou'd be his Intereſt to ſupport the Form of Government lately eſtabliſh'd. Indeed the Performance of the Treaty which they propos'd to make with him, depended in ſome Meaſure on the Continuance of the preſent Eſtabliſhment. Purſuant to this Deſign, the Earl of *Leiceſter* took upon him to go and propoſe the Matter at *Paris*. The *French* ſaw what the *Engliſh* offer'd was greatly to their Advantage. And therefore, being very ready to look upon the Earl of *Leiceſter* as ſufficiently authoriz'd, though they were not ignorant of the Poſture of Affairs in *England*, they concluded a Treaty with him, which *Henry* was forced to ſign. He was even perſuaded to go and meet *Lewis* at *Abbeville*, where the *States* of *France* were aſſembled, and to quit in their Preſence, all his Pretenſions to *Normandy* and *Anjou*. *Lewis* in Return gave up the *Limoſin*, and *Perigord*, with all that *France* poſſeſs'd beyond the *Garonne*, on Condition he wou'd do him Homage, and take his Seat among the *Peers* of the Realm as Duke of *Guienne*. Thus it was that by a Treaty, *France* acquir'd to theſe two Provinces a Right which *ſhe* had not before, but by Force of Arms. But the Kings of *England*, Succeſſors to *Henry* III. did not think themſelves bound by a Treaty made at ſuch a Juncture.

Act. Pub. I. p. 675.

The 24 forbid ſending to Foreigners the Incomes of their Benefices.

Whilſt the King was in *France*, the *Four and Twenty* who govern'd *England*, thought it Time to reform a very great Grievance, which had been introduced by the King's exceſſive Complaiſance for the Court of *Rome*. This was the prodigious Number of *Italian Eccleſiaſticks* who were in Poſſeſſion of all the beſt Preferments in the Kingdom. Theſe Men, without ever reſiding on their Benefices, farm'd them out to private Perſons or Religious Houſes, who ſent the Revenues to them into *Italy*. By this Means, the Want of Money, which People long ſince complain'd of, daily increas'd. As a Remedy to this Evil, the Governours iſſued out a Proclamation enjoining all that farm'd the *Benefices* of *Foreigners* to pay the Revenues

into the Hands of certain Persons who were appointed to receive them, on Pain to the Offenders, of seeing their Houses raz'd to the Ground. By this Decree, *England* was freed for a Time from these *Italian Leaches*, who suck'd the best Blood of the Inhabitants. 1260.

Although the Barons had hitherto appear'd to hold very well together, a secret Disgust was forming in the Minds of some, caus'd by the too great Authority which the Earl of *Leicester* assum'd. Whether the Earl thought himself more capable, and more zealous than his Companions, or whether, as his Enemies charged him, his Ambition carried him to pave himself a Way to the Supreme Power, it is certain he usurp'd all the Authority committed to the *Four and Twenty*. He cou'd not continue to act Thus, without stirring up the Jealousy of his Collegues, and particularly of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who tried by Degrees to form a Party against him. He began at first with privately blaming his Conduct, and spreading a Report that he was in League with Prince *Edward* to place him on the Throne in his Father's Life-Time. This pretended Project having reach'd the King's Ears, who was then at St. *Omers*, he was so terrified at it, that he cou'd not think of returning to *England* for fear of being clapt up in Prison, or perhaps of something worse. He had been told that the Prince his Son had form'd the Design of taking the Government into his Hands, and obstructing his Return, or, in Case that cou'd not be done, to imprison him for Life. But *Edward* found means to clear himself so fully and in such submissive Terms, that he entirely wiped out all Suspicion in the King his Father. He even offer'd to submit to the Judgment of the King of the *Romans* his Uncle, being unwilling to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Barons of the Realm, whom he did not look upon as his *Peers*. But he had no farther Occasion to prove his Innocence. *Henry*, at his Return, seem'd perfectly well satisfied of it. The Earl of *Gloceſter* finding these indirect Ways did him more Hurt than Good, directly attack'd the Earl of *Leiceſter*, accusing him of many Misdemeanours

The Earl of Gloceſter *jealous of the Earl of* Leiceſter. M. West. *p.* 54.

He raises a false Report of Prince Edward;

who clears himself.

Gloceſter *directly accuses* Leiceſter;

1260. nours committed as well in *Guienne* as in *England*. Upon this Foundation, he demanded that a Day ſhou'd be fix'd to hear the Accuſation he had to produce againſt him. However, on the Day appointed, ſeeing the Earl of *Leiceſter* boldly appear'd to make his Defence, he was afraid to proceed, either for want of Evidence, or leaſt his Adverſary's Party ſhou'd be too ſtrong. Accordingly pretending ſome of his Witneſſes were abſent, he deſir'd the Affair might be further adjourn'd. This Quarrel might have been attended with fatal Conſequences, had not the King of the *Romans* interpos'd to put an End to it, and appeaſe the Prince his Nephew, who was exceedingly incens'd againſt the Earl of *Gloceſter*. He ſucceeded at length to the great Satisfaction of the *Engliſh*, who were apprehenſive that a *Civil* War was going to diſturb the Calm they began to enjoy. As ſoon as this Buſineſs was over, *Richard* ſet out for *Germany*, where he had ſome Hopes of being own'd for Emperor by all the Princes of the Empire. But having ſoon perceiv'd, that it was not in his Power to diſpel the *Factions* which the *Germans* were divided into, he dropp'd this Project, and return'd back to *England*. Here he found the King and Queen of *Scotland*, who were come to pay the King a Viſit. A few Days after arriv'd alſo *John de Dreuſe* Duke of *Bretaign*, in order to eſpouſe *Beatrice* the King's ſecond Daughter, ſo that the Court was very numerous. Although the Governours had no great Regard for the King's Perſon, they however did Honour to his Royalty, by receiving theſe illuſtrious Gueſts in a very magnificent Manner. But this was with little Satisfaction to *Henry*, who not having the Management of his Revenues, cou'd not value himſelf upon the good Reception which his Son-in-law met with at his own Court.

but drops his Accuſation.

The Breach made up by the King of the Romans, *who goes for* Germany, *and returns again.*

The King and Queen of Scotland *and Earl of* Bretaign *arrive.*

Henry *recalls the Biſhop of* Winchester, *who dies on the Road.*

Although *Henry* was a Prince of no very elevated *Genius*, he cou'd not however help being ſenſible of the Mortifications he daily receiv'd. He even ſought Means to free himſelf from the Yoke laid on him: But he had No-Body about him, whom he cou'd adviſe with. In this Perplexity he privately invited *Athelmar* his Brother, Biſhop

ſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was gone to *Rome* *, to return to *England*. He was in Hopes that his *Character* and the Pope's Protection wou'd ſcreen him from the Perſecutions of the Barons. The Biſhop was already on the Road for *England*, where he wou'd doubtleſs have caus'd great Diſturbances, had not Death ſeiz'd him at *Paris*. The Barons were overjoy'd at the News, becauſe by that Means they ſaw themſelves freed from no little Uneaſineſs. And indeed, they cou'd not have denied him Entrance into the Kingdom, as they were determin'd to do, without breaking entirely with the Pope. 1260.

The Pope abſolves the King from his Oath concerning the Oxford-Proviſions. M. Weſt. Act. Pub. I. T. 722.

This Accident hinder'd not the King from purſuing his Deſign of throwing off the Yoke of the Barons. The unexpected Breach between the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, which was only made up outwardly, putting him in Hopes of ſucceeding in his Project, he demanded of the Pope to *abſolve* him from the Oath he had taken concerning the *Oxford-Proviſions*. *His Holineſs* readily granted him this Favour, it being no leſs his own than the King's Intereſt to get an Eſtabliſhment alter'd which was ſo prejudicial to him. But *Alexander* dying before the *Diſpenſation* cou'd be ſeal'd, he was forced to ſtay till the *Holy See* was fill'd again. *Urban* IV. who was promoted to the *Papal* Throne, being as compliant as his Predeceſſor, *Henry* was not long before he pull'd off the Mask. The Parliament being aſſembled at *London*, he ſuddenly repair'd thither without having acquainted any Perſon with it. Immediately he declar'd, that before he was made to ſign the *Oxford-Proviſions*, they had oblig'd themſelves to pay his Debts, and increaſe his Revenue, and ſince neither of theſe Articles had been perform'd, he did not look upon himſelf as bound to keep his Word. He added that his Intention was no longer to make uſe of the *Counſellors* which were impos'd upon him, and who treated him rather like a Slave than a King. After he had thus declar'd his

Urban IV. *Pope. p.* 741.

1261.

The King declares to the Parliament that he will no longer obſerve the Oxford-Proviſions *p.* 746. Paris.

* To get his Election to *Wincheſter* confirm'd, which was done, and alſo a Letter was ſent by the Pope to the King and Barons to intercede for his Re-admiſſion; but the Anſwer, printed in Dr. *Brady* againſt Mr. *Petyt*, was a flat Denial.

1261. *He retires to the* Tower, *and turns out all the Officers chosen by th.* 24.

his Mind, in a few Words, he retir'd to the *Tower*, the Governour whereof he gain'd to his Side, and seiz'd upon all the Money he found there. This first Step being made, he turn'd out by *Proclamation* all the Officers and Magistrates chosen by the *Four and Twenty*, and nominated others in their Room. In fine he shew'd by his whole Conduct that he was resolv'd to reign in the same independent Manner, which he had done before the Parliament of *Oxford*.

Edward *returns from* Paris.

Prince *Edward*, who was then at *Paris* *, having Notice of what had pass'd in *England*, return'd thither with all Speed, to endeavour to apply some Remedy to the Evils, which in all Appearance, wou'd quickly break out. He was well enough acquainted with the King his Father's Temper, to have Reason to fear, that he had taken this Step, without having concerted proper Measures; and his Fears in this Respect were not without Grounds. The Barons waited his Return with Impatience, as they were, assur'd that having a greater Insight into Things than the King, he wou'd apply himself warmly to prevent the Calamities impendent on the Kingdom. To prepare the Way for him, they had presented an *Address* to the King, wherein they desir'd him to observe his Oath, offering on their Part, to give up such Articles as shou'd be found to bear too hard upon him, in the *Oxford-Provisions*. *Henry*, pretending nothing cou'd be done till his Son's Arrival, had return'd no Answer to this Proposal, which by no Means squar'd with his Projects. He was no less impatient than the Barons, to see the Prince, in hopes that he wou'd strengthen his Party. But he was extremely surpriz'd, when he found that the Prince at his Return openly blam'd him for having broke his Word. He was like one Thunder-struck at this, which was follow'd by a still more fatal Blow. The Earls of *Leicester* and *Gloucester*, upon whose Dissention he had relied, were reconciled in good earnest, in order to divert the common Ruin

The Barons address the King, who returns no Answer.

Edward *blames his Father.*

The Earls of Gloucester *and* Leicester *unite, and threaten the King.*

* He was gone thither in Company with the Earl of *Bruges*' Son, and the two Sons of the Earl of *Leicester* (whom the King had knighted) to be present at a Great *Tournament*. *T. Wikes.*

and ſwore once more to the *Oxford-Proviſions*. The Barons Party being conſiderably ſtrengthned by this Union, they ſent the King word, that if he wou'd not of his own accord remove from about his Perſon all *Evil Counſellors*, they wou'd find Means to make him to do it by Force. This weak Prince, who had raſhly engag'd in a Buſineſs, in which he ſaw he cou'd not come off honourably, choſe to return them no Anſwer. In the mean time he kept himſelf ſhut up in the *Tower*, from whence he durſt not ſtir, for fear of being delivered into their Hands. 1261.

An Accommodation ſet on Foot.

In this ill Poſture of Affairs, he ſaw no other Courſe to take, but to treat of an Accommodation with the Barons. He perceiv'd that his Condition wou'd be but worſe, if he perſiſted in vain to proſecute his Deſign. Matters even ſeem'd to be in a good way by the *Conceſſions* of Both Parties. But this Proſpect laſted not long. *Henry* thinking to make his Cauſe better, by means of the Pope's Authority, gave Occaſion, to make the Breach wider, by unadviſedly ſhewing the *Bull* whereby he was abſolv'd from his Oath. The Diſcovery of this *Secret*, which he ought to have kept conceal'd, at ſuch a Juncture, did him an irreparable Damage. The Barons, who till then were in hopes they ſhou'd be able to bring him to equitable Terms, reſolv'd to keep no longer any Meaſures. They plainly ſaw they cou'd have no Dependance upon an Accommodation, to which the moſt ſolemn Oaths cou'd give no manner of Force. Purſuant to this Reſolution, they form'd the Deſign of ſurprizing the King in *Winchester*, whither he was gone upon the Hopes, that the Negotiation on foot wou'd have a good Iſſue. But *Henry* having receiv'd timely Notice, retir'd again to the *Tower*. As ſoon as he found he was ſafe, his firſt Care was to ſend into all the *Counties*, orders to turn out the *Sheriffs* appointed by the *Four and Twenty*; the which produced a general Confuſion over the whole Kingdom. Some were willing to obey the *Sheriffs* nominated by the King, whilſt others refus'd to acknowledge them *. In

The King breaks it off by his Indiſcretion.

They try to ſurpriſe him.

*The *Writs* or *Letters* iſſu'd out by the King on this Occaſion are

1261. *The* Cinque-Ports *declare against the King.*

In the mean time, the Barons, continuing to take Measures to oppose the King's Designs, had prevail'd with the Governours of the *Cinque-Ports*, to fit out a Fleet to guard the Coasts, least he shou'd receive any Succours from some *Foreign* Prince. The *Cinque-Ports* were oblig'd by their *Charter* to equip fifty Men of War whenever the King's *Service* requir'd it. Upon this Occasion, the *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports*, interpreting the King's *Service* by *That* of the Kingdom, pretended to serve the King by making use of their Forces against him. This Maxim will not appear very strange, when 'tis consider'd, that in *England* the *King* and *State* have all along been look'd upon as making but *One* and *the same* Body. Upon this Foundation 'tis affirm'd, that when the King comes to separate his Interests from those of the *Publick*, he loses his *Prerogatives*, which are rather the *Prerogatives* of the *Crown*, than of the *Person* of the Sovereign.

1262. *The King promises to confirm the* Oxford-Provisions.

Every thing manifestly tended to a *Civil* War. But the Fear that the Adherents to both Parties were in of making their Condition worse, suspended the Effects of the Animosity which they mutually bore one another. Whilst the King and the Barons were equally desirous of avoiding the Blame of having begun the War, the King of the *Romans* took the Advantage of this Disposition, in order to try to procure a lasting Peace. His Mediation being accepted, he found means to get the King his Brother to promise that he wou'd confirm the *Oxford-Provisions*, and the Barons to yield up such Articles as were most displeasing to the King. In all appearance the *Four and Twenty*, were then depriv'd of their Authority, which is the more likely because, from the Beginning of the Troubles, it was

upon *Record*, and printed in Dr. *Brady*'s *Appendix*, N. 205. The Substance of them was;

That the Barons not having perform'd their Part of the *Oxford-Provisions*, he had got himself absolv'd by the Pope from his Oath to observe them. That he was ready to do Justice to all Men in his *Courts* and to keep the Articles of the *Great Charter* and *Charter of Forests*; which the *Sheriffs* were order'd to proclaim in all Places, &c.

was not generally acknowledg'd. The Earl of *Leiceſter* refus'd to conſent to this Accommodation, and choſe to retire into *France*. He ſaid that he durſt not rely on the word of a Prince, who made no ſcruple to break his Oath, when he found it for his Intereſt. Among the Barons who ſign'd this Agreement, there were ſeveral that were no leſs diſſatisfied with it. But as the *Majority* had given their Conſent, they choſe rather to join with them than give a Handle to be accus'd of being the ſole Cauſe of the Troubles. By this Treaty, *England* ſeem'd to be reſtor'd to its former Tranquillity. But the Fire which lay conceal'd under the Cinders, was not long before it kindled afreſh and burſt out into new Flames. 1262. Leiceſter *retires into* France.

During this Calm which *Henry* flatter'd himſelf wou'd be of long continuance, the Affairs of *Guienne* oblig'd him to go over to *Bourdeaux*, where falling ill of a *Quartan Ague*, he ſtay'd longer than he deſign'd. *Richard* Earl of *Gloceſter* dying in the mean while, *Gilbert* his Son immediately repair'd to *Guienne*, to be inveſted with the Inheritance of the Earl his Father. *Henry* having no kindneſs for that Lord, was ſollicited a good while before he wou'd do him that Juſtice. And it was not till after he receiv'd a conſiderable Preſent, that he ſent him away ſatisfied. Henry *paſſes over into* Guienne. Gloceſter *dies, and is ſucceeded by his Son.*

The King's Abſence furniſh'd *Leiceſter*'s Friends with an Opportunity to renew their Cabals, and unite the Party which the late Treaty had divided. They compaſs'd their Ends the more eaſily as the King gave the Barons a plauſible Pretence to complain, by delaying to confirm the *Oxford Proviſions*. As ſoon as the Earl of *Leiceſter* was inform'd that the Party began to hold up their Heads, he return'd forthwith into *England* where his Preſence entirely reſtored the Courage of thoſe who, out of Fear or weakneſs had ſign'd the Agreement. Upon News of this, the King came over in great Haſte; but it was now too late. The Barons had reſolv'd to put themſelves in a condition not to fear any thing from his Inconſtancy. Immediately after his Return, they preſented an *Addreſs* to him, wherein they call'd upon him to confirm the *Sta-* *The Party of the Barons unite.* Leiceſter *returns, and the King likewiſe.* 1263. *The Barons preſent an Addreſs.*

1263. *tutes* of *Oxford*, pursuant to his Agreement, threatning, in case of Refusal, to take such Measures as wou'd not be at all pleasing to him. They were in hopes that Fear wou'd oblige him to grant their Demand; and it was a great Surprize to them to find themselves call'd Rebels and threatned with the severest Punishments. It will doubtless seem strange, that the King, in the State he was in, shou'd behave thus haughtily. But he had a private Reason for it, unknown to the Barons. During his Voyage to *Guienne*, he had gain'd the King of the *Romans* and Prince *Edward*. The Last had already rais'd some Foreign Troops, under Pretence of employing them against the *Welsh*; but indeed, with design to use them against the Barons. The War however did not break out so soon. There were still some Negotiations, but which serv'd only to render the Breach the wider, and to give the Barons time to prepare themselves. During this Interval, *Edward* went and carried the War into *Wales*; where however he did nothing considerable, for want of Money to pay his Troops. In the Situation the Prince was in, not being able to resolve to disband his Army, and yet having not wherewithal to satify the Soldiers, he thought he might take some extraordinary Method to get the Money, he stood so much in Need of. On a sudden he came to *London*, and without having communicated his Design to any Body, he led himself a Company of armed Men to *the new Temple*, and took out of the Treasury of the *Templars* ten thousand pounds *Sterling*, which the Citizens had deposited there. This violent Action rais'd loud Murmurings among the Parties concern'd: but their Complaints were to no Purpose. The Prince had already caus'd the Money to be convey'd to *Windsor-Castle*, from whence it wou'd be too difficult a Matter to take it by Force.

The King threatens them.

He gains his Son Edward *and the King of the* Romans.

Edward *takes* 100000*l. from the Templars by Force.*

Urban *threatens* Henry *to give* Sicily *to another.* Act. Pub. I. *p.* 769.

Whilst these things were transacting in *England*, *Urban* IV. took with regard to *Sicily* new Measures, with which he never minded to acquaint *Henry*. The Revolution which had happen'd in *England*, causing him to consider that Kingdom as a Fund already exhausted, he had turn'd

turn'd to *France*, and was enter'd into a Negotiation with *Charles* Earl of *Anjou*, in order to place that Prince on the Throne of *Sicily*. To prepare *Henry* for this Change, he wrote him a long Letter, wherein, after having upbraided him with all that *the Holy See* had done for him, he complain'd of his not having perform'd what he had promis'd. In fine, he gave him to understand, he shou'd be forced to seek, in another Prince, for speedier and more effectual Succours. 1263.

Beginning of the Barons-Wars.

In the mean time the Negotiation between the King and Barons was still kept on Foot: But it went on very slowly, both Parties having no other Design but reciprocally to lay upon one another the Blame of the Rupture. At length the Earl of *Leicester*, fearing that all these Delays wou'd tend only to corrupt his Adherents, conveen'd an Assembly of the Barons, wherein it was unanimously resolv'd to maintain the *Oxford-Provisions* by Force of Arms. This Resolution being taken, they chose the Earl of *Leicester* for General, and each went and drew together the Troops which had been already prepar'd beforehand, in the Uncertainty every one was in, as to the success of the Negotiation. The *Foreigners*, dispers'd about the Kingdom, were the first that felt the fatal Effects of this Rupture. The People were so exasperated against them, that, without distinguishing the *Innocent* from the *Guilty*, they persecuted all alike that cou'd not speak good *English*, that alone being sufficient to render them odious. On the other hand, the Earl of *Leicester* plunder'd without Mercy the Estates of the King's Favorites and Counsellors, and publickly declar'd that he wou'd hearken to no Proposals of Peace, till they were all entirely destroy'd *. As the King had no Army with which he cou'd make head against the Barons, he still kept himself shut up in the *Tower of London*, whilst the Barons became Masters of *Gloucester*, *Hereford*, *Bridgnorth*, *Worcester* and other Places near the *Severn*.

Leicester *chosen General.*

Foreigners ill treated.

* The Storm fell most upon *John Mansel* and *Robert Waleran*, who were thought to be the King's chief Advisers, not to come to an Agreement. And likewise on *Simon de Walton*, Bishop of *Norwich*, who with *Mansel* had publish'd the Pope's *Bull* to absolve *Henry* from his Oath to the *Oxford-Provisions*. A. S. A.

1263. London *declares for the Barons.*

vern. These Conquests were follow'd with the Declaration of the City of *London* in their Favour. The *Londoners* eagerly embracing the Opportunity of being reveng'd of the King, sent him word, that they had resolv'd to stand by the *Oxford-Provisions*, and to shut their Gates against Foreigners, in case he shou'd think of bringing any into the City.

The Barons present an Address to the King.

Altho' these happy Beginnings gave the Barons great Reason to hope well of their Enterprize, they were of Opinion, that to gain the People still more to their Side, it was necessary to make appear, that they had taken up Arms with Regret, and were ready to lay them down with Joy. With this View, they presented to the King a *Petition* drawn up in very respectful Terms, wherein they offer'd to consent that a free Parliament shou'd review the *Oxford-Provisions*, and annull such Articles as were found too prejudicial to the Royal Authority. But at the same time, they demanded, that the King shou'd confirm the rest, and that the *State* shou'd be govern'd by the Natives of the Kingdom, as was practis'd in all other Countries. This *Petition* had no manner of Effect upon the King, who, though block'd up as it were in the *Tower*, expected every moment that the Prince his Son wou'd come and relieve him. This was what the Barons fear'd, and therefore to prevent the Designs of *Edward*, they had posted themselves at *Thistleworth*, through which place he must necessarily pass in order to go and succour the King. This Precaution of the Barons caus'd the King to alter his Resolutions. As he was almost out of hopes of being reliev'd, he found himself oblig'd to send them word, that he wou'd confirm the *Provisions* of *Oxford*. This was all the Barons wanted; so that it was no hard Matter to agree upon a Treaty which contain'd four main Articles, namely, I. That the Castles and Strong-Holds shou'd be put into the Hands of the Barons. II. That the *Provisions* of *Oxford* shou'd be inviolably observ'd. III. That all Foreigners except such as shou'd be allow'd of by the unanimous Consent of the Barons, shou'd be baniſh'd the Realm. IV. That the Administration of

Henry *agrees to a Treaty.*

Articles of the Treaty. M. West. W. Rish.

Affairs

Affairs ſhou'd be committed to the King's natural Subjects, approv'd of by the Barons. 1263.

This Agreement wou'd have reſtor'd Peace to the Kingdom, had the King conſented to it, with Deſign to perform it. But as his ſole View had been to free himſelf from the troubleſome State he was in, it was not long before he broke it. The Inſolence of ſome of the Citizens of *London* did not a little contribute to his taking this Reſolution. One day as the Queen was going by Water to *Windſor*, the *Mob*, juſt as ſhe was about to ſhoot the Bridge, houted at her in a manner very mortifying for a Queen. They not only ſet upon her by foul Reproaches, but ſome were ſo brutiſh as to caſt Dirt and Stones at her *. The King was extremely incens'd at this Inſult, and it ſerv'd to confirm him in the Reſolution he had already taken, of making a vigorous Effort for the Recovery of his Authority. He began therefore to ſtore with Arms and Proviſions the Caſtles that were ſtill in his Power, and by that Proceeding, he let the Barons plainly ſee that it was their Buſineſs to be upon their Guard.

The Queen inſulted by the Mob. M. Weſt.

Henry *reſolves to exert himſelf.*

Matters ſtanding thus, it was hard to ſay whether the Kingdom was at Peace or at War. Though Hoſtilities were not yet begun, the Diſtruſt on both Sides was ſo great, that they look'd upon one another as real Enemies, each Party being ready to take what Advantages ſhou'd offer. During this State of uncertainty, Prince *Edward* thought it neceſſary to lay in Proviſions in *Briſtol-Caſtle*, of which the King his Father had entruſted him with the Cuſtody. To that End, he came to *Briſtol* and wou'd have oblig'd the Citizens to find him what Proviſions he wanted. In the Temper People were in at that time, this Demand, made it may be a little too haughtily, rais'd a Sedition among the Townſmen, which forc'd the Prince to retire haſtily into the Caſtle. He was no ſooner there, but the Inhabitants reſolved to beſiege him, or at leaſt, to keep him ſo

Prince Edward *block'd up in* Briſtol-Caſtle *by the Citizens.*

* *Matthew of Weſtminſter* ſays, ſhe was very much againſt the King's ſigning the late Treaty. This Inſult was the Cauſe of the loſs of the Battle of *Lewis* as will be ſeen hereafter.

1263. ſo cloſely block'd up that he ſhou'd not be able to eſcape, well-knowing that for want of Neceſſaries he cou'd not hold out long. This Reſolution threw *Edward* into a very great Streight. He got out of it however by a Device, which indeed freed him from the preſent Danger, but ſoon brought him into another, from whence he cou'd not ſo luckily diſengage himſelf. He ſent to deſire the Biſhop of *Worceſter* to come to him, and gave him to underſtand, that he intended to adhere to the Barons Side: but deſir'd firſt to talk with the King his Father, to try to prevail with him to give them entire Satisfaction: That not being able to perform his Intent, by Reaſon of his being thus block'd up, he intreated him to become *Security* for him, and to accompany him to *London*, to be a Witneſs of his Conduct. The Biſhop being perſuaded of the Prince's Sincerity, told the Citizens of *Briſtol*, that it wou'd be for the Good of the *common Cauſe* to let *Edward* go, to which they conſented, and the Blockade was rais'd. Accordingly the Prince ſet out, in Company with the Biſhop, who did not at all queſtion but that his Journey wou'd have a good Effect. But when they were come near *Windſor*, *Edward* clapping Spurs to his Horſe, rid away from the Biſhop without taking leave of him, and went and ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle. However this Artifice did not turn ſo much to the Prince's Advantage as he expected. The Biſhop, nettled at being thus impos'd upon, went and carried his Complaints to the Barons, who reſolv'd forthwith to go and lay Siege to *Windſor*. This Caſtle was ſo ill provided with every Thing neceſſary for a good Defence, that *Edward* thought it not in his Power to ſtand a Siege. But on the other hand, he cou'd not reſolve to give it up. As he depended very much upon his Addreſs, he imagin'd that it wou'd not be impoſſible for him to amuſe the Barons by a Negotiation which wou'd leave him in Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle upon certain Terms, the Performance whereof wou'd be in his Power. With this View, he went himſelf to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was advancing towards *Windſor*. He met the General at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, where he held a Conference with him.

He gets off by a Device,

and ſhuts himſelf up in Windſor:

Is ſeiz'd at a Conference, and forced to deliver up the Caſtle.

him. But just as he was preparing to return, not having been able to agree upon Terms, his Person was seiz'd upon *, and by that Means he was forced to accept of what Conditions they thought fit to impose on him. He was requir'd to surrender the Castle of *Windsor* to the Barons, and to order the Garrison, which consisted wholly of Foreign Troops, to depart the Kingdom. 1263.

Truce between the King and Barons.

It seem'd as if the War was going to break out with greater Fury than ever, so much did the two Parties appear exasperated against one another. Nevertheless, as the King was in no great Readiness, and as it was the Barons Interest to let him begin the first Hostilities, in order to bring over the People to their Side, some Persons of a peaceable Disposition, took the Opportunity and procured a Truce, which was followed by a Peace on the same Conditions with the former. But this Treaty restor'd not Tranquillity to the Kingdom. As the King was forced to it, he soon broke it by endeavouring to surprize *Dover-Castle*, then in the Hands of the Barons. This Attempt having oblig'd both Parties to take Arms again, every one tried to strengthen his Party by seizing several Places. The *Londoners*, tho' inclin'd to the Barons, were however oblig'd to keep a Sort of Neutrality, because they had already experienced how much it was in the Power of the Garrison of the *Tower*, which was all along in the King's Hands, to annoy them. Besides *Henry* had still in the City a good Number of Adherents, which were a Check upon the opposite Party. In the mean time, the Earl of *Leicester*, considering of what Importance it wou'd be to him to have the *Metropolis* on his Side, march'd towards it thro' the County of *Surry* situated Southward of the *Thames*, in hopes that his Friends wou'd be able to open to him the Gates of the Bridge. But the King having had Notice of his Design, left the *Tower* and went and encamp'd with his Troops near *Southwark*, resolutely bent to dispute the Passage with the Enemy. The Earl of *Leicester*, who rely'd more on the Assistance of the Citizens than on his own Forces, vigorously attack'd the King's Troops,

The King begins Hostilities.

The Earl of Leicester *wants to be Master of* London.

Skirmish in Southwark.

* By the Advice of the Bishop of *Worcester*. M. West.

1263. in Expectation that the *Londoners* wou'd favour his Paſſage. During the Fight, ſome Citizens of the King's Party, perceiving that the City was in Motion to aſſiſt the Earl, lock'd up the Bridge-Gate, and threw the Keys into the River *. This Contrivance had like to have prov'd fatal to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was for ſome Time very hard put to it, having brought with him but few Soldiers, for fear his Deſign ſhou'd be diſcover'd. But at length the Gates being broke open, and the Citizens ſallying out in Crouds to ſuccour the Barons Troops, the King was fain to retire, and the Earl enter'd the City.

The Earl enters the City.

1264. The Advantage, the Barons had gain'd, was attended with the uſual Effect, that is, the King made them Propoſals of an Accommodation. But as all the Treaties, which had been concluded hitherto, were to no Purpoſe, becauſe the King complain'd of being forced to accept of too rigorous Terms, which the Barons wou'd never own, it was agreed on both Sides, to refer all their Differences to the Arbitration of the King of *France*. *Lewis* having accepted the Mediation, *Henry* attended by Prince *Edward* went to him at *Amiens*, where the *States* General were aſſembled. The Sentence, *Lewis* pronounced upon theſe Differences, was favourable to *Henry*. He declared that the *Proviſions* of *Oxford* ſhou'd be null and void; that the King ſhou'd be reſtor'd to his antient Power; that he ſhou'd have Liberty to nominate himſelf all the *Great Officers* of the Crown; that *Foreigners* ſhou'd be as capable of Offices and Dignities as the *Engliſh* themſelves. But he added one *Clauſe* which deſtroy'd the whole, by declaring *that it was not his Intent to abrogate the Privileges granted to the* Engliſh *by their Kings before the Parliament of* Oxford (*a**.) The Barons look'd

The King and Barons refer their Differences to the King of France.

Lewis's *Sentence.* Act Pub. I. *p.* 776.

* The chief Contriver of this Deſign was one *John Giſors* a *Norman* by Birth. *M. Weſt.*

(*a*) *Nolumus autem, nec intendimus derogare per præſentem ordinationem in aliquo Regiis Privilegiis, Chartis, Libertatibus, Statutis, & laudabilibus conſuetudinibus Regni Angliæ, quæ erant ante tempus Proviſionum ipſarum.* * This *Award* (which you may ſee at large

look'd upon this *Clauſe* as a manifeſt Contradiction to the reſt, becauſe they pretended that the *Proviſions* of *Oxford* were enacted only to corroborate their Privileges. This furniſh'd them with a Pretence not to ſtand to the *Arbitration*, and gave them a Handle to renew the War. 1264. *rejected by the Barons.*

The Account of what paſs'd between the two Parties, till the famous Battle of *Lewes*, is clogg'd with ſo many confus'd Circumſtances for ſuch as know not the Situation of the Places where the War was wag'd, that it cannot but be very dull and tedious. It will be better to haſten to that remarkable Event which put an End to the Quarrel in Favour of the Barons. I ſhall only obſerve, that during the Time between the renewing of the War and that Battle, *Henry* gain'd ſeveral Advantages over the Barons; and alſo by Means of the Prince his Son, and of the King of the *Romans*, got over to his Side many of them, who conſiderably ſtrengthen'd his Party. Moreover he became Maſter of *Oxford*, from whence he expell'd the *Scholars*, becauſe they had ſhewn too much Partiality for the Barons. The Town of *Northampton* was taken by Storm by the King's Troops, where fifteen Barons and ſixty Knights were made Priſoners *. The King was like to have hang'd them all; but the Advice of his Generals and Fear of Repriſals, diverted him from carrying Things to that Extremity. The taking of *Northampton* was follow'd by That of *Nottingham*. Then the King march'd into *Kent*, where he conſtrain'd the Barons to raiſe the Siege of *Rocheſter* and retire to *London*. *The War renew'd.* *The King gain ſeveral Advantages.*

in *Tyrrel*'s *Appendix* N. 7.) bears Date *Feb.* 3. 1263, in Father *Dacherie*'s *Spicilegium*, becauſe the *French* began not their Year till our *Lady-day*, whereas according to the Accounts of all our former Hiſtorians, the Year began on *Chriſtmas-day*, and ſo the *Sentence* is dated, as here in *Rapin*, in 1264

*Beſides *Peter Monfort* the Earl's Couſin, and alſo *Simon Monfort* his ſecond Son, whoſe Horſe, as he was riding too near the Breach, ſtarted at ſomething, and ran headlong through the Ruins of the Wall down into the Ditch, whence the Rider narrowly eſcap'd breaking his Neck, but was taken up by the King's Soldiers. *Wikes.*

1264. *He approaches* London;

The King's Mind was equally liable to the Impreſſions of Preſumption and Fear, according to the Poſture his Affairs were in. Fluſh'd with the Succeſs his Arms had hitherto been crown'd with, he reſolv'd to march directly to *London*. He did not queſtion but that the City, diſpirited at the Advantages he had lately gain'd, wou'd declare in his Favour. Perhaps his Hopes wou'd not have been ill-grounded, if ſince his ſitting on the Throne, he had treated the Citizens of his Metropolis more civilly. But the Remembrance of the Ill-Uſage they had receiv'd at his Hands, prevented them from expoſing themſelves to the Like again. The Earl of *Leiceſter* having taken Occaſion from the King's Approach to exaſperate them againſt him, managed it ſo dextrouſly, that he brought them to a Reſolution of going out of the City in order to give him Battle. *Henry* was ſurpriz'd at this, and being unwilling to hazard a Battle with them juſt at their own Gates, march'd further off, and went and encamp'd at *Lewes* in the County of *Suſſex*.

retires to Lewes.

In the mean Time, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with the confederate Barons, having reinforced their Army with a ſtrong Body of *Londoners*, marched out of the City in purſuit of the King, with Deſign to end the Quarrel by one deciſive Battle. Purſuant to this Reſolution, they advanced towards *Lewes*, and encamp'd about ſix Miles from the King's Army. This they did to try whether there might be ſtill any Means left to reſtore Peace to the Kingdom. It may be, they really wiſh'd it, or elſe it was only to clear themſelves from the Blame of what ſhou'd follow in Caſe the King refus'd to comply with reaſonable Terms. Before they approached any nearer, they ſent the King Word *, *that* they had taken Arms not to withdraw themſelves from their Allegiance to him, but purely to reform what was amiſs in the Government; *that* they humbly beſought him to join with them in that Work, proteſting that he ſhou'd find them as faithful as Thoſe who,

The Earl of Leiceſter *follows him, and preſents a Petition,*

under

* In a very reſpectful Letter, ſeal'd by *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter* the Requeſt of the Reſt. *M. Weſt.*

under Colour of ſerving him, ſought only his Ruin, by endeavouring to ſet him againſt his moſt dutiful Subjects, by their infamous Calumnies. How reſpectful ſoever this *Petition* might be, it touch'd Thoſe about the King too much to the Quick to be receiv'd with Moderation. The King of the *Romans* and Prince *Edward* were ſo offended at it, that they anſwer'd it with the *Lie*, *Defiance*, and *Threats*, and prevail'd with the King to ſend much the ſame Reply *. If it be true, as it is not unlikely, that the Barons had made this Step only to clear themſelves from Blame, they were not ſorry that ſo plauſible a Pretence was given them to puſh Things to Extremity. Accordingly, throwing off all Regard for the King, they ſent him word that they renounced their Allegiance to him, and that they look'd upon him as an Enemy to the *State* *1.

1264. *which is haughtily rejected.*

They renounce their Fealty.

All hopes of an Accommodation being loſt, by the Animoſity of both Parties, nothing was thought of but a Battle. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, having advanced with his Army, drew it up in order of Battle juſt by the King's, who was preparing to receive him. The royal Army was divided into three Bodies, of which that on the Right was commanded by Prince *Edward* *2, the King of the *Romans* was on the Left *3, and *Henry* himſelf headed the main Body. The Barons Army was divided into four Bodies.

Battle of Lewes. M. Weſt. T. Wikes.

* In his Anſwer dated the 12th of *May* 1264 at *Lewes*, he ſays, 'That not himſelf but they were indeed the Cauſe of all the War, Deſtruction, Rapine, and Miſery which had befallen the Nation; that their Intentions were not according to their Profeſſions, nor their Actions agreeable to their Pretences, and therefore he defied them.' The King of the *Romans* Letter bears the ſame *Date*. *M. Weſt.*

*1 But this was not till they had interceeded by *Henry* Biſhop of *London*, and *Walter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, for Peace to the King, and offer'd thirty thouſand Pounds in Conſideration of the Damages done by them in the Kingdom, yet ſo that the *Proviſions* of *Oxford* might ſtand good.

*2 Together with *William de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke* his Uncle, *John* Earl of *Warren* and *Surry*.

*3 With his Son *Henry*. The King's Standard was then a *Dragon*.

1264. Bodies. The first was led by *Henry de Monfort* Son to the General *. The Earl of *Gloceſter* *¹ commanded the Second. The Third was headed by the Earl of *Leiceſter*. The Fourth, conſiſting of the *Londoners*, was on the Left, commanded by *Nicholas Segrave*. The two Armies being thus drawn up, Prince *Edward* began the Fight with attacking the *Londoners*, who not being able to ſtand againſt ſo vigorous a Charge, immediately took to their Heels. As the Prince, ſpurr'd on with a Deſire of revenging the Affront done the Queen his Mother by the *London-Mob*, purſu'd them above four Miles without giving them any Quarter: But this Revenge cost him dear. Whilſt he purſu'd his Victory, with more Eagerneſs than Diſcretion, the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter* had gain'd the ſame Advantage over *Henry* and the King of the *Romans*. The Barons being very ſenſible what their Lot wou'd be in Caſe they ſhou'd be vanquiſh'd, attack'd with a Fury mixt with Deſpair, the Royal Troops, who had not the ſame Reaſons to fight with that Animoſity. Accordingly they ran away, after a ſlight Defence, leaving the two Kings in the Hands of their Enemies. *Henry* having ſurrender'd himſelf to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and *Richard*, to the Earl of *Gloceſter*, were preſently conducted to the *Priory* of *Lewes*, ſituated at the Foot of a Caſtle of the ſame Name, which was kept by ſome of the King's Troops. It was towards this Place, that the Soldiers of the Royal Army took their Flight, in order to retire into the Caſtle. But when they ſaw that the Town was already in the Power of the Barons, that the two Kings were made Priſoners, and that, in all Appearance, they were going to be hemm'd in on all Sides, they threw down their Arms, and ſurrender'd at Diſcretion *.

Edward *beats the* Londoners, *and purſues too far.*

Henry *and the King of the* Romans *made Priſoners.*

In the mean Time, Prince *Edward*, who was returning in Triumph from the Purſuit, was extremely ſurpriz'd, to ſee the Royal Army diſpers'd, and to hear that the two Kings

Edward *returning from the Purſuit ſuffers himſelf to be amus'd by* Leiceſter.

* And the Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*.

*¹ *Gilbert de Clare*, with *John Fitz-John* and *William de Mon-camis*. * This Battle was fought on the 14th of *May*. *M. West.* *T. Wikes.*

Kings were made Priſoners. His firſt Thoughts were to exert his utmoſt to ſet them at Liberty. If this Reſolution cou'd have been put in Execution immediately, Matters wou'd infallibly have taken a new Turn. The Victors, employ'd in guarding their Priſoners, or diſpers'd up and down the Field in Purſuit of the flying Enemy, wou'd have been hard put to it to withſtand a vigorous Attack. But the Prince's Soldiers, diſmay'd at the Defeat of the reſt of the Army, and the taking of the two Kings, ſhow'd no Inclination to renew a Fight which to them ſeem'd too unequal. This Fear, which all *Edward*'s Sollicitations cou'd not remove, made him loſe ſo fair an Opportunity, wherein, very probably, he wou'd have gain'd a great deal of Glory. In the mean time the Earl of *Leiceſter* drew his Army together again with all poſſible Expedition. At firſt, he thought only of ſtanding upon his Defence, juſtly dreading to be attack'd in the Diſorder he was in. But when he ſaw that they gave him time to rally his Troops, he had no other Concern upon him but how to hinder the Prince from eſcaping. With this View, he ſent him Propoſals, in order to amuſe him, whilſt by ſeveral Detachments he took care to prevent his Retreat. 1264.

He can neither fight nor retreat.

The Uncertainty *Edward* was at firſt in, about what Courſe he ſhou'd take, the Oppoſition he met with from his own Troops, the Time he ſpent in trying to animate them, and the ſeveral Meſſages which the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſent to amuſe him, were the Cauſe of his loſing ſo many precious Hours, which ſhou'd have been laid out either in Fighting, or in Retreating in good Order. But having done neither, he found himſelf on a ſudden ſurrounded on all Sides, and under a Neceſſity of accepting Conditions which appear'd tolerable in the ill Situation he was in. This Negotiation, which laſted but a few Moments, was ended by theſe Articles of Agreement: *That* the *Statutes* of *Oxford*, ſhou'd be inviolably obſerv'd; but however in ſuch a Manner that they might be amended by four Biſhops or Barons choſen by the Parliament: And if it ſhou'd happen that theſe four Commiſſioners ſhou'd not agree, they were to ſtand to the Arbitration of the Earl of *Anjou*,

Accepts of hard Terms

Annals of London.

1264. *Anjou*, Brother to the King of *France*, assisted by four *French* Noblemen. Hitherto all went well for the Prince; but the last Article was the worst. This was, that he himself and *Henry* his Cousin, Son to the King of the *Romans*, shou'd remain as Hostages, in the Custody of the Barons, till all Matters were settled by Authority of Parliament. How hard soever this last Article might be, *Edward*, who saw there was no Remedy, was fain to consent to it. These Articles, called the *Mise*, that is to say, *the Agreement of* Lewes, were sign'd by *Edward*, and confirm'd by the King, who was not in a Condition to reject them.

The Mise *of* Lewes

Leicester *makes use of the King's Name against the King himself.*

The Earl of *Leicester*, having the King and almost all the Royal Family in his Power, took all the Advantages from thence, that his Politicks cou'd suggest to him. He who a little before made no Scruple to disobey the King, on Pretence that he was directed by evil Counsellors, made use only of this Monarch's Name, since he had him in his Hands. He made him send Orders to the Governours of his Castles to surrender them to the Barons. He caus'd him to sign Commissions to the *Sheriffs* of the several *Counties*, impowering them to take up Arms against all those that shou'd dare to disturb the *State*, that is, against the King's own Friends. In fine, he who had involv'd the King in so much Trouble purely to curb the exorbitant Power he wou'd have assum'd, took it very ill that this same King when guided wholly by his Counsels, was not blindly obey'd. Thus it is that Men alter their Principles and Maxims according to their Interests, and according as their Affairs come to have a new Face. But these are Reflections which wou'd too frequently occur, shou'd we stay to make them every Time there was Occasion.

The Barons form a new Plan of Government.

M. West.

As the Barons had no other View in the Agreement of *Lewes*, but to secure the Person of Prince *Edward*, they did not much trouble themselves about performing the Articles. On the contrary, they drew up a new Plan of Government, and resolv'd to get it confirm'd by the Parliament which was to meet on the 22d of *June*. The

Posture

Posture of the Affairs of the Kingdom render'd the Calling of this Parliament liable to a great many Difficulties. Indeed it was done in the King's Name who cou'd not oppose it. But the Barons that had come off Conquerors, were not willing Those of the contrary Party shou'd be summon'd, under Pretence that they were still in Arms against their Country. On the other Side, a Parliament consisting but of Part of those who had a Right to sit there, seem'd to fall short of a lawful Authority. It might be objected, that it was only an Assembly of some private Persons. These Difficulties put the Barons upon contriving Means to make this Assembly more General, and to give it a greater Air of Authority. With this View they made the King sign Commissions, whereby were appointed, in each County, certain Officers or Magistrates who were stiled *Conservators*, on Pretence that they were design'd for preserving the Privileges of the People. These Officers, who depended wholly upon the Barons, were invested with very great Authority. Their Commission impower'd them to do whatsoever they shou'd judge proper to preserve entire the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects. This Step being taken, the King was made to sign new Orders, whereby the *Conservators* were commanded to nominate four *Knights* of each County to sit in the ensuing Parliament as Representatives of their respective *Shires*. From hence many affirm the Original of the Right of the *Commons* to sit in Parliament takes its Date. They maintain that this is the first Time, wherein it appears in a manner inconteſtable, that the several *Counties* sent Deputies to the Parliament: That all the Reasons alledged to prove that the *Commons* enjoy'd this Privilege before the Year 1264, are subject to so many Difficulties, that they can't be said to amount to a clear Evidence. It seems indeed, that one can't produce a good Reason which shou'd have induced the Historians to observe unanimously, that on this Occasion there were in the Parliament *Representatives* of each *County*, if the same Thing had been customary ever since the Beginning of the Monarchy, or at least, ever since the *Norman Conquest*.

1264.

To that Purpose a Parliament is summon'd.

Conservators *esta-bliſh'd.* Act. Pub. I. *p.* 802.

Four Knights of each Shire sit in Parliament.

Original of the Rights of the Commons. Brady.

1264. What is the Reaſon that they ſhou'd have neglected to make the ſame Remark on ſo many former Parliaments mention'd by them? It is certain that thoſe, who pretend to find in the antient Hiſtorians Proofs of the People ſending *Repreſentatives* to Parliament, are forced to deduce them from Conſequences which appear not always Juſt.

The Parliament approves of the Barons Plan.

The new Parliament made up in the manner above-mention'd, and being entirely at the Devotion of the *confederate* Barons, fail'd not to approve of the Plan which had been form'd. This Plan was, *that the Parliament ſhou'd appoint three wiſe and diſcreet Commiſſioners, who ſhou'd have Power to chuſe a Council of nine Lords, to whom the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs ſhou'd be committed. That the King by the Advice of the Commiſſioners, might change, when he pleas'd, Part of the nine Counſellors, or even all at once. That in caſe the three Commiſſioners ſhou'd not agree in changing or chuſing the Counſellors, the Majority ſhou'd carry it. That the Reſolutions taken by the nine Counſellors ſhou'd be in Force, provided they were conſented to by any ſix of them. But if it happen'd that they ſhou'd not be able to agree together, and that ſix of them ſhou'd not be of the ſame Opinion, the Buſineſs in Queſtion ſhou'd be brought to the three Commiſſioners, who ſhou'd determine it as they thought fit. That the King ſhou'd have it in his Power to change or turn out the three Commiſſioners, provided it was done with the Conſent of the Community of the Barons.* Laſtly, *that the Nomination of all the publick Officers ſhou'd belong to the Nine Counſellors.*

The King and Prince are forced to conſent to it.

This Ordinance was to take place, till the Parliament ſhou'd unanimouſly agree to annull or alter it. 'Tis pretended that the King and Prince *Edward* were compell'd to conſent to it, the firſt by being threatned with Deprivation, and the other with perpetual Impriſonment. So that, if they outwardly conſented, it was only with a Reſolution to recant, as ſoon as a favourable Opportunity offer'd. In the mean time the Barons continued to govern the Kingdom according to this Model, perſuading themſelves

ſelves that their Affairs were upon ſuch a Foot, as not to be eaſily ſhaken. 1264.

The Year before, *Urban* IV, had appointed for his *Legate* in *England*, Cardinal *Guido* Biſhop of St. *Sabine*. This *Legate* upon his Arrival in *France* had receiv'd a Letter from the Earl of *Leiceſter*, informing him that it was no proper time for this *Legateſhip*, and that neither the Great Men nor the People were diſpos'd to receive him. Though the *Legate* was extremely offended at this Refuſal, he durſt not however continue his Journey. Indeed, there was no Likelihood that he cou'd enter the Kingdom againſt the Conſent of thoſe who govern'd. Nevertheleſs he had proceeded as far as *Bologne*, where he had ſummon'd all the *Engliſh* Biſhops to appear and give an Account of their Conduct. The Biſhops not having thought fit to obey the Summons, he had thunder'd out againſt them the Sentence of *Excommunication*, from which they appeal'd to the Pope. At length, the Affairs of the Kingdom being ſettled according to the Barons Wiſh, they thought it neceſſary to give the *Legate* ſome Satisfaction. To that End, they ſent four Biſhops to acquaint him with their Reaſons for denying him Entrance into the Kingdom. Theſe Deputies found the *Legate* extremely incens'd againſt the Barons. For Anſwer they had Orders to return into *England*, publiſh the Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and put the City of *London* with all the Lands of the Earl of *Gloceſter* under an *Interdict*. The Biſhops having ſent Word to *England* of the Orders they had receiv'd from the *Legate*, were met at Sea by People, who pretending to be Pyrates, took away all their Papers and threw them overboard. This Procedure having made the *Legate* ſenſible, that it wou'd be a hard Matter to get his Maſter's Authority regarded at ſuch a Juncture, he return'd to *Rome*, where quickly after he was rais'd to the Papal Throne under the Name of *Clement* IV.

The Barons refuſe to receive a Legate. T. Wikes.

In the mean Time, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was at the Head of the Government, was in ſome Perplexity. The Queen was making great Preparation in *France* in order

Some Engliſh *Lords revolt againſt the Govern-*

1264. *ment of the Barons.* M. West. T. Wikes. Chr. Mailrose.

der to go and disengage the King her Spouse. On the other hand, the Insurrection of some Lords *, bordering upon *Wales*, made him uneasy. He was apprehensive that the *Welsh* wou'd intemeddle in the Quarrel and succour the King's Party. It was dangerous to leave the Coasts open to the Invasion of *Foreigners*, who, being then in *Flanders*, waited only for a fair Wind to embark. But it was no less inconvenient to suffer the Insurrection, which began to appear in the Counties adjoining to *Wales*, to grow to too great a Head. To prevent these Dangers, he resolv'd to go in Person against the Rebels, whilst he order'd the *Militia* of the Kingdom to be drawn together to the County of *Kent* to oppose the Queen's Landing. His good Fortune freed him alike from both these Perils. After having gain'd to his Interests, *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, who might have given him some Trouble, he vanquish'd the Rebels, and compell'd them to throw down their Arms. He was no less fortunate with regard to the Invasion he was in dread of. The Wind continued so long contrary to the Foreign Troops which were on the other Side of the Water, that they were forced to return Home upon the Approach of Winter, without the Queen's being able to reap the least Benefit from the great Expence she had been at *1. All this while, the King remain'd in the Custody of the Earl of *Leicester*, who dispos'd of him just as he pleas'd, making him act against his own Interests, under Colour that it was for the Good of the Publick.

Leicester *reduces them.* *The Queen's Enterprize comes to nothing.*

The

* *Roger de Mortimer*, *James de Audley*, *Roger de Clifford*, *Roger de Leyburn*, *Haimo L' Estrange*, with some others who had made their Escape from the Battle of *Lewes*. M. West.

*1 *Matthew of Westminster* says, Queen *Eleanor* had got together a great Army, which was commanded by so many Dukes and Earls as seems incredible, and those who knew the Strength and Number of that Army affirm'd, that if they had once landed; they wou'd certainly have subdu'd the whole Kingdom. But God (says our Author) in his Mercy order'd it otherwise. So true an *Englishman* was this Author, though he appears highly concern'd for the King's Interest, that he did not think it safe for the Nation to have had the King restor'd by an Army of Foreigners.

The Barons, who had taken up Arms againſt the King, purely on account of the exceſſive Power which he wou'd have aſſum'd, cou'd not but behold with a jealous Eye that of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, which was no leſs abſolute. The Earl of *Gloceſter*, above all the reſt, was highly diſguſted at it. He look'd upon *Leiceſter* as a Man who was taking large Steps towards the Throne, under the ſpecious Pretence of the Publick Good. For this reaſon he was afraid, by lending a helping hand to his Riſe, of furniſhing him with Arms to his own, as well as to the Deſtruction of ſome others, who were no leſs jealous of his Greatneſs. The Diſgrace of [*Robert de Ferrars*] Earl of *Derby* gave him cauſe to make theſe Reflections. This Earl, who was no Friend to *Leiceſter*, had been ſent to the *Tower*, not ſo much for a Puniſhment of the Crime laid to his Charge, as for an Example to ſuch as ſhou'd dare to cenſure too openly the Conduct of the principal Governour. On the other hand, the Earl of *Gloceſter* fancied he ſaw in the cold and reſerv'd Behaviour of *Leiceſter* towards him, a ſecret Purpoſe to deſtroy him when an Opportunity ſhou'd offer. Not only he was no longer call'd to the private Councils, but had no ſhare in the Adminiſtration of Affairs but what cou'd not be denied to one of the greateſt *Peers* of the Realm. Theſe Reaſons, and more than all this, the Envy he had entertain'd at *Leiceſter*'s Greatneſs, carried him to countenance the Male-contents in the *Marches* of *Wales*, that he might make uſe of them to thwart the ambitious Views of him whom he look'd upon from thenceforward as his Enemy. The Cabals, which he openly carried on, having convinced *Leiceſter* that it was his Buſineſs to omit nothing in order to deſtroy the Deſigns of ſo dangerous an Enemy, he caus'd an order to be ſent to all thoſe that had lately taken up Arms againſt the *Eſtabliſhment*, to retire into *Ireland*. But they, inſtead of obeying, went into the Lands of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, where they met with Protection.

In the mean time, the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Enemies publiſh'd in all Places, that his rigorous Treatment of the King, and alſo of the King of the *Romans* and Prince *Edward*,

1265. Leiceſter *ſuſpected of aſpiring to the Crown.*

Gloceſter *turns againſt him.*

Leiceſter *ſeems willing to ſet* Edward *at Liberty.*

1265. *Edward*, was but too evident a Proof of his pernicious Designs. As these Reports began to produce Effects prejudicial to the Earl, he thought it necessary to efface these Impressions, by letting the People see that he was very far from forming the ambitious Projects which his Enemies aspers'd him with. To that Purpose, he summon'd a Parliament, and declar'd that the chief End of it was to consult about the Means to restore Prince *Edward* to Liberty. He intended by that to shew, that seeing he was willing to release the Heir to the Crown, it was very unlikely that he shou'd have those pernicious Views he was charg'd with. The calling of this Parliament was remarkable, for that each County was order'd to send, as their Representatives, two *Knights*, and each City and Borough two *Burgesses* *. The Assertors of the Antiquity of *the House of Commons* infer from hence that since the Historians observe not that it was a new Institution, it follows that it was a customary thing. Others, on the contrary, pretend, that if it had been usual, it wou'd have been needless to take notice of this Particular after having spoken of so many Parliaments, without making the like Remark. The Reader is left to chuse of these two Consequences that which to him shall appear the most natural.

A Parliament call'd to that End.

To which are summon'd two Knights *from each Shire, and two* Burgesses *from each Borrough.*

Remark on that account.

Edward *deliver'd to the King, who continues still a Prisoner.*

As soon as the Parliament was assembled, the Earl of *Leicester*, who had a Majority of *Votes* at his Beck, caus'd an Order to be pass'd that Prince *Edward* shou'd be set at liberty. But it was clog'd with such a Condition, as render'd the Favour of no use. This was, that he shou'd remain with the King his Father, and obey him in all things. This Condition was a plain Sign, that their only View was to blind the Eyes of the Publick. The Truth is,

* These *Writs* of Summons to the *Sheriffs* of the Counties to return *the Knights of the Shires* and *Burgesses*, are the First *Writs* of this Kind that are now extant on the *Rolls*, which made Dr. *Brady* infer that they were the First that were ever issued, and that this Parliament, in the 59th of *Henry* II, was the First to which *Knights of Shires*, and *Burgesses* were summon'd. But how truly see the Works of Mr. *Petit*, Mr. *Tyrrel*, and Mr. *Hody*.

is, to order that *Edward* ſhou'd be ſet at liberty, and that at the ſame time he ſhou'd continue with his Father who was himſelf a Priſoner, was no better than changing his Priſon, or at beſt but enlarging his Confinement. Purſuant to this Order the Prince was taken out of *Dover-Caſtle*, where he had been ſhut up ever ſince the Battle of *Lewes*, and delivered to the King, that is to ſay, to the Earl of *Leiceſter*. This is what they call'd ſetting him at Liberty. In the mean time *Henry* remain'd under the Cuſtody of *Leiceſter* who carried him about with him, and took all imaginable care to prevent his Priſoners from eſcaping out of his hands. 1265.

The Scene, which had juſt been acted, ſerv'd only to increaſe the Earl of *Gloceſter*'s Suſpicions, or rather fully to convince him that *Leiceſter* was paving his way to the Throne. He wou'd not however have broke out yet, if an Opportunity had not offer'd, wherein it wou'd have been dangerous to diſſemble. The two eldeſt Sons of the Earl of *Leiceſter* having proclaim'd a Tournament to which all the Nobles were invited, the Earl of *Gloceſter* did not think fit to be preſent. He was perſwaded that this was only a Device to draw him into ſome Snare. Whether his Suſpicions had any Foundation, or whether his Prejudice cauſed him to conſider them as plain Proofs, he openly confederated with the Lords of the *Marches* of *Wales*, enemies to *Leiceſter*, and fortified his Caſtles, as one preparing for War. This Proceeding having furniſh'd his enemies with a plauſible Pretence to ſtrike him home, a *Proclamation* was iſſued forthwith, declaring the Earl and his Adherents Traitors and Enemies to the *State*. Purſuant to this Declaration, *Leiceſter* put himſelf at the Head of an Army, in order to go and puniſh theſe pretended Enemies to the King. With this Deſign he march'd towards the *Severn*, and afterwards came to *Hereford*, carrying his two Priſoners along with him. Gloceſter *declares openly againſt* Leiceſter.

The great Care with which he guarded the King and the Prince his Son, did not hinder the Earl of *Gloceſter* from projecting *Edward*'s Eſcape out of his hands. He perceiv'd that as long as his Enemy ſhou'd have the King in *Prince* Edward *eſcapes out of* Leiceſter's *hands.* W. Hem.

1268. in his Power, he wou'd make great Advantage of it. For which Reaſon he thought it expedient to get the Prince from him, to the end he might oppoſe the Authority of the lawful Heir to the Crown to that of the King detain'd in Confinement. Apparently he did not judge it ſo eaſy a Matter to free the King as the Prince, or perhaps he depended more upon the Aſſiſtance of *Edward* than of the King his Father. Be this as it will, he communicated his Deſign to *Roger Mortimer*, one of the Lords *Marchers*, who furniſh'd him with the Means to put it in execution. *Mortimer*, having a great many Friends at *Hereford*, made *Edward* a Preſent, by a third Perſon, of a prodigious ſwift Horſe, and at the ſame time acquainted him with the Uſe he was to make of him, and with the Deſign that was laid for the Recovery of his Liberty. To ſecond the Project, the Prince having feign'd himſelf ill, and to want a little Exerciſe, deſir'd leave to ride ſome Horſes. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, who ſuſpected nothing of the Matter, granted his Requeſt, though with a deal of Precaution. Beſides his uſual Guard, he order'd ſome Gentlemen to keep always near him, and to have their Eye upon him continually. *Edward*, being come out into the Fields, immediately breathed two or three Horſes. Then he call'd for that which had lately been preſented him, and as if he had a mind to uſe him gently to his Rider, he walk'd him at ſome diſtance from his Guard, being accompanied by the Gentlemen who ſtuck cloſe to him. When he was come to a certain Place which he had already exactly remark'd, and which ſeem'd proper for his Deſign, laying the Reins on his Horſe's Neck and clapping Spurs to his Sides, he ſurpris'd in ſuch a manner thoſe that attended him, that he was got a good way off, before they were recover'd from their Aſtoniſhment. However they rid after him till they ſaw a Troop of Horſe which the Earl of *Glocester* had ſent out to favour his Eſcape. *Edward* having thus made his Eſcape, went and join'd the Earl of *Glocester*, who receiv'd him with abundance of Joy and Reſpect. Nevertheleſs, his View in procuring the Prince his Liberty, was not to re-eſtabliſh the Arbitrary Power which the King

He joins the Earl of Glocester, *who makes him ſwear to redreſs Grievances.*

King had attempted to uſurp. Accordingly he plainly told *Edward*, that he cou'd not promiſe him his Aſſiſtance, unleſs he wou'd oblige himſelf by Oath to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to reſtore the antient Laws, and to baniſh all Foreigners from about the King's Perſon. *Edward* promis'd and ſwore to do ſo, in the preſence of ſeveral Barons; after which he took the Command of the Troops which the Earl of *Gloceſter* had rais'd. 1265.

Leiceſter hides his Concern.

Though the Earl of *Leiceſter* was very ſenſible of what Conſequence the Prince's Eſcape might be, he made as if he was unconcern'd at it, and continued, as before, to govern in the King's Name. He caus'd to be iſſued under the *Great Seal*, all ſuch Orders as he judged expedient for the Good of the *State* and his own Intereſt; theſe two things being generally confounded together by thoſe who hold the Reins of the Government.

He does all he can to ſupport himſelf.

It wou'd be needleſs to relate here all the Precautions *Leiceſter* took to ſupport himſelf in his Authority, to inrich his Friends, and to advance his Creatures. It is ſufficient to ſay in a word, that he omitted nothing that might turn to his Advantage, or contribute to the baffling the Deſigns of his Enemies. All this was for his own ſake, and with a View to his own private Intereſt: But he did one thing very beneficial to the Kingdom in taking at length from the Popes, the Pretence, they had ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully made uſe of, to inrich themſelves at the Expence of the *Engliſh*. As he found the People had not for the Pope the ſame Eſteem and Deference as they had heretofore, he order'd a Commiſſion to be drawn up empowering him to renounce, in the King and Prince *Edmund*'s Name, all Pretenſions to the Crown of *Sicily*. By virtue of this Power, he made an Authentick Renunciation, of which he took care to give the Pope Notice in a Letter from the King.

He renounces for Prince Edmund *the Crown of* Sicily.

Edward's Forces increaſe.

In the mean time the Earl, foreſeeing how fatal Prince *Edward*'s Eſcape might prove to him, caus'd very ſevere Orders to be publiſh'd to all the King's Subjects to oppoſe to the utmoſt of their power Prince *Edward*, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and their Adherents, who were all ſtil'd Traitors

1265. tors to the King and *State*. But notwithstanding this, a very great Number of Barons *, Officers and Soldiers came and offer'd their Service to the Prince, who in a short time saw himself at the head of an Army superiour to that of the Confederates. Then it was that Affairs began to have a new Face. The Earl of *Leicester*, who, a little before, had all the Forces of the Kingdom at his Disposal, cou'd not prevent *Edward* from becoming Master of *Glocester* and several other Places. He was even fain to give ground to that young Prince who follow'd him from Place to Place, and to use all his Cunning and all his Experience to avoid coming to a Battle. As he was a very good General, he took care to post himself so, as to be able to retreat, whenever he shou'd be hard press'd. In the mean while, he sent repeated Orders to his Son *Simon*, to quit the Siege of *Pevensy*, which detain'd him in *Kent*, and come and join him. *Simon* obey'd, and with his little Army march'd with extraordinary Expedition to reinforce him. But as he drew near *Evesham*, where his Father was encamp'd, *Edward*, who had notice of his Coming, fell upon him on a sudden with all his Forces, and cut in pieces this little Body which cou'd not stand against him *'.

Leicester *flies before him.*

Edward *defeats* Simon Montfort.

and marches against the Earl of Leicester.

This Victory having animated the young Prince with fresh Ardor, he return'd forthwith, in order to go and attack the Father before he had receiv'd the News of his Son's Defeat. He knew so well how to deceive the Watchfulness of the old General, by this sudden Resolution, that he came up close to the Enemy at the time when the Earl imagin'd it was his Son coming to his Assistance. *Leicester*'s Surprise was so great, that he cou'd not forbear showing

* Particularly *John Gifford*, the second Man to the Earl of *Glocester* in Military Affairs, brought a great Force of Horse and Foot.

*' *T. Wikes* says, the Prince, marching all Night, came by break of Day to *Kennelworth*, and set upon *Simon* and his Men, who were then in their Beds, and kill'd and took Prisoners most of them, the chiefest of whom were *Robert de Vere*, *William* Lord *Munchansy* and *Adam* of *Newmarket*. *Simon* escap'd into the Castle.

ſhowing it. However he put every thing in a good Poſture of Defence, perceiving that Retreating wou'd be ſtill more dangerous than Fighting. The Battle began about two a Clock in the Afternoon, and laſted till Night, notwithſtanding the haſty Flight of the *Welſh-men* who deſerted the Earl in the very Beginning of the Action. He ſuſtain'd however, by his Courage and Conduct, the Efforts of *Edward*, who fought with an aſtoniſhing Valour, well-knowing that the Good or Ill-Fortune of his Life depended on the Succeſs of that Day. At length, after a long Reſiſtance on the Side of the Barons, the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his Son *Henry* being ſlain on the Spot, their Troops loſt all Heart, and the Prince obtain'd a full and compleat Victory *. His Joy at this Succeſs was ſo much the greater as, during the Heat of the Battle, he had the Satisfaction of freeing the King his Father from the Confinement he had been under ever ſince the Battle of *Lewes*. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, who durſt not ſuffer his Priſoner to be out of his ſight, had been ſo hard as to expoſe him to the Danger of the Battle, in which he was wounded in the Shoulder. 'Tis ſaid that he was going to be kill'd by a Soldier, who knew him not, if an Officer had not run in to his Aſſiſtance, upon his crying out to the Soldier, *Don't kill me, I am* Henry *of* Wincheſter, *thy Sovereign*. *Edward*, who was not far from the Place, being inform'd of the Peril the King his Father was in, ran thither immediately. He left him to a ſtrong Guard, and juſt asking his Bleſſing returned to the Battle, that he might not loſe time which was then ſo precious to him.

1265. *Battle of* Eveſham.

Leiceſter *ſlain.*

Edward *gains the Victory, and frees his Father.*

W. Hem.

This Battle was fought near *Eveſham* on the 4th of *Auguſt* 1265, fourteen Months after the Battle of *Lewes* wherein the King loſt his Liberty. The Body of the Earl of *Leiceſter* being found among the Dead, *Roger*

* In this Battle were ſlain, *Hugh d' Eſpenſer* the Juſticiary, *Peter de Montfort*, *William de Mandeville*, *Ralph Baſſet*, *John de Beauchamp*, *Roger de* St. *John*, &c. The Priſoners were *Guy de Montfort* the Earl's 3d Son, *John Fitz-John*, *Humphry de Bohun*, *Henry Haſtings*, &c

1265. *Mortimer* was so inhuman as to mangle it in a barbarous Manner. At last he cut off the Head and sent it to his Wife as a certain Token that he was reveng'd of his Enemy. Such was the End of the Earl of *Leicester*, who, though a Foreigner, had found means to make himself the most considerable Peer in the Kingdom, and was even suspected of aspiring to the Throne. But however there is no certain Proof of it, the Reports that were spread on this Account being built only on bare Suspicions, and, perhaps, Calumnies, But it can't be denied, that he abus'd the Power which he acquir'd, and the Trust which his Friends and Collegues placed in him. At least he discover'd by his Conduct that he was not so great an Enemy to arbitrary Power as he wou'd have made to be believed when he was put at the Head of the Confederates. This is no Proof however of his aspiring to the Crown. Most certainly, this Earl had noble Qualities. If he was like the Earl his Father in his Valour and Bravery, at least, he resembled him not in Cruelty. He had all along shewn so great a Regard for the *Monks*, that after his Death, they wou'd fain have made a *Saint* of him, at any Rate, affirming that abundance of Miracles were wrought at his Tomb. A modern Historian assures us, that he saw in an antient *Manuscript* several Prayers directed to him as a Martyr *. This opinion of him was so spread among the People, that the Pope was forced to use all his Authority to put a stop to that Superstition. However this be, as it is uncertain from what Motive the Earl acted, it is doubtful whether there is more Reason to blame than to pity him. If in taking up Arms against the King, his Sovereign and Benefactor, he was sway'd wholly by Ambition, one can't enough detest his Ingratitude against a Prince his Brother-in-law, who had loaded him with Favours. But if he was Head of a Party solely with a View to the Good

Reflections on the Earl of Leicester.

The Monks look upon him as a Martyr.

Tyrrel.

* *Tyrrel* says he had seen at the End of a Manuscript in the public Library at *Cambridge* certain Prayers directed to him as a Saint, with a great many Rhyming Verses in his Praise. Vol. I. p. 1052.

of the Publick, and in order to free the Kingdom from the manifeſt Oppreſſion it groaned under, doubtleſs there wou'd be People who wou'd not want plauſible Reaſons to juſtify his Conduct. However without examining the Matter too cloſely, Modern Writers, for the moſt Part, inveigh bitterly againſt him, and the Name of *the Engliſh Catiline* is one of the leaſt reproachful they give him. But one can hardly expect otherwiſe from moſt of the Hiſtorians, who generally dedicate their Works to Kings, Queens, Prime-Miniſters, Favorites. 1265.

The Confederate Barons are perſecuted, and their Eſtates Confiſcated.

The Defeat of the Confederates entirely changed the Face of Affairs. Thoſe who, a little Before, had been perſecuted, now become Perſecutors in their Turn. They griev'd their Enemies a thouſand Ways, and made them endure many Hardſhips. The King, who was naturally revengeful and greedy of Money, was extremely impatient to be revenged of thoſe who had offended him, and to ſeize their Spoils. With this View it was that he call'd a Parliament, which being wholly made up of his Creatures, granted him the Confiſcation of the Eſtates of the Rebels. The City of *London* was not ſpared. The Parliament having decreed that ſhe deſerv'd to forfeit all her Privileges, ſhe was deliver'd up to the King's Mercy, who took away her Gates, Chains, Magiſtrates, and exacted a large Sum of Money * from the Citizens to reſtore to them afterwards what he had taken from them. The Confederate Barons, ſeeing themſelves expos'd to a Revenge which in all appearance was to have no Bounds, were in a Conſternation ſo much the greater as they ſaw no Remedy in this their diſtreſſed Condition. *Simon de Montfort*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, did not queſtion but that he ſhou'd be attack'd the firſt, conſidering the Hatred the King had entertain'd againſt the Earl his Father and his whole Family. In this Belief, he endeavour'd betimes to make *Richard* the King of the *Romans* his Friend, whom he had in his Cuſtody in the Caſtle of *Kennelworth*, by releaſing him without demanding a Ranſom. This Example

London *ſeverely chaſtis'd.*

* Twenty thouſand Marks. *Annal. de Lond.*

1265. Example turn'd to the Advantage of ſeveral Priſoners at the Battle of *Lewes*, who were likewiſe ſet at Liberty with the ſame View by thoſe who guarded them.

The King revenges himſelf on his Enemies.

In the mean time, the King was taking Vengeance on thoſe that had taken Arms againſt him, by ſeiſing their Eſtates, which he kept to his own uſe or beſtow'd them liberally on his Favorites. Far from troubling himſelf about the Conſequences, he entirely gave way to his Paſſion, without conſidering that People reduced to Beggary are within an Ace of growing deſperate. He wou'd have done much better in imitating the prudent Conduct of the Earl of *Pembroke*, his firſt Governour, who had reſtor'd to the vanquiſh'd Barons their Eſtates, for fear of expoſing the Kingdom to freſh Troubles. But *Henry* was not of that Temper. It was not his Fault that he loſt not the Fruits of the Prince his Son's Victory over the Barons, by refuſing them the leaſt Favour. *Simon de Montfort*, perceiving his caſe deſperate, quitted the Caſtle of *Kennelworth* after he had left a ſtrong Garriſon in it, and having drawn together ſome Troops out of the Remains of his Father's Army, he threw himſelf into the Iſle of *Axholme* in *Lincoln-ſhire*. As it was very eaſy to fortify that Place, he ſoon put it in a Condition to ſerve for a Refuge to himſelf and Friends. Great Numbers reſorted to him daily, who at length began to make their Enemies uneaſy.

1266. *The Queen arrives, and is follow'd by a* Legate, *who excommunicates the Rebel-Barons.*

Whilſt the Court was preparing to hinder the Conſequences of this new Revolt, the Queen arriv'd from *France*, whither ſhe had retir'd with Prince *Edmund* her Son, after the Battle of *Lewes*. She was quickly follow'd by a *Legate* who, a few days after his coming, conven'd a *Synod*, in which he ſolemnly *excommunicated* the late Earl of *Leiceſter* and all his Adherents, as well thoſe that were dead, as thoſe that were alive. *Clement* IV, finding that the *Engliſh* were tir'd with furniſhing Money for the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, thought his wiſeſt way wou'd be to ſave the Honour of *the Holy See*, which had ſomewhat ſuffer'd by Prince *Edmund*'s Renunciation. With this View, he gave the King notice, by his *Legate*, of a

The Pope revokes the Grant of Sicily.

Bull

Bull of *Urban* his Predeceſſor, whereby the Grant to the Prince his Son was annull'd. He had kept this *Bull* private, becauſe he was willing to ſee the Iſſue of a Negotiation enter'd into with *Charles* Earl of *Anjou*, to whom he actually gave this very Year the Inveſtiture of the two *Sicilies*. *Henry*, who had not receeded from his Pretenſions but becauſe he was forced to it by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, during his Confinement, cou'd not without regret ſee himſelf oblig'd to renounce his Hopes. But he cou'd not help it. 1266. *and inveſts the Earl of* Anjou *with it.*

Thus ended at length the Affair of *Sicily*, which the Popes had made a Handle for ſo many Oppreſſions on the People and Clergy of *England*. If it coſt the *Engliſh* immenſe Sums, they reap'd at leaſt this Benefit by it, that it ſenſibly leſſen'd the good Opinion which they entertain'd before of every thing that came from the Court of *Rome*, and taught them to be more upon their Guard for the future againſt her Uſurpations. This is what we ſhall have Occaſion to know more particularly in the following Reigns, where we ſhall ſee the *Engliſh* much leſs tractable with regard to the Popes. One may ſay likewiſe that this Affair was the Principal Cauſe of the Misfortunes to which *Henry* was expos'd for ſo many Years, and at the ſame time of the ſolid Eſtabliſhment of *the Great Charter*, which from thenceforward was but feebly attack'd. Had not *Henry* been under the Neceſſity of ſatisfying the Avarice of the Popes, he wou'd have leſs oppreſs'd his Subjects, and the Barons wou'd have wanted the moſt plauſible Pretence of their Confederacy. It is very ſtrange that the Pope's Grant to Prince *Edmund* ſhou'd be unknown to the Hiſtorians of *Naples* and *Sicily*, who ſay not one word of it, though the Countries, of which they have written the Hiſtory, were ſo much concern'd in it. There is but one of them that juſt mentions it by the by, and even he is miſtaken in the Name of the *Engliſh* Prince, whom he ſays the Pope had a mind to make a Grant of *Sicily*. *Villani*, an Hiſtorian of Note, gives us the Pope's Speech to the Cardinals to induce them to approve of his Deſign to inveſt *Charles of Anjou* with the two *Sicilies*. *Remark on the Affair of* Sicily.

In

1266. In this Harangue the Pontiff lays before them all the Injuries *the Church* had ſuſtain'd from the Hands of *Manfred*, the Neceſſity there was of deſtroying the Houſe of *Swabia*, and the Advantages which would accrue to *the Church*, if theſe Kingdoms were given to a Prince who ſhou'd be able to undertake her Defence. One wou'd think that this was a very natural Occaſion to ſpeak of the Endeavours which his Predeceſſors had us'd to dethrone the Uſurper, by the Aſſiſtance of the King of *England*, in giving the Crown of theſe Kingdoms to one of his Sons. But he ſays not a Word of the Matter. What may we then infer from this Silence of the Pope and the *Neapolitan* and *Sicilian* Hiſtorians, but that the Court of *Rome* never really intended to procure this Crown for Prince *Edmund*, and that her ſole Aim was to drain *England* of Money under ſo frivolous a Pretence?

Simon de Montfort *is forced to ſurrender.*

Montfort's retiring into the Iſle of *Axholme*, might be attended with ſuch Conſequences, as requir'd Prevention; accordingly Prince *Edward* was ſent with an Army into thoſe Parts. It was no eaſy Matter to beat the Malecontents from a Place ſo ſtrongly fortified both by Art and Nature. However the Prince fail'd not to bring it about. After an obſtinate Defence, the Beſieged were conſtrain'd to ſurrender, on Condition their Lives and Limbs were ſpar'd. As to their Eſtates, it was agreed they ſhou'd ſubmit to the Judgement of the King of the *Romans*, and Prince *Edward*. This Capitulation being ſign'd, *Montfort* was brought to the King, and found a powerful Mediator in the King of the *Romans*. The Prince affirm'd that after the Battle of *Eveſham*, the Garriſon of *Kenelworth* wou'd have murther'd him, if *Montfort* had not hinder'd it at the Peril of his own Life. After which, he entreated the King to pardon him in Conſideration of his having generouſly ſet him at Liberty without demanding a Ranſom. 'Tis ſaid that *Henry*, mov'd with the good Offices *Montfort* had done the King his Brother was inclin'd to reſtore him entirely to Favour, if the Earl of *Gloceſter* had not openly oppos'd it. So that, as it was neceſſary to keep fair with *Gloceſter* as well as with

The King of the Romans *intercedes for him.*

the King of the *Romans*, it was reſolv'd in Council, that *Montfort* ſhou'd have Liberty to depart the Kingdom, and that the King ſhou'd grant him a yearly Penſion of five hundred Marks, provided he deliver'd up the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*. But it was not in his Power to perform this Condition, becauſe the Garriſon refus'd to obey him. All the other Rebels were pardon'd upon their taking an Oath, that they wou'd never more bear Arms againſt the King: an Oath which was afterwards very ill kept. This Affair being over, the Kingdom immediately enjoy'd ſome Tranquillity. *Montfort* ſeem'd pretty well ſatisfied with his Lot. But ſhortly after, either out of Inconſtancy, or becauſe he had not wherewithal to ſubſiſt, he join'd himſelf with certain Pyrates of the *Cinque-Ports*, who gave him the Command of their Ships, with which he plunder'd without Diſtinction all the *Merchant-Men* that came in his Way. As it plainly appear'd that the Inhabitants of the *Cinque-Ports* countenanc'd theſe Pyracies, the King ſent Prince *Edward* down to chaſtize them. But the Prince found Means to reduce them to their Duty without coming to Blows. This was by promiſing them a general Pardon and the Confirmation of their Privileges, for which they ſwore Fealty to the King again.

1266. Montfort *is to deliver* Kenelworth, *but cannot.*

He turns Pyrate.

Edward *reduces the* Cinque-Ports *to Obedience.*

How great ſoever the Succeſs of the King's Arms might be, it cou'd not however be ſaid that Peace was fully reſtor'd to the Kingdom. Since the Caſtle of *Kennelworth* was ſtill in the Hands of the Male-contents. There was likewiſe, in the Northern Counties, a Troop of armed Men *, who oblig'd the King to ſend againſt them, *Henry*, eldeſt Son of the King of the *Romans*. This young Prince made ſuch Speed, that he ſurpriz'd the Rebels, and having cut in Pieces the greateſt Part of them, he diſpers'd the reſt. He cou'd not however ſeize the Ring-leaders, who having join'd with ſome other Male-contents, and particularly thoſe who had quitted *Axholm*,

Several Inſurrections.

* Headed by *Robert* Earl of *Ferrars* in Conjunction with *Baldwind Wake*, and *John Dayville*, and ſeveral other Barons. The Earl was taken Priſoner, the reſt eſcap'd to the Iſle of *Ely*.

1266. went and became Masters of the Isle of *Ely* in *Cambridgeshire*. From whence they made continual Inroads into the neighbouring Counties, where they committed great Ravages.

The Malecontents seize the Isle of Ely.

At the same Time, another Rebel call'd *Adam* [*de Gurdun*,] having taken up Arms in *Hampshire*, *Edward* march'd into those Parts, where he had occasion to give sensible Proofs of his Courage and Generosity. In a Battle with the Rebels, *Adam*, who was strong and valiant, attack'd the Prince Hand to Hand, and oblig'd him to use all his Dexterity and Valour. This single Combat was not interrupted till *Adam*, being down on the Ground, was fain to yield himself Prisoner to the Prince *. This Act of Bravery in *Edward* was immediately follow'd by another of Generosity, which gain'd him no less Honour. Without suffering himself to be transported with a Desire of Revenge against a Man who had put him in so great Danger, he generously gave him Life and Liberty. *Adam* sensibly touch'd, as he ought, with this Favour, serv'd him faithfully ever after *'.

A brave and generous Action of Edward.

M. West.

The King besieges Kenelworth.

The Garrison of *Kenelworth* was become so formidable, and at the same Time so odious, by Reason of the Outrages they committed in the adjoining Country, that the King's Council resolv'd that this Castle shou'd be immediately block'd up, and that the Siege of *Ely* shou'd be put off to another Time. The King was extremely incens'd against the Governour of *Kenelworth*, who had been so insolent as to cut off the Hand of his Herald whom he had sent to summon him to surrender. The Desire he had to punish him, made him resolve to go in Person to this Siege, imagining that his Presence wou'd strike the greater Terrour into the Besieg'd. But they defended themselves

* It seems the Prince when he came up with the Rebels between *Farnham* and *Alton*, hastily leap'd over a Ditch or Trench which surrounded their Camp, and his Forces not being able to follow him presently, he was obliged to fight thus Hand to Hand with *Adam*.

*' *Walter de Hemingford* says, he sent him in Chains to *Windsor Castle*, there to keep Earl *Ferrars* Company.

themſelves ſo ſtoutly, that after a ſix Months Siege, there was no Appearance of being able to force them to come to a Capitulation. This vigorous Reſiſtance was the Reaſon that the Siege was turn'd into a Blockade. In the mean Time the King continued in the Town of which he was Maſter, expecting that Hunger would compel the Garriſon to ſurrender. 1266.

During the Blockade, *Henry* call'd a Parliament at *Kenelworth*, to conſult about the Means to reduce the Rebels of *Ely*, either by offering them an eaſy Compoſition, or by Force, in Caſe they rejected what ſhou'd be offer'd them. To this End the Parliament drew up certain Articles containing the Terms on which the King was to grant a general Pardon *. Theſe Terms were eaſy enough, conſidering the preſent Circumſtances. To have Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates again, ſome were to pay five Years Revenue; ſome, three; and others but one. But whether the Male-contents cou'd not depend upon the King's Word, or whether they thought theſe Conditions too hard, they refus'd to accept them. They even took occaſion from thence to increaſe their Outrages, and had the Boldneſs to make an Excurſion as far as *Norwich*, from whence they carried off above twenty thouſand Pound *Sterling* *1. 1267. *A Parliament at* Kennelworth. *Terms offer'd to the Male-contents of* Ely; *who reject them.*

Thoſe of *Kenelworth*, though cloſely block'd up, and forced to eat their Horſes, relying on the Succours which *Simon de Montfort* had promis'd them, held out ſo long a Siege with an invincible Reſolution. At length when they cou'd ſcarce withſtand any longer the Hunger which preſs'd them, ſeeing no Likelihood of Aſſiſtance, they came to a Capitulation, whereby they obliged themſelves to deliver up the Caſtle, in Caſe they were not reliev'd within *The Garriſon of* Kenelworth.

* Theſe Articles were called *Dictum de Kenelworth*, and were to be put in Execution by twelve Perſons nominated by the King and Barons aſſembled in Parliament. This Decree or Statute of *Kenelworth* is to be ſeen at large in a *Manuſcript* Copy in the *Cottonian Library*.

*1 They did the ſame by the Town of *Cambridge* in their Return from *Ely*.

1667. within forty Days. In the mean time they were to be furnish'd with Provisions. This Term being expir'd, they came out of the Castle so pale and meager, that it cou'd not be conceived that a Garrison in so wretched a Condition shou'd have had the Assurance to demand such a Capitulation *.

The Earl of Gloceſter *takes Measures against the King.*

The taking of *Kenelworth*, and his Hopes of reducing very shortly the Rebels of *Ely*, made the King forget all his past Misfortunes, as well as the Engagement the Prince his Son had enter'd into for him, with the Earl of *Gloceſter*. *Edward* himself, though more particularly concern'd by Reason of his Oath, had the Performance of his Promises less in his Thoughts than the Means to reduce the Male-contents of *Ely* to the Obedience of the King. The Earl of *Gloceſter* observ'd with Regret, that in Proportion as the King's Affairs prosper'd, the Father and Son acted with less Moderation, and made less Scruple to stretch the *Prerogative Royal* beyond the Bounds prescrib'd by the Laws. What he had done for the King and Prince was not so much to enlarge the Royal Power, as to prevent the Earl of *Leiceſter* from paving his Way to the Throne. This was evident enough from the Oath he had exacted from Prince *Edward*. The Conduct of the King, who was going on in the old Track, having made him sensible, that if the Male-contents were once reduced, it wou'd be too difficult a Matter to confine the Sovereign within the Bounds of an Authority limited by the Laws, he thought it necessary to put a Stop in Time to his Progress. Having taken this Resolution, he retir'd to his own Estate on the Borders of *Wales*, where he made a League with *Lewellyn* and some neighbouring Barons. After This, he sent word to the Male-contents of *Ely* that he wou'd endeavour to succour them.

* The King bestow'd this strong Castle, which was forfeited to him by the late Earl of *Leiceſter*, upon Earl *Edmund* his second Son, whom he had created some Time before *Earl of Derby* upon the Attainder of *Robert de Ferrars*. *T. Wikes.*

It cou'd not be, but his Abſence and the Preparations he was making ſhou'd give ſome Umbrage to the Court. Nevertheleſs, as he conceal'd his Deſigns under Colour of a Quarrel with *Mortimer*, he ſtill left Room to doubt of the Motives of his Arming. In the mean time, whereas Policy and good Senſe requir'd that the King ſhou'd try to give ſome Satisfaction to ſo conſiderable a Lord, all his Thoughts were engroſs'd about Means to reduce the *Ely* Rebels. This was not ſo much to reſtore the publick Tranquillity, as out of Impatience to render himſelf as much or more Abſolute than ever. He plainly perceiv'd, he cou'd not attain to his Ends, whilſt there ſhou'd be a Body of Rebels in Arms in the midſt of his Dominions. With this View he conven'd a Parliament, that he might take Meaſures about quelling the Male-contents. The Earl of *Gloceſter*'s Refuſal to appear, gave the King ſome Uneaſineſs, who ſent ſome Lords to admoniſh him to come and take his Seat. Theſe Lords found the Earl very buſy in levying Troops; and as they ſhew'd their Surprize at it, he told them for their Satisfaction, that they were deſign'd againſt *Mortimer* his Enemy. He even made no Difficulty to give a Writing ſign'd with his own Hand, whereby he engaged never to bear Arms againſt the King. By this Means, he wip'd off all Suſpicions againſt him. This Fear being vaniſh'd, the King and Parliament thought of nothing more but how to lay Siege to *Ely*, the only Thing that gave them any Diſturbance. The Reſolution which was taken of vigorouſly puſhing this Siege, furniſhing the King with a plauſible Pretence to demand a *Subſidy*, the Parliament granted him a very conſiderable one. Although the *Legate* had not the ſame Reaſons, he preſs'd the *Clergy* however to grant the ſame *Aid* to the Pope. This unſeaſonable Demand extremely provoked the Prelates. They not only refus'd to comply with it, but alſo committed to writing the Reaſons of their Denial, which were not much for the Honour of the Court of *Rome*.

1267.

He refuſes to come to Parliament,

and amuſes the King's Meſſengers.

The Parliament grants a Subſidy.

The Legate demands one of the Clergy, but is denied.

As

1267. *The King marches to* Cambridge.

As soon as the Parliament broke up, the King took the Field at the Head of his Army. He advanced as far as *Cambridge*, where he halted in order to send and summon the Rebels of *Ely* to return to their Duty. But their Answer plainly made appear that they were not easily to be frighten'd. Their Resolution and the Situation of the Isle of *Ely*, which had formerly very much embarrass'd *William the Conqueror*, abated a little his warlike Ardour, and caus'd him to wait the coming of the Prince his Son who was then at *York*.

The Earl of Gloceſter *becomes Maſter of* London *and of the* Tower.

Whilst the King was at *Cambridge*, the Earl of *Gloceſter* headed the Army he had rais'd on his own Lands and in *Wales*. He forthwith marched towards *London*, and with that Expedition, that he enter'd the City before they had time to hinder him, and even before they knew whether he acted for or against the King. It is however probable that the Magistrates and principal Citizens were not ignorant of his Designs. Be this as it will, the Earl, leaving every one to make his own Conjectures, approach'd the *Tower*, the Custody whereof the King had committed to the *Legate*. He summon'd him to deliver it up immediately, alledging that it was not a Post to be trusted in the Hands of a *Foreigner*, much less of an *Ecclesiastick*. The *Legate* surpris'd at this unexpected Summons, made as if he wou'd stand upon his Defence. But as he wanted Provisions, and as the Earl had strictly forbidden the bringing him any, he was quickly constrain'd to surrender. As soon as the Earl was Master of the *Tower*, he was no longer careful to hide his Designs. Besides, as several of the Male-contents * came daily and join'd him, it was visible to all, that his Intention was not to act for the King's Interest. At length, he pull'd off the Mask, by publishing a *Manifesto*, wherein he declared, that he had taken up Arms, to obtain reasonable Terms for the Male-contents. Moreover, he complain'd of the King and Prince, affirming that his Design was to oblige them better to keep their Promises. Surpris'd at this fresh Revolt, *Henry* sent pressing

He publishes a Manifesto *against the King.*

* They were call'd then, *The Disinherited*.

preſſing Orders to the Prince his Son to come and join him without Delay, being in a continual Fear of an Attack. He did not think himſelf in a Condition to come off with Honour in an Affair of this Nature, if he ſhou'd be forced to come to a Battle. Theſe Orders having met the Prince in his Return from the *North*, where he had finiſh'd his Matters, obliged him to march with all poſſible Expedition to the King's Relief. As ſoon as they were join'd they advanced together towards *London*, and encamp'd at *Stratford*, which is within three Miles of the City. The univerſal Eſteem *Edward* had acquired among the Nobles and People, rather than their Affection for the King, caus'd in a very ſhort Time the Army to be conſiderably increas'd. For this Reaſon, the Earl of *Gloceſter* kept himſelf ſhut up in *London*, from whence he durſt not depart for Fear of engaging at too great a Diſadvantage. He had been in hopes that the whole Kingdom wou'd ſide with him, and that the King would on a ſudden be deſerted by his own Troops. But finding he had depended upon Uncertainties, and that his Friends began to leave him, he applied himſelf betimes to the King of the *Romans*, by whoſe Interceſſion he obtain'd much better Terms than he had reaſon to expect. He was not only acquitted upon laying down his Arms; but he had the Satisfaction alſo to get the City of *London* included in his Pardon, which otherwiſe wou'd doubtleſs have been ſeverely puniſh'd. He wou'd fain have procur'd the ſame Favour for the Rebels of *Ely*; but the King and Prince being inexorable on their Account, he was forced to abandon their Intereſts.

1267. Edward *joins his Father.* *The Royal Army increaſes.* Gloceſter *makes his Peace.* Act. Pub. I. 841.

This Affair being concluded more happily than there was Room to expect, *Edward* approach'd the Iſle of *Ely*. As the Male-contents had no Proſpect of Relief, they choſe to ſurrender before they ſhould be reduced to Extremity. The only Condition they cou'd obtain was the ſaving their Lives and Limbs. Thus at length an End was put to the Troubles which had afflicted the Kingdom during five Years.

Ely-*Rebels ſurrender.* *The End of the Barons Wars.*

Henry,

1267. *Treaty of Peace with* Wales. M. West.

Henry, having an Army in a Readineſs, reſolved to go and correct the Inſolence of the Prince of *Wales*, who, during the late Troubles, had all along aſſiſted the Rebels. To this End, he advanced as far as *Montgomery*, where *Lewellyn* ſent him Ambaſſadors to ſue for Peace. The Offer he made the King to pay him twenty thouſand Marks, and to do him Homage for his Principality, induced *Henry* to hearken to his Propoſals. But beſides what he had offer'd, he was obliged to deliver up certain Caſtles which were convenient for the King.

1268. Edward *takes the Croſs to go to the* Holy Land.

The Peace of the Kingdom being thus reſtored, the King ſummon'd a Parliament, in which *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate was preſent. He inform'd the Aſſembly that the Pope had reſolv'd to publiſh a *Cruſado* in all the *Chriſtian* States, and took Occaſion from thence to exhort the *Engliſh* to contribute their Money and Perſons towards this Expedition; the ſole End whereof was the Glory of God and the Good of the *Church*. The Tranquillity, *England* began to enjoy, caus'd great Numbers to engage in this Undertaking, eſpecially when they ſaw Prince *Edward*, and *Henry* Son of the King of the *Romans*, receive the *Croſs* at the Hands of the *Legate*. The Earls of *Warwick* and *Pembroke* and above a hundred and twenty Knights, follow'd the Example of the two Princes, beſides an infinite Multitude of Perſons of inferiour Quality. The *Legate* having no further Buſineſs in *England*, return'd to *Rome*, and the King of the *Romans* took his third Journey to *Germany*.

Statutes of Marlborough.

Whilſt the *Croiſes* were preparing for their Voyage, the King aſſembled a Parliament at *Marlborough*, where a Body of *Statutes* were enacted, which make a conſiderable Figure among the Laws of *England* *.

Before

* The *Statutes* of *Marlebridge*, now *Marlborough*, were made *November*. 18. *An*. 52*d*. *H*. 3. 1267. In the Preface they are ſaid to be made by the Advice and Conſent of the more *Diſcreet* Men of the Realm, as well of *the Higher* as of *the Lower Eſtate*; which laſt *Tyrrel* underſtands of *the Houſe of Commons* or *Knights of the Shire* and *Burgeſſes*. Theſe *Statutes* chiefly aim at reforming the Abuſes

Before we go on to the Events of the next Year, it will be neceſſary to take Notice of the Death of Pope *Clement* IV, which was followed by a *Vacancy* of three Years. It was alſo this Year that the famous Battle near the Lake of *Celano* * was fought between *Charles of Anjou* the new King of *Sicily*, and *Conradin* Son of the Emperor *Conrade*. Young *Conradin* having had the Misfortune to be vanquiſh'd and taken Priſoner, *Charles* was ſo cruel as to cauſe his Head to be ſtruck off *'. 1268. *Death of* Clement IV. *Battle of Celano.*

The *Cruſado* had not only been publiſh'd in *England* but alſo in all the Chriſtian States, and particularly in *France*. St. *Lewis* was to be Head of it. His ill Succeſs in an Expedition againſt *Egypt* not having been able to cool the Zeal of this Monarch, he had never ceas'd, ſince his return, thinking on Means how to carry War once more into the Country of the *Infidels*. Prince *Edward*'s late taking upon him the *Croſs*, put *Lewis* in hopes of ſucceeding the better, if he cou'd perſwade him to join with him. To that Purpoſe, he deſir'd him to come to *Paris* where he communicated to him his Project. *Edward* wiſh'd for nothing more than to join Forces with ſo powerful a Prince, and to command under him. But he let him know that he cou'd not be ready ſoon enough by Reaſon he was in want of Money for the Expence of the Voyage. *Lewis*, glad to find he made no other Objection, lent him thirty thouſand Marks, for the Payment of which *Edward* mortgag'd to him the Revenues of *Bourdeax* for ſeven Years. This Agreement being made, *Edward* return'd into *England*. The King his Father had already aſſembled a Parliament, which granted him a *Twentieth* of the *Moveables* of the Kingdom, Part whereof was to be

Edward *engages to accompany the King of* France *to* the Holy Land. Act. Pub. I. *p.* 858.

Lewis *lends him Money.*

Subſidy granted the King.

Abuſes crept in during the late Troubles, and are divided into twenty-nine Chapters, as the Reader may ſee at large in our Law Books.

* Antiently call'd *Lacus Fucinus.*

*' *Conradin* had eſcap'd in Diſguiſe but was betray'd to the Conqueror, who upon his going to *the Holy Land* order'd him to be beheaded in the Market-Place of *Naples*.

1268. employ'd towards the Charges of the Prince's Expedition.

Second marriage of the King of the Romans.

Before *Edward* was ready to ſet out, the King of the *Romans* arriv'd with his new Wife, whom he had married in *Germany*, not ſo much on the ſcore of her Riches as of her Beauty *.

1269. *The Body of St.* Edward *remov'd to the new Church.*

A little before the Departure of the *Croiſes*, *Henry* caus'd the *Relicks* of *Edward the Confeſſor*, for which he had a particular Veneration, to be remov'd. The Ceremony of the Tranſlation, to which all the conſiderable Men of the Kingdom had been invited, was perform'd with a great Deal of Pomp. The *Shrine* of the *Saint*, adorn'd with precious Stones, was carried on the Shoulders of the King of the *Romans*, the Princes, and chief Lords, and placed in the new Church of *Weſtminſter* which was juſt finiſh'd, and render'd the moſt ſtately Church then in *Europe* *·.

1270. *The King of the* Romans *reconciles* Edward *to the Earl of* Gloceſter.

The Calm, *England* enjoy'd for ſome time, was like to be diſturb'd by the Suſpicions the Earl of *Gloceſter* entertain'd againſt Prince *Edward*. The Earl not being able to perſwade himſelf that the Prince was heartily reconcil'd to him, kept from Court, and always found ſome Excuſe not to be preſent at the Parliaments. This Behaviour made the King very uneaſy, being apprehenſive that the Earl had ſtill a deſign to break the Peace of the Kingdom. But the King of the *Romans* rid him of his Fears, by procuring a perfect Reconciliation between the Prince and Earl.

St. Lewis *lands in* Africa *to beſiege* Tunis. T. Wikes. Vignier.

Whilſt theſe things were paſſing in *England*, the King of *France* had alter'd his Deſign. Inſtead of going directly to *the Holy Land*, as he had at firſt intended, he had ſail'd to *Africa* at the Inſtance of *Charles* King of *Sicily* his Brother, who was at Variance with the King of *Tunis*.

* Her name was *Beatrix*, Daughter of *Theodorick de Fulkmorite* a *German* Nobleman of great Reputation.

*1 The Shrine was of Gold, and no doubt remain'd there till the 27th of *Henry* VIII, when all ſuch Shrines and *Relicks* were remov'd as Superſtitious. This Tranſlation was perform'd on the 13th of *October*, as mark'd in the Kalendar.

Tunis. He expected that the *African* Prince ſhou'd pay the ſame Tribute to him as his Predeceſſors had paid to the Emperor, with all the Arrears that were due. To ſupport his Pretenſions, *Lewis* had landed his Army in *Africa*, and was preparing to lay Siege to *Tunis*. But the *Mooriſh* King choſe rather to bind himſelf to pay what was demanded of him than hazard the Loſs of his Dominions. 1270.

Lewis was ſail'd for *Africa*, when *Edward* ſet out from *Portſmouth* in order to go and take with him the Princeſs his Spouſe at *Bourdeaux*, from whence they went together and embark'd at *Aigues Mortes*, where their Fleet waited for them. They join'd the King of *France*, before *Tunis*, where he was ſtaying to ſee the Performance of the Treaty he had made with the *Moors*. How urgent ſoever *Edward* might be with this Monarch, to perſwade him to purſue his Voyage to *Paleſtine*, he cou'd not prevail with him to ſtir before he ſhou'd have receiv'd full Satisfaction from the King of *Tunis*. As *Edward* had no Manner of Concern in that Affair, he reſolv'd to go and paſs the Winter in *Sicily* with Deſign to proceed for the *Holy Land* in the Beginning of the Spring. Hardly had he quitted the Coaſts of *Africa* before the Peſtilence broke out in the Camp of the *French*, and raged in ſuch a Manner that it not only carried off the private Soldiers, but alſo the principal Officers. The King himſelf being ſeiz'd with it, at length reſign'd up his laſt Breath in the Arms of *Philip* his eldeſt Son, who thought of nothing but returning to *France*.

Edward *goes to join the King of* France, *and leaves him in* Africa.

Peſtilence *among the* French. Lewis *dies of it.*

Though by the Death of *Lewis*, *Edward* had loſt all hopes of making any great Progreſs in *Paleſtine*, he continued his Voyage however, and arriv'd there according to his Vow *. In the mean time, *Philip*'s return to *France* giving him ſome Uneaſineſs on account of *Gui-*

Henry *Son of the* King *of the* Romans *murder'd by* Guido de Montfort.

* He was ſo bent upon going, that when he was diſſwaded from it in *Sicily*, he ſmote his Breaſt and ſwore, *By the Blood of God, though all ſhall deſert me, yet will I go to* Acon, *if I am attended only by* Fowen *my Groom.*

1270. Act. Pub. I. p. 870.

enne, he resolv'd to send thither *Henry* his Cousin, Son of the King of the *Romans*, to have an Eye over the *French*. This Young Prince, being gone with all speed for *Bourdeaux*, pass'd through *Viterbo* a City in the Pope's Dominions, where he had a mind to make some stay, which cost him his Life. *Guido de Montfort*, Son to the late Earl of *Leicester*, being then at that Place, and seeing the Prince go into a Church, follow'd him and murder'd him before the High-Altar, in revenge of his Father's Death, slain in the Battle of *Evesham*. But the Pretence made use of by the Murderer to justify this infamous Action, cou'd not be but unjust, since neither this Prince, nor the King of the *Romans* his Father, were present at that Battle, being then both under Confinement *.

1271. Edward *comes to* Palestine.

Edward's Progress, in *the Holy Land*, was not great. He did not fail however, with the few Troops he had with him, to let the *Saracens* see what they were to expect from him, in case he shou'd come to be assisted with more Forces. His Valour, Fame, and the Reputation of King *Richard* his great Uncle, struck such a Terror into the *Infidels*, that to free themselves from their Fears, they sent an Assassin to dispatch him out of the way. The Villain, under colour of settling a Correspondence between *Edward* and the Governour of *Joffa*, who feign'd as if he were willing to turn *Christian*, found means to be admitted into the Prince's Presence, and frequently to discourse with him. At last one day as he was alone in his Chamber, he was just going to stab him with a Dagger in the Belly, if *Edward* had not warded off the Blow with his Arm, where he receiv'd a dangerous Wound. The Assassin, enrag'd at having miss'd his Aim, was about to redouble his Blow with greater Violence; but *Edward* gave him such a Kick on the Breast with his Foot, that he beat

He is wounded by an Assassin, whom he kills.

* Both his Cousin Germans *Simon* and *Guido* are said to have a hand in this Murder. *Henry*'s Body was brought over the next Year into *England*, and buried in the Monastery of *Hayles* in Gloucestershire founded by King *Richard* his Father.

beat him down backwards, and leaping upon him at the same time, wreſted the Dagger out of his hand, and kill'd him immediately. The Prince's Wound was much more dangerous than at firſt it appear'd to be, by Reaſon the Dagger was poiſon'd. The Wound beginning already to gangreen, made all deſpair of a Cure; but happily for him, there was then in the Army a skilful Chirurgeon who put him out of danger. Some have affirm'd he ow'd his Life to the tender Love of *Eleonora* his Spouſe, who wou'd venture to ſuck with her own Mouth all the Venom out of the Wound. But this Circumſtance is mention'd by no Author of that time *. This Princeſs was brought to Bed at *Acres* of a Daughter, call'd *Joanna de Acres* from the Place of her Birth, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe days. 1271. *Birth of* Joan de Acres.

Whilſt *Edward* was in *Paleſtine*, *Theobald*, Archdeacon of *Liege*, who had attended him thither, receiv'd the News of his Election to the *Papal* Throne. He ſet out immediately for *Rome*, where he took upon him the Name of *Gregory* X. Gregory X. Act. Pub. I. *p.* 879.

Edward's Army daily diminiſh'd, either by Sickneſs, or by divers Battles with the *Saracens*, without his having any hopes of being reinforced from *France* or elſewhere. This Conſideration oblig'd him, though with great Reluctance, to propoſe to the *Sultan* a Truce, which after a ſhort Negotiation was concluded for ten Years ten Months and ten Days, both Parties being to keep what they were in Poſſeſſion of. Nothing detaining *Edward* any longer in *Paleſtine* he embark'd his Troops, and ſet ſail for *England*. 1272. Edward *makes a Ten Years Truce with the* Sultan.

During his Abſence, the King his Father enjoy'd a perfect Tranquillity, which was not diſturbed but by the Death of the King of the *Romans* his Brother. It is ſaid that this Prince's Grief for the tragical Death of his Son threw *Death of the King of the* Romans.

* *Tyrrel* obſerves that *Camden* in his *Britannia* (in *Middleſex*) is the firſt that mentions it, and from him *Speed* has tranſcrib'd it in his *Chronicle*. Both of them quote *Rodericus Toletanus*; but that Archbiſhop, as he ſays himſelf, finiſh'd his Hiſtory in the Year 1243, twenty Years before this Accident happen'd.

1272. threw him into a fit of Sickneſs which laid him in his Grave *, *Edmund*, his other Son, ſucceeded him as Earl of *Cornwal*, with which Title he was inveſted by the King his Uncle.

Sedition at Norwich. Shortly after, a Sedition happen'd at *Norwich*, occaſion'd by a Quarrel between the Citizens and *Monks*, in which the *Cathedral* and *Monaſtery* adjoining were reduced to Aſhes, by the Townſmen. *Henry*, reſolving not to let this Riot go unpuniſh'd went in Perſon to *Norwich*, where he caus'd thoſe that were found guilty to be ſeverely puniſh'd *1. In returning to *London* he was ſeiz'd at St. *Edmunsbury* with a languiſhing Diſtemper, which not ſeeming at firſt to be very dangerous, hinder'd him not from continuing his Journey to *London*. But his Sickneſs encreaſing after his Arrival, he died in a few Days, aged ſixty ſix Years, whereof he had reign'd Fifty ſix, and twenty Days. He order'd that his Body ſhou'd be interr'd near the Shrine of *Edward the Confeſſor* in the Abbey-Church of *Weſtminſter*, where his Tomb [with his Statue in Braſs] is ſtill to be ſeen *2.

Death of Henry III.

Character of him. This Prince's Character has ſo viſibly appear'd in all the Circumſtances of his Life, which I have related, that it will be needleſs to ſtay to make him better known. His narrow Genius, his Eaſineſs to ſuffer himſelf to be govern'd by haughty and ſelfiſh Counſellors, his variable and fickle Temper, and the Notions of Arbitrary Power which were inſtill'd into him from his very Youth, were the real Cauſes of the Troubles which diſturb'd his Reign. Too Faint-hearted when he ſhou'd have ſhewn the moſt Reſolution, and too Stout when he ſhou'd have ſtoop'd and complied with the Times, he ſeem'd to effect continually the doing what was leaſt conſonant with his own Intereſts. One can ſay nothing of his Courage, ſince he never

* During *Edward*'s Abſence died *John* his eldeſt Son, a Child of great Beauty and Wit for his Age, he was buried in the Abbey-Church, where his Tomb is ſtill to be ſeen.

*1 They were drawn at Horſes Tails to the Gallows and there hanged, and their Bodies burnt.

*2 He died on the 20th of *November*, 1272.

never gave any ſenſible Proof of it. But one may juſtly commend him for his Continence and Averſion to every thing that look'd like Cruelty, being always ſatisfied with puniſhing the Rebels in their Purſes, when had it not been for him they wou'd have loſt their Heads on the Scaffold. He was exceeding greedy of Money, but it was to ſquander it away ſo idly, that the vaſt Sums he levied upon his Subjects made him never the richer. How preſſing ſoever his Neceſſities were, he cou'd not help laviſhing away his Money upon his Favorites, not conſidering the great Pains he was forced to be at to obtain *Aids* from his Parliament. This Profuſeneſs, and the immenſe Sums which in vain were laid out in the unlucky Affair of *Sicily*, were the principal Cauſes of the Mortifications and Misfortunes he was expos'd to during the whole Courſe of his Life. 1272.

Four things to be remark'd in the Reign of Henry III.

Four things eſpecially render this Reign remarkable. The firſt is the Readineſs wherewith the Barons, in league againſt King *John*, return'd to the Allegiance of their young Sovereign, the moment they thought they had no longer any Reaſon to fear the loſs of their Privileges. The ſecond is, the Patience of the Barons, which laſted above forty Years, though the little Regard *Henry* had for them, and the continual Breaches of his Oaths, gave them but too much Reaſon to complain. In the third Place it is to be obſerv'd, that to the Troubles which diſtracted this Reign, the *Engliſh* are indebted for the *Liberties* and *Privileges* they enjoy at this day. If the Barons of thoſe days had been more *Paſſive*, it may be ſuppos'd with very good Reaſon, that the two *Charters* of King *John* wou'd have been buried in eternal Oblivion. If their Revolt proved in the End fatal to themſelves, at leaſt it was beneficial to their Poſterity, ſeeing the Kings, Succeſſors to *Henry*, dreading to expoſe themſelves to the like Dangers, durſt not any more venture to revoke theſe *Charters*, which are the Baſis and Foundation of the *Liberties* of the *Engliſh*. Accordingly, they had time to be ſo ſtrongly eſtabliſh'd by Degrees, that there was no annulling them. Let the Earl of *Leiceſter* be exclaim'd againſt

1272. gainſt never ſo much, let him be call'd Impious and Wicked for daring to take up Arms againſt his Sovereign; at leaſt it muſt be confeſt that his Ambition has produced happy Effects for the whole *Engliſh* Nation. The fourth Remarkable thing is the Tyranny of the *Roman Pontiffs*, who abuſing their Power, treated the *Clergy* of *England* with inconceivable Rigour. I ſhou'd add here an Article of no leſs Importance, I mean, the Origin of *the Houſe of Commons*, if the thing was not liable to ſo many Diſputes.

His Iſſue. *Henry* III, of nine Children he had by *Eleonora* of *Provence* his Wife, only two Sons and two Daughters ſurviv'd him, the reſt dying in their Infancy; *Edward* his eldeſt Son was his Succeſſor. *Edmund* his ſecond Son, after having in vain expected the Crown of the two *Sicilies* which the Pope had flatter'd him with, was Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter* and *Derby*, Lord of *Monmouth* and High-Steward of *England*. *Margaret* his eldeſt Daughter, was married at nine Years of Age to *Alexander* III, King of *Scotland*, to whom ſhe left but one Daughter of her own Name, who was Wife to *Eric* King of *Norway*. By this Marriage came a Princeſs of the ſame Name of whom I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak in the following Reign. *Beatrix*, ſecond Daughter to *Henry* was married to *John de Dreux* Duke of *Bretaign* *.

* In this Reign the following Remarkable things which are not taken Notice of by *Rapin* were tranſacted. Tryal by *Fire* and *Water-Ordeal*, though never taken away by *Act* of Parliament, was by King *Henry*'s Command laid aſide by the *Judges*, and ſoon after grew quite out of uſe. In the Year 1257, the King coin'd a Penny of pure Gold of the Weight of two *Sterlings*, and order'd that it ſhou'd paſs for twenty Shillings. This is thought to be the firſt Piece of Gold coin'd in *England*. *Weights* and *Meaſures* were thus fix'd. An *Engliſh Penny* call'd a *Sterling*, round and without clipping, was to weigh 32 Wheat-corns taken out of the Midſt of the Ear, and 20 *Pennies* were to make an Ounce, 12 Ounces a Pound, and 8 Pounds a Gallon of Wine, and 8 Gallons of Wine a *London* Buſhel, which is the eighth part of a *Quarter*.

The End of the Reign of *HENRY* III.

The STATE *of the Church, during the Reigns of* HENRY II, RICHARD I, JOHN LACKLAND, *and* HENRY III.

DUring the four laſt Reigns, which we have juſt gone through, the Affairs of the *Church* were ſo blended with thoſe of the *State*, that there was a Neceſſity of relating them together. And indeed the Conteſts between *Henry* II, and *Thomas Becket*, and between *John* and *Innocent* III, and the Tyranny the Popes exercis'd in *England* in the Reign of *Henry* III, furniſh the chief Materials of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of theſe three Reigns. That of *Richard* I, was the only one, wherein the *Church* had no Influence; unleſs we are to conſider the *Cruſado*, in which that Prince was engaged, as an Affair purely *Eccleſiaſtical*. There are ſome who look upon the Time of theſe four Reigns, as a Time of Triumph for *the Church*, becauſe they include in their Notion of *the Church* the *Pope* and *Clergy* only. Others are of Opinion that this was a Time of *Oppreſſion* and *Slavery*, becauſe *Chriſtians* were expos'd to the Oppreſſions of the Popes, who ſhamefully abus'd the Authority they had been ſuffer'd to aſſume. *State of the Church.*

The bare Reading of the Hiſtory of theſe four Reigns is ſufficient to make appear, that it is not without Reaſon that I have heretofore dwelt ſo much on the prodigious Increaſe of the *Papal Power*, ſince it was to be the main Matter of the Sequel of the Hiſtory. We have ſeen the pernicious Effects of the Authority the Pope's aſſum'd to themſelves. It remains now to ſhew on what Principles they had

founded their Power, and the Conſequences they had drawn from thence, to extend it more and more. This is the more worthy of Notice, as it is to be conſider'd as the Spring of all the remarkable Events which happen'd in *the Church of England* during ſeveral *Centuries*.

Principles on which the Eccleſiaſtical Power was eſtabliſh'd.

1 Principle.

The firſt Principle was, that *Jeſus Chriſt* had committed the Care of inſtructing *the Faithful*, to the Miniſters of his *Church*, from whence were drawn theſe two Inferences. *Firſt*, that the *Faithful* ought to ſubmit to the Deciſions of theſe ſame *Miniſters* in Matters of *Faith*. *Secondly*, that *Laymen* had no manner of Right to decide, or even to examine the Difficulties which might ariſe about theſe Matters, but that they ought *blindly* to follow the Determinations of the *Eccleſiaſticks*. This manifeſtly ſuppoſes *Infallibility* in the *Miniſters* of the *Church*. But as this Suppoſition was founded upon the Promiſes of *Chriſt* made to his *Church* in General, and as the Conſequence drawn from thence for the *Infallibility* of the *Miniſters* in particular was not ſufficiently evident, a Means was found out to blind the Eyes of the World, by confounding the general Notion of *the Church* with That of the *Clergy* in particular. Thus by Degrees the *Clergy alone* were called the *Church*, and to them only were applied the Promiſes of *Chriſt* made to all *Chriſtians* in general. So that in ſaying with *Chriſt* that the Gates of Hell ſhou'd not prevail againſt *the Church*, they affected to ſay in downright Terms, that the *Clergy* or *Councils*, made up wholly of the ſeveral Members of the *Clergy*, ſhou'd be infallible in their Deciſions. The Miſinterpretation therefore of the Word *Church*, was one of the chief Cauſes of the blind and implicit Obedience of *Chriſtians*. The Reader will be able to extend his Reflections on this Head, for my Purpoſe is only juſt to point out the ſeveral Steps by which the *Eccleſiaſtical Power* roſe to ſo prodigious a Height.

2 Principle.

The ſecond Principle was, that *Jeſus Chriſt* had not only appointed *Miniſters* in his *Church*, for the Inſtruction of *the Faithful*, but alſo to inſpect their Life and Converſation. Hence it was infer'd, That it was the Buſineſs of the *Paſ-*

tors

tors to declare to their Flocks, what was Duty and agreeable to the Laws of God, and what not. From this Principle was drawn moreover this Conſequence, that not only they had a Right to exhort *the Faithful*, and to cenſure them when they neglected their Duty, but alſo to puniſh them when in a State of Impenitence.

For a third Principle it was laid down, that the *Church* of *Jeſus Chriſt* ought to be Pure and Holy, without Spot or Wrinkle, and therefore it was neceſſary to uſe all poſſible Endeavours to prevent her being polluted either by Sins or Errours. Now as, by the foregoing Principles, the *Clergy* alone had the Right of *Inſtruction* and *Inſpection*, it follow'd that to them belong'd the Care of keeping *the Church* thus pure and ſpotleſs. 3 *Principle.*

This led to a fourth Principle, That in order to preſerve *the Church* in Purity, it was neceſſary to cut off the rotten Branches. The Conſequence drawn from thence, was, that when a *Chriſtian* had ſuffer'd himſelf to be corrupted either by Sin or Errour, he was to be *excommunicated*, that is, cut off from the Body of the *Church*. It is very eaſy to ſee, that, according to the above-Principles, it was the *Clergy*'s Buſineſs to perform this *Cutting off*, and that they acquir'd a great Authority from thence, and gain'd a profound Reſpect from all *Chriſtians*. 4 *Principle.*

If the Governours of *the Church* had all been Holy and Infallible, theſe ſeveral Principles with their Inferences wou'd have produced none but good Effects. But it happen'd too often, that they were ſway'd by Intereſt, Caprice, or the Impulſe of an ill-govern'd Zeal. And therefore, one cou'd not help thinking that it was by no Means likely, that God ſhou'd have been pleas'd to ſubject his *Church* to the Paſſions and Prejudices of his Miniſters. This Belief cou'd ſcarce fail to breed, for unjuſt and raſh *Excommunications*, a Contempt which had even ſome Influence over the moſt regular. Every one is naturally enough inclin'd to imagine himſelf unjuſtly condemn'd. From this Contempt proceeded an Unconcern in the Perſons *excommunicated* to be reconcil'd to *the Church*, and to give her the Satisfaction ſhe requir'd.

If in *Excommunication*, the *Clergy* had aim'd at nothing more than the Preſerving the *Church*'s Purity, they wou'd have been contented with cutting off the *Rotten Members*, and grieving at the Obſtinacy of thoſe who neglected to get themſelves abſolv'd. But this was not what affected them the moſt. Satisfaction was the Point that chiefly gave them a Concern. The Reaſon is, becauſe the greateſt Part of *Excommunications* were thunder'd out againſt ſuch as ſtruck at the *Lands* or *Immunities* of the *Clergy*, to whom alone the Name of *the Church* was all along appropriated. It was neceſſary therefore, for the Intereſt of the ſaid *Clergy*, to oblige thoſe who were cut off from the Body of the *Church* to be reconcil'd to her, and to give her Satisfaction. For this Cauſe another Principle was eſtabliſh'd: That *ſpiritual Puniſhments not being ſufficient to conquer the Obſtinacy of harden'd Sinners, it was neceſſary for the Glory of God, to make uſe of temporal Ones, in order to force them to Obedience.* Upon this Foundation it was that the *Clergy*, who were already in Poſſeſſion of regulating all Matters relating to Religion, came to this Deciſion in their Councils, *That excommunicated Perſons were not only to be ſeparated from the Aſſemblies of the Church, but alſo from all Intercourſe with the Faithful.* If this rigorous Law had been ſtrictly obſerv'd, the *Excommunicated* wou'd quickly have ended their Days for want of the mutual Aſſiſtance, which Men naturally give one another, unleſs they had reſolv'd to go and live among the *Infidels*. But as it was not poſſible to hinder their Relations and Friends from affording them ſome Relief, though the contrary often happen'd, another Expedient was found out to put the Perſons cut off from the *Church* under a Neceſſity to ſubmit to her Orders; that is to ſay, to Thoſe of the *Clergy*. It was ordain'd in the *Councils*, that *if within forty Days after Excommunication, the Party excommunicated did not ſue to be reconcil'd to the Church, the Magiſtrate, upon the Biſhop's Complaint, ſhou'd be oblig'd to caſt him into Priſon, and confiſcate his Eſtate.* So that, when a *Chriſtian* was *excommunicated*, he was to expect to loſe his Liberty and Property, or

make

make the *Church* ſuch Satisfaction as the *Church* herſelf, that is the *Clergy*, ſhou'd judge proper. This Decree of the *Councils* wou'd hardly ever have been enacted into a Law, if Sovereigns had not found their Advantage in it, by Means of the *Confiſcations*. They did not expect that this ſevere Treatment was ever like to reach them. But when once they had admitted the Principle of the unlimited Authority the *Church* aſſum'd, they quickly experienced that as *Chriſtians* they had no more Privilege than their Subjects. The Popes, whoſe Power daily increas'd, extended it at length over Crown'd-Heads. They made no Scruple to *excommunicate* Princes themſelves, who ſaw themſelves frequently deſerted by their own Subjects and Domeſticks, and to take their Kingdoms from them and give them to Others.

The ſame Principles then, which had been eſtabliſh'd with Regard to private Perſons, extended to Kings and Emperors. There was at firſt but one Thing which diſtinguiſh'd an *excommunicated* Prince from a private Perſon: Which was, that his Subjects were bound to him by an Oath, which many cou'd not think of violating on Pretence that their Sovereign was *excommunicated*. But the Popes found means to remove this Scruple by abſolving them from their Oath of Allegiance, by Virtue of the Fulneſs of the *Apoſtolical* Power which they affirm'd was committed to them. This was a Conſequence of the Maxim before eſtabliſh'd, *That an excommunicated Perſon was to be depriv'd of his Poſſeſſions.*

All this however was not ſufficient to compel *excommunicated* Princes, to give *the Church* the Satisfaction ſhe demanded. There were many of their Subjects who were not convinced that the Pope had Power to *excommunicate* Sovereigns. Others were of Opinion that as long as a King was on the Throne, his Subjects ought not to refuſe him the Obedience due to him. Some, though perſwaded of the Pope's Authority, thought it unlawful to take up Arms againſt the King actually reigning. Others again durſt not venture on ſo hazardous an Undertaking, which might end in their own and their Families Ruin. To ſurmount theſe Difficulties, the Popes bethought them-

themſelves of theſe two Expedients. The Firſt was to depoſe *excommunicated* and *obſtinate* Kings, in a *Council*, or only in a *Conſiſtory*, in order to remove all Scruples of Conſcience from their Subjects. The Second was, to commiſſion ſome powerful Prince to put their Sentence in Execution, to the End that joining with thoſe Subjects whoſe Fears were remov'd, the *depoſed* Prince might be conſtrain'd to ſubmit to the *Church*. Of this, without going any farther, we have ſeen a terrible Inſtance in the Quarrel between *Innocent* III. and King *John*.

In this Manner it was that from *Principles* which might be originally Good, conſider'd in themſelves, ſuch Conſequences were drawn as tended to erect the *Spiritual* Juriſdiction of the *Church* into a *temporal* and *abſolute* Monarchy. Indeed cou'd a *Chriſtian* help regarding, as his real *Maſter*, Men who diſpos'd of his Eſtate, his Honour, his Life, and his Salvation? What is more ſtrange, is that *Chriſtians* ſhou'd be ſo far blinded as to admit all theſe *Principles* with all their unlimited Conſequences, and ſuffer ſuch a *Syſtem* to be built upon them, as wholly tended to enſlave them. It is true, they bethought themſelves, though too late, that it was neceſſary to ſet Bounds to the abſolute Power the Pope and *Clergy* aſſum'd and extended by Degrees over all Things. But they met with ſtrong Oppoſition, and a Reſiſtance ſo much greater, as they had given them Time to confirm themſelves in their Uſurpations.

This is the main Matter of the *Eccleſiaſtical* Hiſtory of *England*, during ſeveral *Centuries*, and eſpecially during the four Reigns we are now about. Except a few Events, it contains nothing but Affairs reſulting from the exorbitant Power the *Pope* and *Clergy* had aſſum'd. The ſole Aim of the *Councils* was to maintain the *Privileges* and *Immunities* of the *Church*, that is, of the *Clergy*: For theſe Two were generally confounded together. All the Popes Projects tended only to extend their Authority as well over the *Laity* and Sovereigns themſelves, as over the *Clergy*. If they have not been able to keep the exceſſive Power they had got in their Hands, it is entirely owing

ing to the ill-uſe they made of it; the which caus'd them to loſe by Degrees the Regard which was paid to every Thing flowing from *the Holy See*. The bare Facts related in this Hiſtory, concerning the Affair of *Thomas Becket*, the Depoſing of King *John*, and the Oppreſſions *England* endur'd from *Rome*, during the long Reign of *Henry* III, are ſufficient to convince all reaſonable and unprejudiced Perſons of the Cruelty with which the Popes exercis'd the Authority, they had been ſuffer'd to graſp. What would it be, if we ſhou'd add to theſe Inſtances all that was acted on the ſame Score, in the other *Chriſtian* Kingdoms? But to confine my ſelf wholly to what relates to *England*, I ſhall content my ſelf with obſerving, that *Becket*'s Affair carried the Pope's Power in *England* higher than it had ever been, after the World had ſeen a Prince, ſo haughty as was *Henry* II, conſtrain'd to ſtoop to a ſhameful *Diſcipline*. The Homage which King *John* was forced to do the Pope, finiſh'd the Matter, and lifted this Power to its utmoſt Height. From that Time the Popes look'd upon *England* no otherwiſe than as a conquer'd Country, with which they did not think themſelves obliged to keep any Meaſures. This is manifeſt throughout the whole Reign of *Henry* III.

It muſt be further obſerv'd, that if the Rigour, wherewith the Popes treated *England*, ſerv'd for ſome Time to keep the Kingdom in Subjection, it prov'd in the End the chief Cauſe of the Decay of their Power There, when Circumſtances came to be alter'd. As they had a mind to puſh it too far, they made the *Engliſh*, naturally jealous of their Liberty, deſirous to throw off a Yoke which was become intolerable. Accordingly when a favourable Juncture offer'd, they fail'd not to lay hold of it, ſo much the rather as they found themſelves back'd by the *Clergy*, who had felt, no leſs than the People, the Effects of the Pope's Tyranny. This will appear in ſome of the following Reigns. In the mean time, we are to conſider the Days of *John* and *Henry* III, as Thoſe wherein the *Papal Power* was at its utmoſt Height in *England*, and, if I miſtake not, in moſt other Kingdoms in *Europe*. I might

might maintain what I advance by numberleſs Proofs, if what has been already ſaid did not appear to me ſufficient. They who have a Mind to ſee a more particular Account of the unjuſt and violent Proceedings of the Court of *Rome* with Reſpect to *England* during the Reign of *John* and *Henry* III, may for their Satisfaction conſult the Hiſtory of *Matthew Paris*, who treats of them at large. It is true indeed that Endeavours have been us'd to deſtroy the Credit of this Author: But Men of Senſe don't look upon, as an Evidence of Unfaithfulneſs, bare Allegations without Proofs.

Conteſts about Elections.

The frequent Conteſts about the Elections of Biſhops and Abbots, make alſo a conſiderable Article of the Affairs of the *Church*. But as I have had Occaſion to ſpeak of them ſeveral Times, it will be needleſs to enlarge any further upon that Subject. It will ſuffice to point out in general what ſerv'd for a Foundation to theſe Diſputes. As to the *See* of *Canterbury*, the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*'s affirm'd that the Right of electing the Archbiſhops belong'd to them excluſive of all others. But the *Suffragan*-Biſhops of that *See* maintain'd, that they had an equal Right with the *Monks*. On the other Side, the Court wou'd not willingly ſuffer that any one ſhou'd be promoted to the *Archiepiſcopal* Dignity, but whom they approv'd of. So that directly or indirectly, the Court had all along a great Hand in the Elections. Theſe ſeveral Intereſts were the Occaſion that hardly cou'd an Archbiſhop be choſen without ſome Conteſt. One while becauſe the *Monks* elected without conſulting the Suffragan-Biſhops, another while becauſe the Biſhops made a different Choice from that of the *Monks*. Sometimes the *Monks* themſelves made a double Election, and ſometimes it happen'd that the Prelate not being agreeable to the King, cou'd not obtain his Confirmation. The Court of *Rome* reap'd great Benefit from theſe Controverſies, ſince to her was referr'd the Deciſion of them. Upon theſe Occaſions the Popes laid it down for a ſteady Rule to declare in Favour of him who appear'd the beſt affected to *the Holy See*. Oftentimes by the Fulneſs of their *Apoſtolical* Power, they annull'd

null'd the Elections made with unanimous Consent, and caus'd such as they were pleas'd to nominate to be elected. Of this we meet with several Instances in the History of *England*.

These Dissentions were almost as prevalent in the Elections of other Bishops and Abbots. The Court had all along among those that had a Right to vote, a Party, which generally carried it from the others. At least, the Party was strong enough to hinder the Election of such as were disagreeable to the King. Whatever happen'd, they rais'd Disputes which were referr'd to the Pope's Decision. Then it was that the King made use of such means with the Pope as seldom fail'd of Success. Instances of this frequently occur in the History of *the Church of England*. But it is sufficient to have made here these few Remarks, without staying to say any thing more on this Head.

The *Immunities* which the Court of *Rome* very often granted to *Churches* and *Monasteries* to the Prejudice of the Bishops, were moreover a fertile Source of Disputes. These *Immunities* regarded either the *Visitation* of the *Religious Houses*, or the Elections of the Abbots, or the Dispensation to some Bishops not to be present at the *Councils*. All these Articles produced an infinite Number of *Suits*, the Benefit of which accrued to the Pope, who, under this Pretence, commanded the Parties to repair to *Rome* to defend their respective Rights. When once they were there, they never saw an End to their Suits, unless by Presents they found means to procure Dispatch; and He that gave most generally came off best. Of this 'twou'd be no hard Matter to give several Instances. But there is no Occasion to stay to prove a Fact so well known and averr'd. I shall now proceed to the *Councils* that were held during the four Reigns we are speaking of.

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COUNCILS in the Reign of *HENRY* II.

a Mixt Council.

IN the Year 1155, being the First of *Henry* II, a mixt *Council* was held at *London*, consisting of Bishops and Barons, wherein were debated several Affairs relating to the *Church* and *State*. I take Notice of this Assembly on purpose to make appear that the Use of these Sort of mixt *Councils* was not yet entirely abolish'd.

Council *against* Becket.

In 1166 a *Synod* was held which appeal'd to the Pope, from the *Excommunication* denounced by *Thomas Becket* against those that observ'd the *Constitutions of Clarendon*.

Council *of* Oxford *against the* Publicans.

The same Year, according to Dr. *Hody*, but six Years sooner according to *Spelman*, and according to others four only, *Henry* II order'd a *Council* to meet at *Oxford*, to inquire into the *Tenents* of certain *Hereticks* call'd *Publicans*, of whom I have already spoken in the Reign of that Prince. It is very probable they were Disciples of the *Waldenses*, who began then to appear. When they were ask'd, in the *Council*, who they were, they answer'd they were *Christians* and Followers of the Doctrine of the Apostles. After this, being interrogated concerning the Articles of the *Creed*, their Replies were very *Orthodox* as to the Points of the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*. But if we may believe *William of Newbury*, they rejected *Baptism*, the *Eucharist*, *Marriage*, and *the Communion of Saints*. They show'd a great deal of Modesty and Meekness in their whole Behaviour. When they were threaten'd with Death, in order to oblige them to renounce their *Tenents*, they were contented with replying, that *Blessed are they that suffer for Righteousness Sake*. The *Council*, finding there was no prevailing upon them, put them into the Hands of the *Secular* Magistrates. Unluckily for them; for the King, being then at Variance with the Pope, was afraid of giving him a Handle against him if

if he ſhou'd ſpare them. Upon this Account he treated them more ſeverely than he wou'd have done at any other time. After he had order'd them to be branded with a hot Iron, he forbad under great Penalties all Perſons to give them the leaſt Relief. They ſuffer'd this hard Treatment very chearfully, and as they cou'd meet with no Aſſiſtance either to ſtay in the Kingdom or to go from thence, they all miſerably periſh'd. This is all the Hiſtorians have related concerning theſe pretended *Hereticks*, without acquainting us with the Reaſon why they gave them the Name of *Publicans*. I obſerv'd that it is very likely they were Diſciples of the *Waldenſes*, becauſe of their *Orthodoxy* about the *Trinity* and *Incarnation* of the Son of God, their Patience, and the Anſwer they made the *Council* that they follow'd the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, for that was preciſely the Language of the *Waldenſes*. It is true, we can't trace the *Waldenſes* in the *Tenents* attributed to them concerning *Baptiſm*, *the Euchariſt*, *Marriage*, and *the Communion of Saints*. But it is not impoſſible but that the Hiſtorians who have mention'd them, may have miſrepreſented their *Doctrine*. Perhaps they did not believe *Tranſubſtantiation*, and refuſing to communicate with ſuch as did believe it, it was infer'd that they rejected the *Euchariſt* and *Communion of Saints*. As for *Baptiſm*, perhaps they wou'd, with the *Waldenſes*, have it ſtript of all the Ceremonies tack'd to it ſince its Inſtitution. In fine, it may be they denied *Marriage* to be a *Sacrament*, and on that account were accus'd of rejecting it. However this be, they wou'd not be the firſt, to whom have been aſcrib'd *Doctrines* little agreeable to their real Sentiments, by forced Conſequences, as it is eaſy to make appear from the Hiſtory of the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes* *.

What

* The *Waldenſes* publiſh'd the Articles of their Faith, which they dedicated to the *French* King, who was then perſecuting them. The Monks wou'd have conceal'd their Doctrines, but they came to light partly by the Quarrels of the *Papiſts* among themſelves, and partly by the taking of *Monthrun* in 1585, by the Mareſchal *de Leſdeguieres*, a Proteſtant, who ſav'd the *Records* of the Perſecuti-

What I have been saying on this Head is however no more than Conjecture. But it is plausible enough, to make one stand amaz'd at the Rashness of some *Protestant* Authors, who upon the bare Credit of *Neubrigensis* the Monk and some others of the same *Order*, have given these pretended *Hereticks* so little Quarter.

Gervase in his *Chronicle* speaks of another *Council* conven'd by *Henry* II, wherein he says that this Prince caus'd the Bishops to swear that they wou'd obey his Orders before he had inform'd them what they were. He adds, that in pursuance of this Oath he wou'd have oblig'd them to withdraw their Obedience from *Alexander* III, and own the *Antipope*: but that the Prelates flatly refus'd it. It seems that *Gervase*, who was a Monk of St. *Augustine*'s and Cotemporary with *Becket*, shou'd have perfect Knowledge of all that pass'd in the Contest that Archbishop had with the King. But as he is extremely partial in favour of *Becket*, and as besides no other Historian speakes of this *Council*, one can hardly question but that it is a mere Fiction. The only Foundation for it is the Step *Henry* made in writing to the Archbishop of *Cologn*, as has been said in the History of his Reign. I shall observe here by the way, that certain Modern Historians, relying too much on the Authority of *Gervase* who was *Becket*'s Creature, have taken him too rashly for Guide in their Account of this Quarrel. Hence they have been led to give their Relation a Turn favorable to the Archbishop, and to insinuate as if the King unjustly persecuted him. This join'd to what I remark'd in the Instance above mention'd, shews how easily the Writers of History suffer themselves to be drawn insensibly into the Notions or Prejudices of those that have writ before them.

In

ons, found in that Place, when the Monks design'd to have burnt them, because they not only contain'd an account of the Cruelties against the *Waldenses*, but prov'd that their Doctrine was the same with *Ours*. This makes *Rapin*'s Conjecture the more probable, and shou'd be a Caution to Protestant Writers not to condemn too hastily for *Hereticks* all that are represented as such by the Monks.

In 1175 *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* conven'd in *Weſtminſter* a *Nationl Synod*, wherein he caus'd to be recited ſome *Canons* which he himſelf had drawn up. They, almoſt all of them, relate to *Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline*, and the *Celibacy* of the Prieſts, which was not yet thoroughly eſtabliſh'd. *Roger* Archbiſhop of *York* was not preſent at this *Synod*; but ſent ſome *Proxies*, who made Proteſtations in his Name againſt three things wherein he thought himſelf aggriev'd. Firſt, he complain'd of being denied the Privilege of having the *Croſs* carried before him in the Province of *Canterbury*. In the ſecond Place, he complain'd that the Biſhopricks of *Lincoln*, *Cheſter*, *Worceſter* [and *Hereford*] were unjuſtly taken from the Juriſdiction of the *See* of *York*. His third Grievance was on account of an *Excommunication* pronounced by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* againſt ſome Clergymen of St. *Oſwald*'s in *Gloceſter*. Hence it is evident, that the old Diſputes between the two *Metropolitans* were all along kept on foot, maugre the Care that had been taken to put an End to them, in the Reign of *Henry* I.

Synod *at* Weſtminſter.

Diſputes between the two Archbiſhops.

What paſs'd the next Year 1176 in a *Synod* held by *Huguccio* the Pope's *Legate*, is a further Evidence of this Matter. The Archbiſhop of *York*, having a Mind to ſit on the Right-hand of the *Legate*, the Domeſticks of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* fell upon him, drag'd him from thence, and trampled upon him with their Feet. This Accident caus'd the *Synod* to break up, and was follow'd by a long Proceſs which occaſion'd the two *Metropolitans* to carry to the Court of *Rome* ſeveral *Appeals*, from whence ſhe reap'd great Advantage.

In the Year 1183, the Pope having deſir'd *Henry* II to obtain for him a *Subſidy* from the *Clergy*, to enable him to carry on the War againſt the Emperor, the King aſſembled the Prelates to acquaint them with the Pope's Demand. The *Clergy* not daring to refuſe the Aid the Pontiff requir'd, and on the other hand, dreading it might be made a *Precedent* to the Prejudice of the Liberties of the *Church of England*, us'd this Expedient to content him. They entreated the King to give the Pope what he ſhou'd judge

Expedient of the Clergy *to ſatisfy the Pope for fear of Conſequences.*

judge reaſonable, promiſing to repay him whatever he ſhou'd advance.

Synod *at* Armagh *in* Ireland.

In this Reign two *Councils* were held in *Ireland*, the firſt of which was conveen'd at *Armagh*, preſently after the firſt Conqueſts of the *Engliſh*. It was decreed in this *Synod*, that all the *Engliſh* Slaves ſhou'd be enfranchis'd, the Prelates being perſwaded that the Calamities which began to afflict their Iſland, proceeded from the *Iriſh* detaining in Slavery Men who were Chriſtians as well as themſelves. Beſides, they conſider'd that they gave Encouragement to Pyrates, by affording them an Opportunity of ſelling Slaves in *Ireland*. The other *Synod* was held at *Caſhel* in order to put the *Church* of *Ireland* upon the ſame Foot with the *Church* of *England*; that is to ſay, to reduce the *Iriſh Clergy* under the Pope's Juriſdiction, purſuant to the King's Promiſe when he demanded the Conſent of *Adrian* IV to make that Conqueſt.

Another at Caſhel.

XI Council *of* Lateran.

Before I finiſh what relates to the *Councils* held in the Reign of *Henry* II, I ſhall add a word concerning the XIth *Council* of *Lateran* conveen'd at *Rome* by *Alexander* III. There were only three *Engliſh* Biſhop * who went to the *Council*: for, according to the Teſtimony of *Roger de Hoveden*, it was one of the Privileges of the *Church of England*, not to be obliged to ſend more than four Biſhops to *Councils* held at *Rome*. The *Albigenſes* were *excommunicated* in this Council and all Chriſtians very ſtrictly forbidden to keep any Correſpondence with them.

Hoved. *p.* 352.

One of the *Canons* prohibited on Pain of *Excommunication* to promiſe *Benefices* before a Vacancy. But this Prohibition took place only with regard to *Patrons*, and not with reſpect to the Popes, who broke it continually by Means of *Proviſions*, which, in ſpite of this *Canon* they made frequent uſe of.

* *Hoveden* names four who were preſent at the Council, viz. *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham*, *John* of *Norwich*, *Robert* of *Hereford* and *Reginald* of *Bath*. The Abbots were more numerous. See *Hoveden*, *p.* 332, *anno* 1179.

It was reſolv'd moreover in this ſame *Council* to eaſe the vaſt Expence *Churches* and *Religious Houſes* were liable to for the Entertainment of the *Viſitors*, and their Train. It was decreed that in *Viſitations* an Archbiſhop ſhou'd not have in his Retinue more than Fifty Horſe, a Biſhop more than Thirty, a Legate more than Twenty-five, and an Archdeacon more than Seven. A great Reformation truly, which plainly ſhews the *Moderation* of the *Council*. The Charges the *Abbies* and *Churches* were at upon this Occaſion were call'd *Procurations*, doubtleſs becauſe the *Churches* were oblig'd to *procure* what was neceſſary for the Entertainment of the *Viſitors*. In Proceſs of time this was turn'd into a certain Sum of Money, which kept all along the Name of *Procurations*, and became a fertile Source of Oppreſſions, which the *Nuntio's* and *Legates* made the *Churches* endure on this Pretence. *Tiltings* and *Tournaments* were likewiſe forbidden; but this Prohibition was not capable of aboliſhing them.

COUNCILS in the Reign of *RICHARD* I.

IN 1189, *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having put the Lands of Prince *John* under an *Interdict* on account of his Marriage with *Aviſa* of *Gloceſter* his Relation, he had appeal'd to the Pope from this Procedure. Upon which the Pope ſent into *England* a *Legate*, one *John d' Anagnia*, who call'd a *Synod*, wherein the Proceedings of the Archbiſhop were made Void and the *Interdict* taken off. After which, the Pope confirm'd the Marriage by his Authority. Notwithſtanding this deciſive Sentence, the Marriage was annull'd ſeveral Years after on the ſcore of Kindred, and by the ſame Authority, all things being eaſy to thoſe that are inveſted with Abſolute Power.

Synod *in favour of* John's *Marriage.*

The

The ſame *Baldwin* being about to attend *Richard* to *the Holy-Land*, conven'd a *Synod*, wherein he declar'd that he left the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Province of *Canterbury* to the Biſhop of *London*, and of his *Dioceſe* in particular to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

During the Abſence of the two Archbiſhops, one of whom was in the *Eaſt*, the other in *Normandy*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, Regent of the Kingdom, and *Legate* of the Pope, conven'd two *Synods*, one at *Gloceſter*, and another at *Weſtminſter*. But nothing of Moment was tranſacted, his Aim in aſſembling them being only to ſhew his Grandure.

Baldwin dying at *Acres*, as ſoon as the News reach'd *England*, the Biſhop of *London* ſent an Inhibition to the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*, forbidding them to proceed to an Election of an Archbiſhop, without the Conſent of the Suffragan-Biſhops. Some time after the *Suffragans* being met at *Canterbury*, the Monks came into their Aſſembly, and declar'd they had elected the Biſhop of *Bath*. At the ſame inſtant they took and placed him on the *Archiepiſcopal* Throne. The Biſhops appeal'd to the Pope: but the Death of the Prelate elect, which fell out quickly after, put an End to the Difference.

A Synod *at* York.

In 1193, *Richard* ſent from *Paleſtine* a Letter to the *Suffragan* Biſhops of *Canterbury*; Ordering them to proceed to the Election of an Archbiſhop, jointly with the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*. Purſuant to this Order a Sort of *Synod* was held, wherein was elected *Hubert Walters*, whom the King had ſtrongly recommended. Two Years after, the ſame *Hubert*, being made *Legate*, conveen'd in the Cathedral of *York*, a National *Synod*, wherein ſeveral *Canons* were made, among which two only deſerve Notice. By the IIId Prieſts are forbidden to take Money for ſaying *Maſs*. The Vth expreſſly forbids *Deacons* to adminiſter the Sacraments of *Baptiſm* and the *Euchariſt*, unleſs in Caſes of Neceſſity.

COUNCILS in the Reign of King *JOHN.*

IN the Year 1200 Archbiſhop *Hubert* held a national *Synod* at *Weſtminſter*, notwithſtanding the King's Prohibition, the which is remarked by Hiſtorians as the firſt Uſurpation of this Nature. Several *Canons* were made in this *Synod*, the Chief of which are theſe. *Synod held notwithſtanding the King's Prohibition.*

The Iſt regulates the Pronunciation of *Divine Service*, in order to prevent the reading the Prayers either too ſlow or too faſt.

The IId forbids the conſecrating the *Euchariſt* more than once in a day, without urgent Neceſſity.

The XIth declares againſt clandeſtine Marriages, and forbids married Perſons to travel beyond Sea without publiſhing their mutual Conſent.

In 1206, the Pope having a Mind to levy in *England* an extraordinary *Romeſcot* or *Peter-Pence*, the Biſhops met in a *Synod* to debate upon the Matter. But the King having ſent them word to proceed no further, they broke up without coming to any Reſolution. And indeed, *Peter-Pence*, not concerning the *Clergy* any more than the Reſt of the Nation, it belong'd not to them to determine whether it was to be paid or not. Nevertheleſs, ſhortly after, a *Legate* one *Florentinus* call'd another *Synod* at *Reading* upon the ſame Account; and as if the *Clergy* had been the Occaſion of the King's Refuſal, he extorted from them a *Subſidy*, in lieu of the extraordinary *Romeſcot* the Pope had demanded. *Synod which refuſes Money to the Pope.*

I paſs over in Silence ſeveral *Councils* which were call'd purely to regulate the Reſtitution which the King was to make the *Eccleſiaſticks*, after his Reconciliation to the Pope, having ſpoken of them elſewhere.

XII Council of Lateran. M. Paris.

During the Reign of King *John*, Pope *Innocent* III, conven'd the *XIIth Council of Lateran*, at which were preſent four hundred and twelve Biſhops *. There were paſs'd ſeventy *Canons*, which according to the Report of Hiſtorians, were not very agreeable to the Prelates by whoſe Authority they were made. This gave Occaſion to a famous Modern to conjecture, that the Pope had drawn up theſe *Canons* himſelf, and that they were read before the *Council*, whoſe Silence was taken for Approbation. This was an Artifice which began to be practis'd, in order to paſs in *Councils* whatever the Pope had a Mind to. The Preſident order'd the *Canons* ready drawn up to be read, and the Prelates perceiving by that, it was not intended they ſhou'd be debated, none of them durſt be the firſt to oppoſe them. In proceſs of time, this Expedient was frequently made uſe of, and the *Council of Vienna* which was held in 1312, and wherein the Order of the *Knights-Templars* was aboliſh'd, will furniſh us with a remarkable Inſtance.

M. DuPin.

To return to the *Council of Lateran*, ſince the *Church of England* as a Member of the *Catholick Church* was no leſs concern'd than the other *Churches* in the *Canons* made there, it will not be perhaps foreign to the Purpoſe to ſay ſomething of it. But however, to avoid Prolixity, it will be ſufficient to take Notice of three *Canons* which ſeem remarkable above the reſt.

Canons of the Lateran *Council.*

The Iſt eſtabliſhes in expreſs Terms the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*.

The IIId imports, that the *ſecular* Powers ſhall be requeſted, ſollicited, and, if need be, compell'd by *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures* to take an Oath to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to exterminate all *Hereticks* out of their Territories. That for the future, all Perſons without Exception ſhall be obliged to ſwear the ſame Oath, upon their being promoted to any Dignity *Spiritual* or *Temporal*. And if any *Temporal* Lord refuſes to purge his Dominions of *Hereticks*, after having been admoniſh'd ſo to do, he ſhall be excom-

* Among whom was *Langton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

excommunicated by the *Metropolitan* and his *Suffragans*. And in caſe he contemns the *Cenſures* of the *Church*, and refuſes to make Satisfaction within a Year, the Pope ſhall declare his Subjects and *Vaſſals* abſolv'd from their Oath of *Allegiance*, and at the ſame Time, ſhall invite the *Catholick* Princes to ſeize his Country, ſaving to the Sovereign of the *Fee*, if there is any, his Rights; upon Condition that the ſaid Sovereign ſhall do nothing to obſtruct the Execution of the *Canon*.

Remarks on the Third Canon.

It is difficult to read this Decree without being ſurpris'd, that Biſhops ſhou'd aſſume a Right to deprive Sovereign Princes of their Dominions; as if in Fact *Jeſus Chriſt* had, in clear and preciſe Terms, inveſted them with ſuch a Power. They might be allow'd a Right to exhort, to requeſt, to ſollicite Princes to purge their Territories of *Hereticks*. Let us allow them further, if you pleaſe, Power to *excommunicate* theſe ſame Princes, under Colour of their being, as Members of the *Church*, liable to *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures*, as well as their Subjects. But that Biſhops may extend their Authority ſo far as to decree *temporal* Puniſhments, and to deprive Princes, or even private Perſons, of their Property, is what can't be granted them, without giving up to them at the ſame time the *temporal* Sovereignty ofthe whole Chriſtian World. To what Purpoſe then, will ſome ſay, is *Excommunication*, if the Perſons *excommunicated* happen to contemn it? I know not, God alone will be Judge in this Caſe in the other Life. But this is what contented not the *Clergy*, and much leſs the Popes who wou'd be reſpected, feared, obeyed, in this Life: For this was the ſole End of all their *Excommunications*. And indeed to this *temporal* Puniſhments were abſolutely neceſſary, *ſpiritual* ones not producing their Effect but in the next World, in regard of which they were little concern'd about what might happen there. Thanks be to God, the Generality of *Chriſtians* follow at preſent another Sort of *Divinity*. Accordingly we ſee that the *Excommunications* of Princes are much leſs frequent, becauſe People's Eyes are open'd, and they don't think themſelves oblig'd to renounce their *Al-*

legiance to their Sovereigns, in Compliance to the Pope's Pleaſure. It may be further obſerv'd on this *Decree*, that although it ſeem'd to be levell'd only againſt the Earl of *Tolouſe* and the other Protectors of the *Albigenſes*, yet the Conſequences reach'd all *Chriſtian* Princes in general. And indeed from this Principle naturally flow'd the unlimited Authority of the *Roman Pontiff*, which was but too often exerted.

The laſt *Canon* of the *Council* of *Lateran*, that I deſign to take Notice of, is the XIVth. By this *Canon* it is decreed that the Prieſts, who give themſelves up to Debauchery in Countries where Marriage is allow'd them, ſhou'd be more ſeverely puniſh'd than Thoſe who live in Places where they are oblig'd to *Celibacy*. From hence it may be inferr'd that the *Celibacy* of the *Clergy* was not yet unanimouſly eſtabliſh'd.

COUNCILS in the Reign of *HENRY*, III.

I Shall not take upon me to ſpeak of all the *Councils* held in the long Reign of *Henry* III, becauſe they were, for the moſt Part, conven'd only to furniſh the Popes with Money, or to countenance their Exactions; I ſhall content my ſelf with pitching upon ſuch as had a more immediate Relation to religious Matters, or wherein ſome Thing remarkable was tranſacted.

Synod at Canterbury, *wherein were condemn'd three Perſons.*

In 1222, Cardinal *Langton* conven'd, in the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, a *provincial Synod*, wherein three Men were condemn'd and deliver'd over to the *ſecular* Arm. The firſt pretended himſelf to be *Jeſus Chriſt*, and ſhew'd on his Body the five Wounds of our Saviour. The ſecond was a *Hermaphrodite* who accompanyed that Impoſtor. The third was a *Deacon*, who in order to mar-

ry

ſy a *Jewiſh* Woman with whom he was in Love, had circumcis'd himſelf *.

In 1225 the ſame Prelate held a *Synod*, wherein was made a *Canon* confirming the Prohibition of the Marriage of Prieſts. This leaves room to preſume that there were ſtill in *England*, Prieſts who ſtood their Ground againſt all former Prohibitions. *Synod againſt the Marriage of Prieſts.*

In 1237, *Otho* the Pope's *Legate* conven'd a *national Council* at *London* in St. *Paul*'s Church. As he was ſenſible that there was a Deſign to oppoſe the *Canons* which he wou'd have paſs'd againſt *Pluralities*, he obtain'd of the King a Guard of two hundred Men. As ſoon as the Prelates had taken their Places, he order'd certain *Canons* to be read which he had brought from *Rome* ready prepar'd, according to the new Method. When the *Canon* againſt *Pluraliſts* came to be read, *Walter de Cantilupe* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and ſome other Prelates, ſtrenuouſly oppos'd it, and even proteſted againſt it. This Oppoſition obliig'd the *Legate* to declare that the *Canon* ſhou'd not be in force but during the Time of his *Legateſhip*. However he had no ſooner got it paſs'd upon that Condition, but an *Eccleſiaſtick* in the *Legate*'s Retinue read aloud a *Decretal Epiſtle* of the Pope's, by which it was ordain'd that this *Canon* ſhou'd be perpetually binding. *Council at St.* Paul's.

The IId ſtates the Number of the *Sacraments*, and reckons them ſeven *.

The IIId, fixes the *Eves* of *Eaſter* and *Whitſunday* for the Adminiſtration of *Baptiſm*, and as ſome People ſcrupled to baptize their Children on theſe Days, their Scruples were condemn'd.

The XXIId enjoins the *Clergy* to reſide on their *Benefices*, at leaſt the beſt Part of the Year. This *Canon* was abſolutely neceſſary at that Time. As the Pope diſpenſs'd with the Reſidence of the *Italians*, who were in Poſſeſſion

* He was tied to a Stake and burnt, whereas the *Impoſtor* was condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment, and to be fed with nothing but Bread and Water. *T. Wikes.*

* Namely, *Baptiſm*, *Confirmation*, *Penance*, *the Euchariſt*, *Extreme Unction*, *Matrimony*, and *Orders*.

Poſſeſſion of Abundance of *Benefices* in *England*, if the *Engliſh* had not been oblig'd to reſide, the *Churches* wou'd have been quite deſerted.

In 1239, was held at *London* a *Council*, which flatly refus'd the *Legate* the Money he demanded to defray the Expences of his *Legateſhip*.

The next Year, the ſame *Legate* aſſembled another *Synod*, in which he demanded for the Pope, the fifth Part of the Revenues of the *Clergy*; but he cou'd not prevail.

All the Reſt of the *Councils* which were aſſembled from 1240 to 1264, were conven'd upon no other Account but to demand *Subſidies* of the *Clergy*.

Synods at Reading *and* Northampton.

During the Barons Wars, were aſſembled two *Councils*. The firſt at *Reading*, wherein was confirm'd the Appeal brought in by the Barons, from the Proceedings of the *Legate* then at *Bologne*. In the ſecond which was held at *Northampton* in 1266, *Otho* * the *Legate* excommunicated all *Clergymen* engaged in the Earl of *Leiceſter's* Party.

Council at St. Paul's.

In 1268 the ſame *Legate* * conven'd in St. *Paul's* at *London* a *national Council*, wherein were publiſh'd certain *Conſtitutions* which had been brought from *Rome*, and ſome whereof are ſtill Part of the *Canon-Law* of the *Engliſh Church*. As ſeveral of theſe *Conſtitutions* tended to leſſen the Power and Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, ſtrong Oppoſition was made againſt them, which oblig'd the *Legate* to prorogue the Aſſembly till next Day. He knew how to make ſo good uſe of this ſhort Adjournment, that having gain'd in this Interval, either by Promiſes or Threats, ſuch as had appear'd the moſt averſe, on the Morrow he met with no further Oppoſition. This was the Method of holding *Councils* in thoſe Days.

Conſtitutions brought from Rome.

The Iſt of theſe *Conſtitutions* allows *Laymen* to adminiſter Baptiſm in Caſe of Neceſſity.

The IId forbids Prieſts to take Money for adminiſtring the Sacraments, and preſcribes theſe Words to be made uſe

* Not *Otho*, but *Othobon*, *Otho* having left *England* long before in 1241, as *Rapin* himſelf has related in the Reign of *Henry* III.

uſe of in giving Abſolution: *I abſolve thee from all thy Sins*; or, *By the Authority committed unto me, I abſolve thee*, &c. Hence it may be inferr'd that there were ſtill ſome Prieſts who made a Scruple to pronounce the *Abſolution* in a direct Manner, and were contented with a bare Declaration.

The IXth enjoins Reſidence to *Clergymen*.

The XIIIth confirms the Privilege of *Sanctuary* to *Churches*.

The XIVth ordains the ſolemnizing of Marriage in Publick.

The XXth is againſt thoſe that pretend to give a *Compenſation* in lieu of the *Penance* enjoin'd them.

The XXIIId provides againſt alienating any Part of the Tythes from the Parochial *Clergy*. This *Conſtitution* regarded chiefly the *Monks*, to whom ſuch Alienations were daily appropriated.

The XXXth is againſt *Pluraliſts*.

The XXXIſt forbids the giving Benefices in *Commendam*, and declares all *Benefices*, held in that Manner, vacant. This Cuſtom, which was become much in vogue, ow'd its Original to the Perſecutions to which the *Church* was expos'd, whilſt the *Northern* Nations broke in upon the *Weſtern* Empire; when by the Fury of the Wars, the Prieſts and Biſhops themſelves were fain to abſent themſelves, the principal Prelates of the Province appointed Prieſts to *officiate* in the vacant *Benefices*, till the *Paſtor* ſhou'd be able to reſume the Care of his Flock: This Cuſtom at length was abus'd in a Manner very prejudicial to the *Church*. After Peace was reſtor'd, they continued however to ſet over the *Benefices* ſuch Prieſts as were not the true *Paſtors*, and were ſtil'd *Commendatory*'s. For this Reaſon ſeveral *Councils* endeavour'd to reform this Abuſe, by decreeing that Thoſe who held Benefices in *Commendam* ſhou'd not receive the Profits, or *officiate* as Paſtor above ſix Months. But the Popes, pretending to a Power paramount to the *Canons*, continued to diſpoſe of Benefices in *Commendam* for Term of Life.

Original of Commendam's.

Paul Hiſt. *of the* Inquiſ. *of* Ven.

The

The XXXIId Canon decrees that before a Biſhop was *conſecrated*, ſtrict Enquiry ſhou'd be made whether he held more *Livings* than one without a Diſpenſation, and whether the Diſpenſation was authentick and in Form.

The XXXIVth declares null and void all previous Contracts made between Patrons and Perſons preſented to Benefices.

Theſe are the principal *Councils* held in *England*, from the Beginning of the Reign of *Henry* II, to the End of that of *Henry* III, that is, during the Space of ſix ſcore Years. After having obſerv'd the Manner of making the *Canons*, it will be neceſſary to add another Remark on that Head.

Artifice to get certain Canons *paſs'd.*

It happen'd very often, that in order to get a *Canon* paſs'd, which were likely to meet with great Oppoſition, ſeveral very uſeful Things was tack'd to it. This was done to the End the Oppoſers might he accus'd of being againſt *Regulations* of known Uſefulneſs. This Artifice was not only practis'd in *Councils* but likewiſe in *Parliaments*, when to paſs certain *Bills*, others of abſolute Neceſſity were join'd to them. However this Practice has met from Time to Time with ſuch ſtrong Oppoſition, that it has not been able hitherto to grow into a Cuſtom.

What we have obſerv'd in ſome of theſe *Councils*, concerning the *Celibacy* of the *Clergy*, is a clear Evidence, that it was not yet univerſally eſtabliſh'd, though 'tis pretended that *Anſelm* put the finiſhing Stroke to it in the Reign of *Henry* I. This Evidence may be further ſupported by Facts. Long after *Anſelm*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Lichfield* was Son of *Robert* Biſhop of *Cheſter*; upon which an Hiſtorian remarks, that in thoſe Days, the being Son to a Prieſt was no Obſtruction to Promotions in the Church. The ſame Hiſtorian relates, that the Pope having complain'd that the Biſhop Elect of *Ely* had not come to *Rome* for his Confirmation, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour merrily replied, the Prelate had a very lawful Excuſe taken from the *Holy Scriptures*, for *he had juſt married a Wife*. We ſee alſo in *Baronius*'s *Annals* that a *Legate* ſent by Pope *Innocent* III. into *Poland* to eſtabliſh the *Celibacy* of

of the *Clergy*, did at laſt carry his Point: But that attempting to do the ſame Thing in *Bohemia*, he was put in Danger of his Life.

Popes Decretals.

There was another Article which was of no leſs Importance to the Popes, and which they puſh'd as vigorouſly as that of *Celibacy*. This was to give to their Ordinances or *Decretals* the ſame Authority as to the *Canons* of the *Councils*. In 1150 one *Gratian* publiſh'd a Collection of *Decretals*, containing all the Ordinances made by the Popes to that Time, that it might ſerve for a Rule in the Adminiſtration of *Eccleſiaſtical* Juſtice. To this *Collection* were added in Time ſeveral *Decrees* made afterwards, in order to compoſe a complete Body of the *Canon-Law*. *Raymond de Pegnoford*, Penitentiary to *Gregory* IX, was order'd to make this Collection which was intituled, *The ſecond Part of the Canon-Law*, and publiſh'd in 1230. He annex'd to it ſome *Conſtitutions* of the *Councils*, and ſome *Reſolutions* of the *Doctors*, ſince the Year 1250, where *the Second Part* began. This laſt *Collection* was not only a *Supplement* to the old *Canon-Law*, but even alter'd it in ſeveral Articles. For Inſtance, it is determin'd that Baſtards ſhou'd not be capable of *Eccleſiaſtical* Preferments without a Diſpenſation from the Pope. By this Addition, *without a Diſpenſation from the Pope*, the Court of *Rome* aſſum'd indirectly the Power of favouring Baſtards, when She ſhou'd think fit, contrary to the antient *Conſtitutions* of the *Councils*. The Popes cou'd never have a better Opportunity to publiſh their *Decretals*, ſeeing their Power was now at the utmoſt Height. There was neither Subject nor Prince that dar'd to oppoſe their Pleaſure, and therefore without much Trouble they enacted as a Law whatever they were pleas'd to decree, even though directly contrary to the Laws which till then had been in force. For Example, as to the Caſe of Baſtards, the Laws of *England* reckon'd, as illegitimate, Children born before Marriage, notwithſtanding their Fathers and Mothers were afterwards married: But the *Canon-Law* decrees the contrary; on which occaſion there

were great Conteſts in the Parliament aſſembled at *Merton* in 1236 *.

Religious Orders. The *Roman Pontiffs* were no ſooner become abſolute Monarchs in the *Church*, but vaſt Numbers of *Religious Orders* ſprang up, which were deſign'd to be as a *Standing Army* to ſupport the Grandure and Power of the Popes. The *Council of Lateran*, had endeavour'd to prevent this Abuſe, by expreſſly forbidding the Inſtitution of a new *Order* of Monks. But this did not hinder *Dominic de Guzman* a *Spaniard*, who had preach'd a long while againſt the *Albigenſes*, from forming the Project of a new *Order* under the Name of *the Predicant Fryars*, of which he petition'd for Pope *Innocent*'s Confirmation. The Pope, on account of the Prohibition of the *Lateran Council*, made ſome Scruple at firſt of conſenting to this Eſtabliſhment: But if we may believe the Hiſtorians of this *Order*, he was advertiz'd by a heavenly Viſion that he cou'd do nothing that wou'd prove more ſerviceable to the *Church*. However it was *Honorius* his Succeſſor that confirm'd this new *Order* by the Name of *Predicant Fryars*, becauſe the Deſign of their Inſtitution was the Preaching againſt *Hereticks*. They were likewiſe call'd *Dominicans* from their Founder, and in *France Jacobins*, from their firſt Settlement in St. *Jame*'s Street in *Paris*. The Court of the *Inquiſition* was put into the Hands of the *Dominicans*, which made them famous for their Cruelties upon *Hereticks*, of whom that Court is Judge. They ſettled in *England* in 1317, a little after their Inſtitution.

Dominicans.

Franciſcans. The *Order* of *Franciſcans* founded by *Francis d' Aſſiſi* quickly follow'd that of the *Dominicans*. *Innocent* III had

* In the *Statute* of *Merton*, Chapter IX, it is declar'd that whoever is born before Marriage is a Baſtard. Upon this the Biſhops replied that it was contrary to the *Canons* of the *Church*, and were very urgent with the Barons to conſent that ſuch as were born *before*, ſhou'd be Legitimate as well as thoſe born *after*, Marriage; the *Church* having decreed it ſo. But the Barons with one Voice anſwer'd, That they wou'd not conſent, *that the Laws of the Realm ſhou'd be chang'd.*

had approv'd of it in 1215, but he had not authentickly confirm'd it. It was *Honorius* III, that eſtabliſh'd it by a *Bull* in 1223, and the next Year this *Order* ſettled in *England*. The *Religious* who embraced this *Rule* took, out of Modeſty, the Name of *Minors* or *Minorites*, and though in time they were divided into ſeveral Societies, they all acknowledg'd *Francis d' Aſſiſi* for their Head and Founder. By their *Rule* they were not to preach or take *Confeſſions* in any *Dioceſe* without expreſs Leave from the Biſhop. But this Article was not long obſerv'd by them. They repreſented to the Pope, that *Chriſtians* were ſomewhat aſham'd to *confeſs themſelves* to their own *Paſtors*. That Many ſcrupled to do it, by Reaſon the Pariſh-Prieſts themſelves were guilty of the very Sins that were confeſs'd to them. In fine, that they had not Diſcretion enough to be *ſecret*. Upon this Foundation, they petition'd, for this Part of their *Rule*, a Diſpenſation, which was readily granted them.

Progreſs of theſe two Orders.

Theſe two *Orders* of *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans* had acquir'd ſo great a Character for Holineſs, among the People, that there were few but what had one of theſe Fryars for Guide and Director. Conſequently, the *Alms* they receiv'd were very conſiderable. They had moreover another Advantage, in that, for a long ſpace, almoſt all the Popes were choſen out of one or other of theſe *Orders*. So that, by their Credit at the Court of *Rome*, they obtain'd very often a Grant of what belong'd to other *Orders*, under colour that it was neceſſary for their Subſiſtence. On the other hand, they heap'd up immenſe Riches, as well by the voluntary Gifts of the *Living*, as by the *Legacies* and *Grants* which they extorted from the *Dying*, by making them believe that nothing cou'd contribute more to their eternal Salvation. In the mean time, as thoſe two *Orders* labour'd with equal Ardour, to attract to themſelves the Benefactions of the *Devout*, and as by that means they were Rivals to one another; a Jealouſy aroſe between them, which quickly broke out into a moſt ſcandalous Quarrel, which was not made up without great Difficulty.

Rupture between them.

Croſs-bearers *ſent out of* England.

In a *Council* held at *Rocheſter* in 1244, a new *Order* of Monks, call'd *Croſs-Bearers*, appear'd and demanded leave to ſettle in *England*. Theſe *Religious* produced a *Bull* from the Pope, importing that they were to be reproach'd by no Body, and giving them Authority to *excommunicate* all that ſhou'd be ſo bold as to break this Privilege. The *Synod* not thinking proper to grant their Petition, they were ſent off, on Pretence that the licenſing them was a direct Breach upon the *Canons* of the late *Council of Lateran*.

I ſhall cloſe this Abſtract of the State of the *Engliſh Church* with ſome Remarks on the moſt celebrated *Eccleſiaſticks* of thoſe days.

John de Salisbury.

Johannes Sarisburienſis Native, and not Biſhop, of *Salisbury*, as ſome have affirm'd, was one of the Ornaments of the Church of *England*, for his Learning, Politeneſs, and regular Life. He was very intimate with *Adrian* IV, who us'd to complain to him of the Weight of the Papal Crown. However the *Bull*, which this Pope gratified *Henry* II with, on account of the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, ſeems to ſhow that he was not one of the moſt ſcrupulous. *John de Salisbury*, who follow'd the Fortune of *Thomas Becket*, and accompanied him into *France*, procur'd by his Means, the Biſhoprick of *Chartres*. He wrote the *Polycraticon* or *de Nugis Curialium*; a Collection of Letters, and ſeveral other Tracts of little Moment. He died in 1181 or 1182.

I ſhall ſay nothing here of *Thomas Becket* or of *Stephen Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, having elſewhere ſaid enough of them.

Baldwin *of* Canterbury.

Baldwin Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who attended *Richard* to the *Holy-Land*, where he died, paſs'd for a Good *Divine*. Some of his Works which are ſtill extant, ſhew that his Reputation was not ill-grounded. His great Conteſts with the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*, who were become very inſolent, put him upon founding a *Society* of *Regular Canons* *, juſt by *Canterbury* *', with deſign

* *Hoveden* ſays, *Secular Canons*. p. 355.

*' At *Hackington* about half a Mile from *Canterbury*. He had pro-

deſign to transfer to them the Privileges of the *Monaſtery* of St. *Auguſtin*. But the Monks, perceiving his Intent in time, made ſuch Intereſt at the Court of *Rome*, that the Archbiſhop was conſtrain'd to deſiſt from his Project.

Hugh of Lincoln.

Hugh Biſhop of *Lincoln*, a Native of *Grenoble*, was one of the moſt illuſtrious Prelates of *the Church of England*, in the Reigns of *Richard* I, and King *John*. His Virtue gain'd him great Reverence from the People of his *Dioceſe*, who were terribly afraid of being *excommunicated* by him, becauſe they thought they obſerv'd that thoſe who lay under that *Cenſure* ſeldom fail'd of being viſited in this World with ſome Calamity. 'Tis related, as an Inſtance of the Zeal and Reſolution of this Prelate, that by his own Authority, he order'd to be remov'd out of the Church of *Godſtow* in *Oxfordſhire* the Tomb of *Roſamond* Miſtreſs to *Henry* II, which ſtood in the Middle of the *Quire* hung with black Velvet and Wax Tapers round about it. Though he was told that the Tomb was placed there by the King's Order, he thought he ought not to ſuffer it, ſaying, it was a ſhameful thing that the Tomb of ſuch a Woman ſhou'd ſtand in ſo honorable a Place. This Biſhop dying with the Reputation of a Saint, was *canoniz'd* by *Honorius* III in 1221.

Alexander *Cementarius*.

Whilſt King *John*'s Conteſt with the Pope was at its greateſt Height, one *Alexander Cementarius* a Clergyman, who had been *Profeſſor* of *Divinity* at the Univerſity of *Paris*, publickly preach'd that the Pope had not Power to deprive Kings of their Crowns. This Freedom drew on his Head the Indignation of the Court of *Rome*, whereby he was reduced at length to the Neceſſity of begging his Bread from Door to Door. *Matthew Paris* inveighs mightily againſt the Errours of this Doctor, though no Body has appear'd more convinced than this Hiſtorian, of

ceeded ſo far as to build a magnificent Church, but was forced to demoliſh it. This Foundation was to be in Honour of *Becket*, and the ſecret Project was to draw the Election of the Archbiſhop from St. *Auguſtin*'s to this new *Convent*.

of the ill-uſe the Pope made of his Power, as he has plainly let the World ſee in his Hiſtory.

Walter *of* York.

Walter de Gray Archbiſhop of *York* was more famous as a *Stateſman* than as a *Biſhop*. His Succeſſors were inrich'd by his Liberality in purchaſing the Manor of *Thorp* and annexing it to his *See*. He built likewiſe at *London* a ſtately Palace, which went by the Name of *York-Place*, but was afterward call'd *White-Hall* *. Unfortunately, this Houſe which had been for many Years a Palace Royal was ſome time ſince burnt down to the Ground.

Edmund de Durham *'.

Edmund, who from a *Chanon* of *Salisbury* was promoted to the Archiepiſcopal *See* of *Canterbury*, after the Pope had annull'd three Elections to make room for him, was very commendable for his Moderation and Regular Life. He cou'd have wiſh'd, that the Pope's Power, which was then at the higheſt Pitch, might have been reduced within due Bounds. But perceiving there was no likelihood of ſucceeding in an Attempt of that Nature, conſidering the Circumſtances *England* was in, he choſe rather to give way to the Torrent, than to ſtand againſt ſo formidable a Power, back'd likewiſe by the King's Authority. However, to avoid the Blame of a baſe Compliance, he retir'd into *France*, to the Monaſtery of *Pontigny*, where his *Auſterities* ſhorten'd his Days. He was *canoniz*'d by Pope *Innocent* IV, in 1246.

Richard Poor de Durham.

Richard Poor, firſt Biſhop of *Salisbury* and then of *Durham*, is remarkable upon two Accounts. Whilſt he was Biſhop of *Salisbury*, he perſwaded the Inhabitants of *Sarum*, to remove to the Place where *Salisbury* now ſtands. Here he laid the Foundation of a ſtately Church, which was not finiſh'd till thirty Years after, and is ſtanding at this

* This Houſe is ſaid to be firſt built by *Hugo de Burgh* Earl of *Kent*, and given to the *Dominicans*, of whom the Archbiſhop bought it. When Cardinal *Woolſey* fell, *Henry* VIII, ſeiz'd it and made a Palace Royal of it.

*' This is a Miſtake for he was not born at *Durham* but *Abington* in *Berkſhire*. His father's Name was *Reynald le Rich* and his Mother *Mabil* was reputed a *Saint*. He founded a School in *Oxford* and bred up under him many great Scholars. *Hiſt. & Antiq.* of *Oxf. l.* 2. *p.* 9.

this day. The ſecond Thing which render'd this Prelate famous was, his *Synodal Conſtitutions* for the uſe of the Church of *Salisbury*. They are in all 87, of which I ſhall mention only the XVth, which forbids the Prieſts to take Money for ſaying *Maſs*, and the XXXIVth whereby it plainly appears that the *Laity* communicated at that time in *Both Kinds*.

Alexander Hales.

Alexander Hales, born in *Gloceſterſhire*, a great *Canoniſt*, and to whom was given the Title of *Irrefragable Doctor*, was *Profeſſor* of Divinity at the Univerſity of *Paris*. Among his other Works, he compos'd ſhort *Notes* upon the whole *Bible*, and a *Commentary* [in four Books] upon *the Maſter of the Sentences*, wherein, as the learned *Du Pin* obſerves, he diſcovers more skill in *Logick* and *Metaplyſicks* than in the *Antiquities* of the *Church*.

Sewald *of* York.

Sewald, Archbiſhop of *York*, was an able Divine, and of an unblameable Life. He took Pattern by *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had been his Maſter. The frequent Exactions of the Court of *Rome* gave him ſo great Diſguſt, that he cou'd not forbear writing a ſharp Remonſtrance to Pope *Alexander* IV upon that Subject. Amongſt other things he told him, that when *Jeſus Chriſt* commiſſion'd St. *Peter to feed his Sheep*, he did not give him Authority *to flay* them. This Freedom, added to his Refuſing to admit certain *Italians*, who came with *Proviſions* from the Court of *Rome*, drew on him the Diſpleaſure of *Alexander*, who at length *excommunicated* him. The Archbiſhop, when upon his Deathbed, complain'd bitterly of the Pope's Injuſtice, and made Appeal to *Heaven*. *Matthew Paris* was not of Opinion doubtleſs, that this *Excommunication* depriv'd *Sewald* of eternal Salvation, ſince he affirms that this Prelate wrought a Miracle in his laſt Sickneſs.

Kilwarly *of* Canterbury.

Robert Kilwarly, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was a very learned Prelate, for the Age he liv'd in. His Merit having caus'd him to be promoted to the Dignity of a Cardinal, he reſign'd his Archbiſhoprick to go and live at *Rome*.

I ſhall

Groſteſt of Lincoln.

I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay concerning the moſt noted *Eccleſiaſticks* of thoſe days, with an Account of one of the moſt Eminent, I mean, *Groſteſt* Biſhop of *Lincoln*. As there are ſeveral curious Particulars relating to him, I ſhall ſpeak more fully of him than I have done of the reſt.

Groſteſt was a Prelate of Reſolution and Courage, who was neither to be gain'd by Court-Favours, nor frightned by the Pope's Menaces, Rocks which few *Eccleſiaſticks* in thoſe days knew how to avoid. He, wholly bent upon following what appear'd to him reaſonable and juſt, without being ſway'd by any other Conſideration, had little Regard to the Circumſtances of the Times, or the Quality of the Perſons, and oppos'd equally, the King's Will, and the Pope's Pleaſure, according or it happen'd. By this ſteady Conduct, he had acquir'd a great Reputation among the People, who had long been accuſtom'd to ſee the Biſhops truckle to the King or the Pope. It fell out one day that he *excommunicated* the *Sheriff*, for refuſing to impriſon an *excommunicated* Perſon * who contemn'd the Church's *Cenſures*. *Henry* III, very Angry with the Biſhop for not applying to him, in order to oblige the *Sheriff* to put the *Canons* in Execution, addreſs'd the Pope to ſecure his Authority, a Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe.

M. Paris.

This Affair obliged *Groſteſt* to take a Journey to *Rome*, where he was confirm'd in the ill Opinion he had of the Court of *Rome*. He cou'd not ſee without Indignation and without ſhowing his Concern at it, the beſt Preferments in the Kingdom, beſtow'd on *Italians*, who neither reſided on their Benefices nor underſtood a Word of *Engliſh*. His Grief to behold the Church's Revenues devour'd by theſe Harpies, having caus'd him to refuſe to inſtitute an *Italian* to one of the beſt *Livings* of his *Dioceſe*, he was preſently after *ſuſpended*. But, not at all

* One *Ralph* a Clergyman whom he had depriv'd for *Incontinence*, and afterwards *excommunicated* for refuſing to ſubmit to the Sentence. The *Sheriff* was *Ralph*'s Friend.

all concern'd at this *Cenſure*, he continued his *Epiſcopal* Functions, his Flock being no more ſcrupulous in the Matter than himſelf. He even refus'd, at that very time, to admit ſome new *Proviſions* ſent from the Pope in favour of other *Italians*. He declar'd that to entruſt *the Cure of Souls* to ſuch Paſtors, was to act in the Name of the Devil rather than by the Authority of God.

The Court of *Rome* was unwilling then to make any Noiſe, for fear of bringing upon her the whole Body of the *Clergy* of *England*, from whom ſhe reap'd a plentiful Harveſt. This was the Reaſon that the Pope thought it his wiſeſt Courſe to ſhut his Eyes at the Diſobedience of this Prelate, who was of a known Reſolution and in great Repute with the People. He choſe rather to try to win him by fair Means; and accordingly, to give him a Teſtimony of his Eſteem, he ſent him a Commiſſion to reform certain Abuſes crept into the *Monaſteries*. This did not hinder but that ſoon after *Groſteſt* touch'd the Pope in a very ſenſible Manner, by computing the Sums which the *beneficed Italians* drew every Year out of *England*, as hath been related in another Place. *Innocent* IV ſat then in the *Papal* Chair. He had been ſo us'd to treat the *Engliſh* with Haughtineſs, that he cou'd not hear of the Biſhop's Proceedings without being extremely provok'd. But as he durſt not attack him upon this Score, becauſe what he had done, had met with univerſal Approbation, he fell upon him for having refus'd to admit his *Proviſions*, and ſent him a menacing *Bull*, which wou'd have frighten'd any other but him. *Groſteſt* return'd to him, who had been order'd to ſend him the *Bull* which certain Inſtructions *, a very bold Anſwer, of which the Reader perhaps will not be diſpleas'd to ſee the following Extract.

* *Matthew Paris*, mentions not the Contents of the *Bull* but only takes Notice in general that the Biſhop look'd upon the Inſtructions, the Pope had ſent him, to be unreaſonable, as they uſually were, ſays our Author.

I desire your Prudence to take Notice, that I am always ready to obey the Apostolical Instructions, and declare my self an Enemy to whatever is repugnant to them. For to both these Things I am bound by the Command of God. To apply this: the *Apostolical* Instructions * must of Necessity be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Apostles and of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, who is principally represented by the Pope. Seeing *Jesus Christ* has declar'd, *he that is not with me is against me*, the Sanctity of the *Apostolick See* is such that it can never appear in Opposition to our Lord. From hence it plainly follows that the Letter in Question *' is directly opposite to an Apostolical Character. First, because of the Clause *Non-obstante*, so frequently made use of now-a-days, which has nothing of natural Equity in it. On the contrary, it is certain it introduces a Deluge of Mischief, as it gives Occasion to a great deal of Inconstancy and Breach of Faith. It shakes the Foundations of mutual Trust, and makes Language and Writings of no Force or Significancy. In fine, it can't be, but that the Purity of Religion and the Peace of Society must suffer extremely by such a Stretch of Apostolical Authority. In the second Place, next to the Sins of *Lucifer* and *Antichrist*, there cannot be a greater Defection, or which carries with it a more direct Opposition to the Doctrine of our Saviour and his Apostles, than to destroy *Souls* by depriving them of the pastoral Office. And yet it is evident that those are guilty of this Sin who undertake the *sacerdotal* Function and receive the Profits without discharging the Duty. For in the Scripture Account, the *Pastor* who neglects his *Flock*, is a downright Murderer of the *Sheep*. Can one help therefore considering as a must flagrant Crime, a Conduct which tends so strongly to the Destruction of Truth and Virtue, and the Happiness of Mankind? If in moral Productions the Cause of Good is better than the Effect, it is but just the contrary in the Propagation of Vice, the Source and Original

* By which are meant *the Pope's Orders*.
*' Meaning the Pope's Bull.

ginal whereof are worſe than the Diſorder that flows from them. It is manifeſt therefore, that thoſe who bring ſuch unqualified Perſons into the Church, and by that Means debauch the *Hierarchy*, are moſt to blame, and that their Crime riſes in Proportion to the Height of their Station. From hence I conclude, that the *Apoſtolical See* which has receiv'd ſo full an Authority from our Saviour, *for Edification and not for Deſtruction*, ought not to countenance, much leſs to command ſo horrid and pernicious a Prevarication. To attempt any Thing of this Kind wou'd be a notorious Abuſe, if not a Forfeiture of her Authority. It wou'd be in Effect to ſtray at a vaſt Diſtance from *the Throne of Glory*, and to repreſent in a very ill Manner the Perſon of our Saviour. Such Perſons may be ſaid rather to be placed *in the Chair of Peſtilence*, and to ſit upon the *Bench* with the *Devil* and *Antichriſt*. Neither can any *Chriſtian* who deſires to continue in the Communion of the Church, and pays a due Regard to the *Apoſtolick See*, obey any Commands of this Kind, though impos'd by an Angel from Heaven. On the contrary, he ought to rebel, if I may call it ſo, againſt the Order, and oppoſe it to the utmoſt of his Power. For this Reaſon, ſince the Inſtructions above-mention'd are ſo plain a Contradiction to *the Catholick Faith* and the Sanctity of *the Apoſtolick See*, my Duty obliges me to refuſe them, and not to comply out of Deference to the Perſon by whom they are ſent Neither can your *Prudence* juſtly put any Hardſhip upon me, becauſe properly ſpeaking, my Refuſal ought not to be look'd upon as a Contumacy but rather as a filial Reſpect. For, to ſum up all in a word, the *Apſtolick See* has its Commiſſion only for *Edification*, and not for *Deſtruction*, and the Plenitude of its Power ought not to extend beyond what relates to *Edification*. But theſe *Proviſions*, as they call them, have a manifeſt Tendency to *Deſtruction*. Therefore *the Holy See* can by no means allow ſuch a Liberty: For to conclude; theſe Practices are *reveal'd* by *Fleſh and Blood, which cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven*, and not by the Father of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*.

This Letter put *Innocent* into a terrible Rage. *What!* says he, *has this old Dotard the Confidence to cenſure my Conduct? By St.* Peter *and St.* Paul *I will make him ſuch an Example that the World ſhall ſtand amaz'd at his Puniſhment* *. His Paſſion however was ſomewhat moderated by the *Cardinals*, who repreſented to him the ill Conſequences which might proceed from too much Rigour againſt the Biſhop: That the Noiſe which wou'd be made on this Occaſion wou'd be prejudicial to *the Holy See*, ſince it wou'd infallibly cauſe the *Engliſh* to examine into the Matter. That it was to be fear'd that in the Temper they were in, with regard to *the Holy See* and to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, they wou'd think it very ſtrange that a Prelate of ſo eſtabliſh'd a Reputation ſhou'd be treated with ſuch Severity. That on the contrary, there was a Neceſſity of carefully avoiding the giving Occaſion to enter into the Examination of what he alledged to juſtify his Non-complyance, and that therefore, upon all theſe Accounts it was moſt adviſeable to take no Notice at all of this inſolent Letter. Though theſe Remonſtrances moderated the Effects of the Pope's Fury, they were not however ſufficient to appeaſe him entirely. The *Annals* of *Lanercoſt* inform us, that the Biſhop was *excommunicated* a little before his Death, and that without concerning himſelf about *the Cenſure*, he appeal'd to *the Court of Heaven*. This is further confirm'd by the Report of ſeveral Hiſtorians who ſay, that *Innocent* mov'd in the *Conclave* that the Body of *Groſteſt* might be taken up and buried in the High-way, but that the *Cardinals* conſented not to it. Be this as it will, if he was *excommunicated*, he minded it not, but kept on diſcharging his Office; neither had the *Clergy* of his *Dioceſe* any more Scruples about it than their Biſhop, but continued to obey him till the Day of his Death. The Biſhops his Brethren, and

Angl. Sacr. p. 341.

* " For, *continues the Pope*, is not his Sovereign the King of " *England*, our *Vaſſal*, nay is he not our *Slave?* It is but therefore " ſignifying our Pleaſure to the *Engliſh Court*, and this antiquated " Prelate will be immediately impriſon'd, and put to what fur- " ther Diſgrace we ſhall think fit. *M. Paris.*

and the Monks themſelves, though great Sticklers for the Pope, did not think that this *Excommunication* wou'd have any Effect. Some of them, who were preſent at his Death, affirm'd that they were entertain'd with ſuch divine Muſick in the Air over the Houſe where he died, as they never heard before. We find likewiſe that in the *Pontificate* of *Clement* V, the *Dean* and *Chapter* of *St. Paul* petition'd very earneſtly for the *Canonization* of *Groſteſt* on Account of ſeveral Miracles wrought by him after his Death. But as he was not of that Sort of *Saints*, which the Court of *Rome* fill'd the *Calendar* with, their Petition was rejected. An Inſtance of a Biſhop dying under the Sentence of *Excommunication*, and yet paſſing for a *Saint* in the Country where he liv'd, is a Difficulty which muſt be left to be clear'd up by Thoſe whom it may concern. I ſhall content my ſelf with relating on this Subject one Circumſtance more, which, if not true, is at leaſt a Proof of the great Opinion of this Prelate's Sanctity. An Hiſtorian reports, that *Groſteſt*, a little after his Death, appear'd in his Robes to *Innocent* IV, and ſtriking him a Blow on the Side with his *Croſier*, gave him a ſevere Reprimand. He adds, that the Pope was ſo frighten'd at this *Apparition*, that he continued two Days without eating. I have nothing to ſay for the Truth of this Relation. I only draw this Inference from it, that although the Biſhop died *excommunicated* by the Pope, and in Sentiments very oppoſite to thoſe of the Court of *Rome*, the Hiſtorian for all that teſtifies by this Circumſtance, that he was fully perſuaded of his being glorified in Heaven.

M. Paris.

Angl. Sacr. p. II. p. 343.

M. Paris.

Groſteſt * wrote ſeveral *Tracts*. Amongſt other Performances he tranſlated from the *Greek* into *Latin*, *The Teſtament of the twelve Patriarchs*, a Copy of which one *John de Baſingſtoke*, who had met with it at *Athens*, put into his Hands. As to the Time when the *Original* was written it is uncertain. Doctor *Cave* aſſigns it to the latter End of the ſecond *Century*. *Dodwel* places it in the *Firſt*,

* He was born at *Stodbrooke* in *Suffolk*.

Grabius. *First*, and ſome others believe it was compos'd by ſome *Jew* before our Saviour's Birth *.

* As to the Hiſtorians who liv'd in theſe four Reigns, the moſt noted are,

Simeon of Durham, a Monk and *Precentor* of the Church of *Durham* in the Year 1164, one of the moſt learned Men of his Age. He wrote, beſides other Things, two Books *de Geſtis Regum*, which are not his Maſter-Pieces, being only a few indigeſted Collections chiefly out of *Florence of Worceſter*, whoſe very Words he frequently copies. He begins where *Bede* left off, and goes as far as the 29th of *Henry* I, 1129. He is one of the *X Scriptores*, publiſh'd 1652 at *London*.

Henry Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* flouriſh'd about the ſame Time, whoſe eight Books concluding with the Reign of King *Stephen*, were publiſh'd by Sir *Henry Savil*. He is a Follower of *Bede*, and has borrow'd a great many Lies from *Jeoffrey of Monmouth*. He writes confuſedly, and reduces the Tranſactions of the *Heptarchy* to the ſeveral Reigns of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, but has not adjuſted them ſo well as he ought to have done.

William of Newburg, ſo call'd from a Monaſtery in *Yorkſhire*, whereof he was Member. His Hiſtory ends at the Year 1197. He was a violent Perſecutor of *Jeoffrey of Monmouth*. His *Latin* Style is preferr'd to that of *M. Paris*, and equall'd with Thoſe of *Eadmer* and *Malmesbury* by Dr. *Wats*.

Gervaſe a Monk of *Canterbury* wrote a Chronicle of the Reigns of *Stephen*, *Henry* II, and *Richard* I. with Judgement enough, ſays Biſhop *Nicholſon*. It was publiſh'd among the *X Scriptores*. Lond. 1652.

Roger de Hoveden, Chaplain ſome time to *Henry* II. He is charged with borrowing from *Simeon of Durham* without acknowledging it, but, as Biſhop *Nicholſon* obſerves, if he did, he has improv'd his Story, adding years to many things confuſedly related in that Author. There are in his Book many *Letters*, *Speeches*, &c. relating to *Eccleſiaſtical* Matters. He was Cotemporary with *Gervaſe*, 1201. His Hiſtory was publiſh'd by Sir *H. Savil*, *Francof.* 1601.

Ralph de Diceto Dean of *London*. He wrote about the Year 1210. His *Abbreviationes Chronicorum* contains an Abſtract of our Hiſtory down to *the Conqueſt*; and his *Imagines Hiſtoriarum* gives the Protraictures of ſome of our Kings more at length, ending with the firſt years of King *John*'s Reign. Mr. *Selden* praiſes this Author and his Works, though Biſhop *Nicholſon* ſays he uſually copied *Verbatim* out of other Writers. He is among the X *Scriptores*.

Walter a Monk of *Coventry*, a clear and faithful Writer. He liv'd in *Coventry* in 1217. He has ſome few Things of Note not to be met with in *Jeoffrey of Monmouth*, *Hoveden* and *Huntingdon*, in his three Books of *Chronicles*, which are chiefly *Collections* from the ſaid Authors.

Matthew

Matthew Paris a Monk of *St. Albans*, one of the moſt renown'd Hiſtorians of this Kingdom. His *Hiſtoria Major* contains the *Annals* at large of eight of our Kings from *William the Conqueror* to *Henry* III. 'Twas firſt publiſhed at *London* 1571, and reprinted with Additions of *various Readings*, &c. by Dr. *Wats*, London 1640. From the year 1259, wherein *M. Paris* died, to *Henry* III's Death, it was continued by *William Riſhanger* a Monk of the ſame *Fraternity*. The whole Work manifeſts a great deal of Candour and Exactneſs in the Author, who tells us ſo particularly of the brave Repulſes given by many of our Princes to the Uſurpations of the *Roman See*, that 'tis a Wonder how ſuch an *Heretical* Hiſtory came to ſurvive thus long. A fair Copy of this Hiſtory, ſuppos'd to be written by the Author's own Hand is in the King's *Library* at St. *James's*. He wrote an Abſtract of his Hiſtory, which *Lambard* ſtiles his *Hiſtoria Minor* having in it ſeveral Particulars of Note omitted in his *Hiſtoria Major*. 'Tis pretended that *Paris* had but a ſmall Hand in the whole Hiſtory, having begun only at the year 1235, the Reſt being done to his Hand by one *Roger de Windleſhore*, or *Windſor*, (or *de Wendover Prior de Bealvair* as it is in the MS. Copy in *Cotton's* Library) one of his Predeceſſors in the ſame *Monaſtery*.

The End of VOL. III.

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